

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
--------------------------	---------------	------	-------------

001. letter	Lu Hardin to President Clinton (2 pages)	03/22/1996	b(6)
-------------	--	------------	------

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 7696

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files April 14-20, 1996: Monday April 15, 1996

2019-0774-S

rs3313

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

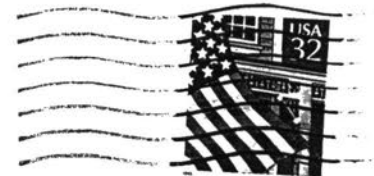
C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.



STANLEY RUSS
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE
SENATOR
20TH DISTRICT
P. O. Box 787
CONWAY, ARKANSAS 72032



To Jim Dorstkind
for ~~action~~ thru
Agency Liaison?
yes ✓
no

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President, United States of America
White House, West Wing
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D. C. 20500-2000



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	Lu Hardin to President Clinton (2 pages)	03/22/1996	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 7696

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files April 14-20, 1996: Monday April 15, 1996

2019-0774-S

rs3313

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

4-14-96

Carolyn -

I asked George
to give this a
perusal... but
he didn't have a
chance.

Dr. Freed is a
very close friend
of Eli Segal.
Want a response?

Betty

4-9-96

George -

Don't know if you
remember Chip Freed
from Little Rock -

Thoughts on the
attached!

Betty

4-16
K L Veen -

This will need
some kind of
response. Let
me know how you
want to handle.
Todd

Howard A. Freed, M.D.
153 Font Grove Road
Slingerlands, New York 12159

(518) 439-0410 phone and fax
(518) 422-8764 beeper

96 APR 15 AM 11:30



April 8, 1996

Dear Betty,

Enclosed is the proposal for the re-election campaign that Paul Sullivan and I have written. (Paul is a former Executive Director of the DNC).

There are two core ideas: setting up an organized, self-funding group of volunteers working through the coordinated campaign, **and the use of those volunteers on "The Weekend"** (see Page 5).

We think it "The Weekend" is an on-message way to show we are still "Putting People First" in 1996, and that the President would be intrigued by it.

What do you think?

Best Regards,



PUTTING PEOPLE FIRST '96

The Present Situation

Even the best run campaigns at the national, state and local levels are surprisingly inefficient at handling incoming offers of volunteer assistance. Tens of thousands of our supporters, perhaps more, will try to join our re-election campaign and will not be able to find a way to effectively help us and reinforce our campaign messages.

The challenge for the Clinton campaign is to set up, **with almost no resources**, a nationwide system that will capture, organize and manage these supporters before their enthusiasm fades. A large, essentially self-funding, grassroots volunteer organization can help the President's re-election without being a drain of the campaign's financial resources.

The solution to the problem lies in FEC spending regulations (i.e., the Coordinated Campaign and "party-building" activities.) The FEC allows President Clinton to ask his supporters to join an coordinated campaign effort with a nationwide 800 number. The activities of these (Clinton) volunteers are restricted to party-building activities (more about that later.) But the overhead cost covering these activities can be paid for with hard/soft money, not Federal grant monies. All of the cost to establish, administer and staff this operation can be covered by a mix of "hard" and "soft" money. The mix is established by a formula which takes into account the number of volunteers serviced from each state, and that state's "hard/soft" ratio.

Instituting this program need not interfere with the in-place Clinton-Gore '96 volunteer effort, and other plans of our field organization. We can legally integrate volunteers into the Coordinated Campaign or Clinton-Gore '96 field operations or we can choose to run this as a totally separate operation.

We can call this effort anything we choose. In this memo we are calling it **"Putting People First '96"** [PPF '96].

We can coordinate and manage the volunteers to do the following:

- raise "hard" money for PPF '96,
- register voters
- participate in visibility projects
- volunteer for "The Weekend" (see below)

The 800 Operation

We envision a roomful of carefully trained 800 operators sitting in front of computer screens receiving initial volunteer contacts and loading information on each volunteer into a national database in a format that can be easily integrated into our other key supporter lists maintained by the DNC, DCCC, DSCC, etc. (One important note here: we must be careful of the 800 operator's script for purposes of FEC or Republican challenges.)

We envision a nightly statistical update for political strategy and accounting purposes, as well as a computer program that will track and analyze the volunteer responses to the tasks/projects to which they are assigned.

Among the benefits of developing this database are the creation of a volunteer army of supporters who can be responsive where we need them for this campaign and for Democratic party purposes in years to come.

The First Response: The Letter

It is essential that the first response capture the "real" volunteers. Therefore, we believe strongly that this first response should be a letter from President Clinton himself, not by direct mail professionals or advisors. The letter should state, in a very personal way, that President Clinton wishes he could meet with each and everyone of these volunteers, but since that is impossible, he has taken the time to personally compose this letter. This letter should ask the volunteer to perform their first task in very specific language. We have more to say about this letter but don't want to make this memo too long.

The Tasks

Task #1... The Rolodex Project. This task has a number of purposes.

Primary purpose #1: **To increase the volunteer base.** Initial volunteers are asked to contact as many of their friends and family as possible in two weeks *and to report back on the forms provided*. Volunteers are instructed to continue recruiting right up until election day.

Primary purpose #2: **To serve as a filter.** The volunteers' first task requires a report back to PPF '96 or some other hurdle, which will filter or separate out the "real" volunteers. After the filter, the names of those who have successfully completed this task might at that point be sent to the different state-coordinated campaigns and, through that mechanism, the names can be accessed by the Clinton/Gore '96 campaign directly. **The "real" volunteers are asked to reserve for us one day on each of the two weekends before the election. (President Clinton should ask that they do this in his letter.)**

Task #2... The Fundraising Project. Volunteers are asked to raise \$5 per week, and are encouraged to continue to try to raise money at that rate. Paul and Karen Sullivan's successful experience with People to People '92 in Dade County, Florida on behalf of Clinton/Gore '92 reinforces our view that setting up an essentially self-financing volunteer grassroots organization for Clinton/Gore is realistic. It was done.

Task # 3... The Visibility Project. Although not central to our proposal, the computerized list of volunteers (sorted by zip code) will be of use to the coordinated campaign to increase our visibility. *Where desired*, these volunteers may be asked to place bumper stickers, yard signs, boost attendance at rallies, etc.

The Weekend

Suspend your disbelief for a moment and go with us on this. Let's pretend that the following things happen:

Wednesday, October 21: NBC broadcasts the latest poll showing President Clinton with a lead, but the national race is still close.

Thursday, October 22: President Clinton, in a five-minute block speech to the nation on all major networks, announces that tens of thousands of Americans - led by Putting People First '96 - will be volunteering this weekend in all capacities, in towns and cities across the country. These volunteers will be working to better America: helping the less fortunate in soup kitchens and homeless shelters, cleaning up public parks, roads, beaches, and streams, donating blood, signing up as Meals-on-Wheels buddies for the elderly, etc.

In this same speech, Governor Clinton also announces that he and Hillary -- along with every man and woman in the entire Clinton campaign at the local, state, and national level--will close the campaign offices on Saturday and Sunday, October 26-27, to participate in these various volunteer efforts in their communities.

Inviting the Republican Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates to join the volunteer crusade, President Clinton says, "It's not enough just to talk about an 'Age of Possibility'. We must put our personal energy into that effort. There has been too much negativity in American politics lately. Let's end this campaign in its final days by showing the world that Americans can pull together to help one another."

Friday, October 23: The Republican campaign is said to be bickering over their response to the Clinton move.

Meanwhile, PPF '96 releases a list of hundreds of civic activities to be undertaken by the volunteers that weekend. These range from several thousand people showing up to help the homeless in Detroit, to a high school car wash in a small town [in a battleground state] who help raise money for a group dedicated to saving the American family farm.

We are convinced that "The Weekend" will be an unprecedented event in American politics, and it will help carry us to victory on November 5.

Final Project: GOTV

For the last weekend before the election and election day, the list of PPF '96 volunteers will be turned over to Clinton-Gore '96 for the Get-Out-The Vote effort. For this, these volunteers' activities would for the first time necessarily be under the direct control of the campaign and thus have to be funded by it.

In Closing

The heart of this project is the "The Weekend" use of volunteers.

Clearly there are hurdles to be cleared, political and legal issues to be addressed, and organizational challenges to be met. This memo would be too lengthy if we attempted to discuss them all. Some will believe The Weekend Project is not doable. We think that is absolutely wrong and underestimates ourselves and the people. Yet if the decision is made not

to do The Weekend, there are easy substitutes. Nationwide rallies, marches for change, etc. are all possibilities. Even if the decision is made to not have the President publicly ask supporters to call an 800 number, substantial numbers of volunteers could be gathered just by having every part of our national campaign give out the 800 number as part of their response to people who call to volunteer.

The volunteers are out there. We believe the money is "there" and that we have the talent and the experience to put this thing together.

"The Weekend's" message of active community service positions us where we want to be. This project is doable. Let's do it.

* * * * *

This proposal was written by Paul Sullivan and Howard Freed, M.D.

Paul Sullivan is a former Executive Director of the Democratic National Committee. He was appointed by President Jimmy Carter after running the Illinois campaign for Carter in 1976. He was George McGovern's National Campaign Manager in 1984. In 1992 he served in Little Rock, as the head of Special Projects in the Political Section.

Howard Freed, M.D. is a practicing physician and is the Director of an Emergency Room with a \$3 Million/year budget. He has run political campaigns in New York State's 24th and 25th Congressional Districts for local, U.S. Senate, and Presidential candidates. In 1992 he worked in Little Rock as an aide to Chief of Staff Eli Segal, and as Deputy Director to Paul Sullivan in Special Projects.

Contact: Howard Freed (518) 439-0410 [phone] or (518) 422-8764 [beeper]

DATE: 4/15

TO: Jim Dorsten

FROM: Staff Secretary

Jim - can you work with
Susana Valdez on an appropriate
response. Probably will be very
sensitive politically
SPH

cc: Clerk

NCLR

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA

Raul Trigueros, President

National Office
1111 19th Street, N.W., Suite 1000
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: (202) 795-1670
Fax: (202) 776-1792

April 11, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

① I regret to inform you that I am resigning, effective immediately, as Chair of the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans. I feel compelled to do so based on my reluctant conclusion that the Commission as currently structured cannot deliver on its mandate.

② Your Executive Order 12900, which established the Commission, and its predecessor, Executive Order 12729, issued by President Bush, were the results of an effort originally conceived by the National Council of La Raza (NCLR), and subsequently refined and supported by a dozen national Hispanic organizations, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, and literally thousands of Hispanic educators and community leaders. It took more than two years and an extensive advocacy process involving hundreds of hours of hard work to persuade the Bush Administration to issue the Executive Order. We had high hopes for the success of that initiative.

③ Similarly, NCLR and many other national Latino organizations invested a substantial amount of time in working with your Administration to promote the strengthening and reissuance of the Executive Order. Given your strong commitment to education and to the improvement of the federal government's responsiveness to the educational interests of Hispanics -- as embodied in the strengthened Executive Order you issued -- our expectations were raised even further.

④ One of the mandates of the Executive Order was to conduct an inventory of how Hispanics are served by current federal education programs. While the limited findings thus far paint a dismal picture, you should be proud that many of the agencies were deeply disturbed by what they found and have taken steps to rectify the situation. In order to expedite that process, I urge you to hold a Cabinet meeting as soon as possible to discuss some of the federal plans underway and promote a more coordinated, aggressive effort.



Program Offices: Phoenix, Arizona • San Antonio, Texas • Los Angeles, California • Chicago, Illinois
LA RAZA: The Hispanic People of the New World

April 11, 1996

Page Two

5 Moreover, I had hoped by this time to have presented you with at least one Commission report that was an unvarnished but fair and accurate analysis of the federal government's role in the education of Hispanic Americans. In the last year, I have done everything humanly possible to make this happen. I regret to inform you that the current working draft is now more than seven months overdue, and not close to completion. Worse, it bears little resemblance to the document we had all envisioned.

6 Meanwhile, much time has passed, a time in which thousands of Latino students have dropped out of high school, millions of elementary school children continue to be segregated, and we are no closer to where we need to be than when you signed the Executive Order 25 months ago.

7 As someone who has served on both Commissions, I have come to several conclusions as to why we have reached this point. In retrospect, both Executive Orders and both Commissions have had the same, often inherent, problems. These flaws include:

1. The accountability, independence, and professionalism of the Commission staff. The Executive Order combines a staff for the White House Initiative on Educational Excellence of Hispanic Americans and the staff of the presumably "independent" Commission. In both Commissions there has been a lack of staff accountability and political independence. In neither case did the Commission act on the appointment of the executive director. The primary requirements for both executive directors apparently have been political rather than professional public educational policy expertise. As structured, the director has served "two masters," to the detriment of the work of the Commission.
2. Minimal resources. As best I can understand the staffing arrangements, the "permanent personnel" assigned to both functions consist of one executive director and one support staff person. Several other individuals from other government agencies have been detailed intermittently to the staff. The total resources available to the previous Commission under the Bush Administration were even less than those allocated to the current Commission.
3. The perceived partisan makeup of the Commission. During the Commission selection phase, we and other prominent Hispanic organizations recommended both Republicans and Democrats for consideration. However, too many of the current Commissioners are closely associated with partisan politics. While these Commissioners are by and large outstanding people, it does a disservice to them and to our work for there to be the perception that the Commission's makeup appears to be based more on political considerations than on public policy expertise and experience. The previous Commission had similar problems.

4. Lack of responsiveness by the bureaucracy to the Executive Order. Nearly six years after the first Executive Order and more than two years after your Executive Order, at best only one federal agency has arguably complied with the Order. The Executive Order requires that all Federal agencies provide "...data relating to the eligibility for and participation by Hispanic Americans in Federal education programs..." and further that "as part of the development of the Annual Federal Plan, each Executive department and each designated agency...shall prepare a plan for, and shall document, that agency's effort to increase Hispanic American participation in Federal education programs where Hispanic Americans are underserved...."

It is evident that the bureaucracy has essentially ignored the Executive Orders issued by both you and President Bush. While I am not entirely surprised by this outcome, I am very distressed that apparently there is little or no fear of the consequences of noncompliance by either political appointees or career staff within the bureaucracy.

8 Given these realities, I have concluded that my goal of providing you and the Secretary of Education with a high-quality, ground-breaking blueprint for action is simply not achievable. Moreover, election-year dynamics have made it virtually impossible to deal with these issues in any objective, apolitical fashion. I am reminded of your quote to the effect that one test for determining one's sanity, or lack thereof, is the extent to which one keeps trying the same thing over and over again while expecting a different result. After six years of trying the same thing over and over again, I am convinced that this structure does not work.

9 Mr. President, I remain even more committed, as I know you are, to improving the educational status of Latino youth, not only because it is the right thing to do but because as Hispanics become the largest minority in the public schools and an ever more important part of the work force, the education of Hispanics is a matter of national interest and economic well-being. Despite deep personal frustration at the course of events which compels my resignation - and your own probable frustration at the inability of this Commission to have delivered a product two years after its creation - we cannot and should not give up.

10 Instead, we would suggest a change of course, for which we need your active support and endorsement. We propose the creation of a Congressionally mandated, bipartisan, independent Commission to address the issue. Like other such "blue ribbon" panels, this Commission would have an adequate budget, independent and professional staff accountable only to the Commission, and a clear mandate.

The Honorable William J. Clinton

April 11, 1996

Page Four

// The skeptics might suggest that our chances of success given the current climate in Congress are not particularly good. To them I respond that they're probably right. They are probably no better than when White House Chief of Staff John Sununu shouted at me that it would be a cold day in hell before President Bush would sign an Executive Order on the education of Hispanics. We prevailed then. With your help, we can prevail again. I look forward to discussing this issue with you directly.

12 Please extend my thanks to Secretary Riley for his many personal courtesies, and for his deep personal commitment to the education of all children in this country. And please accept my thanks for the opportunity to serve your Presidency and the American people.

Sincerely,



Raul Yzaguirre
Chairman

DATE: 4/15

TO: Jessica

FROM: Staff Secretary

J-

Neither Todd or I are sure what these people want. It's hard to determine if it's a scheduling request, honorary request.... Can you call them and get some more info. then let me know. Then we can figure out how to handle. Thanks PHM

Dedications by:

William J. Clinton
President of the United States
Jimmy Carter
Former President of the United States
S.A.S. Rainier III de Monaco

Dr. Abraham Foxman
Anti-Defamation League
Pierre Salinger

Maurice Schumann
French Senator, Paris

Mother Teresa
Nobel Peace Prize, Calcutta

Archbishop Desmond Tutu
Nobel Peace Prize, Capetown

Lech Walesa

President of Poland, Nobel Peace Prize

International Honorary Council

Jacques Chirac
President of France

Jacques Chaban-Delmas
Former French Prime Minister

Josette Devin
U.S. Medal of Freedom

Marion Hewlett Pike
Artist, Paris, Los Angeles

Dr. Jehan Sadat

Jean-Jacques Vitrac
President, European American Fdn.

American Honorary Council

The Navajo Nation

States represented by their Governor:

Arizona
Arkansas
California
Delaware
Idaho
Illinois
Indiana
Kansas
Kentucky
Maine
Massachusetts
Mississippi
Missouri
Montana
Nebraska
New Jersey
New Mexico
New York
North Carolina
North Dakota
Ohio
Oklahoma
Oregon
Pennsylvania
Rhode Island
South Dakota
Texas
Utah
West Virginia
Wisconsin
Wyoming

Cities represented by their Mayor:

Houston
Phoenix / Scottsdale
Tucson
San Francisco

Most Rev. Thomas J. O'Brien
Bishop of Phoenix, Arizona

Rabbi Albert Plotkin
Temple Beth Israel, Phoenix

Dr. Warren H. Stewart, Sr.
First Institutional Baptist Church

Dr. Lattie Coor
President, Arizona State University

**An
American
Requiem**

February 13, 1996

Dear President Clinton,

Your dedication of *An American Requiem* to the memory of John F. Kennedy supported our Foundation's purpose in commissioning this work, which was to offer our nation a memorial music that would illustrate our diversity and contribute to bringing together communities of various origins and beliefs. Former President Jimmy Carter elected to dedicate the Requiem to the memory of Anwar Sadat. We would like to receive your support and your help to honor the memory of another man of peace, Yitzhak Rabin.

This entire nation and the world witnessed with pride and with hope the historic handshake between Prime Minister Rabin and Yassir Arafat under your welcoming arms. We also witnessed your distress and your grief when a man of peace who had become your friend was lost to senseless violence.

Our Foundation suggests that a national Yitzhak Rabin Memorial Performance of *An American Requiem* be held at National Cathedral in Washington, DC in November, for the first anniversary of Mr. Rabin's assassination. The same prayer that was chanted in Jerusalem for his funerals (*Ale Molay Rachamin*) was translated for us by Rabbi Plotkin of Phoenix to become an intrinsic part of this Requiem.

Based in Arizona with limited financial and human resources, our Foundation is only in a position to share its experience in producing *An American Requiem*. We would be honored to cooperate with your administration.

This music has the spiritual power to invite people of all origins to reflect on this tragedy and to learn from it how to better live together. It is our hope that you will consider this suggestion with the same heartfelt conviction we have that this is the right thing to do.

Respectfully yours,


Michel F. Sarda
President

rec'd 3/19/96 JPA



A Commemorative Community
of the Department of Defense
WW II Commemoration Committee

Received in
OR from
analysis
3/6/96

An initiative of the
Art Renaissance Foundation

A non-profit organization
4610 North 40th Street, Phoenix, Arizona 85018-3623
Tel / Fax (602) 954-6573

Jessica

TRACKING SHEET

96 APR 4 P1:33

	Date	Initial
Received by PLM	3/19	DW
Draft Written	_____	_____
Edited in PLM	_____	_____
Formatted by Typing	_____	_____
Reviewed on White	_____	_____
Printed on Azure	_____	_____

App. By Review

App. for Signature

4/4/96
Todd - I received this as an
honorary request, but I think
NSC should handle. What do
you think?

Jessica

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4-12-96
done on 4/15/96

April 12, 1996

MR. PRESIDENT:

The attached memo from Leon and Harold seeks your approval to proceed with an Executive Order protecting Indian sacred sites on Federal land.

Background. In 1994, Sen. Inouye offered legislation providing broad protection for sacred sites, but it was strongly opposed by business and ranchers and died in Committee. Last year, Sec. Babbitt assured Tribal leaders that we would issue an EO to protect sacred sites.

The EO. This Order is designed to provide workable standards for the protection of sacred sites, while taking account practical burdens on agencies, the realities of a Republican Congress and the ongoing debate over the "war of the West". It should not generate much opposition from Congress or from business or ranchers because it doesn't impose much burden. Tribal leaders will not be fully satisfied, since it provides substantially less than they want -- e.g., no private right of action (available only through legislation); protection only on Federal land; requirement for a progress report only, no regulatory changes.

Justice, Interior, USDA, DOE, DOD and WH staff believe on balance that you should approve the EO. If you approve, a final Order will be prepared and Harold and Leon will arrange meetings to brief Tribal leaders before you sign.

Approve ☒

Disapprove ☐

Discuss ☐

Todd Stern
Phil Caplan

CC!
LP
H
Steve Newirth

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 1, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4:12:00
96 MAR 11 5:11:09

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LEON PANETTA
HAROLD M. ICKES

SUBJECT: Proposed executive order on Indian sacred sites

Action-forcing event

You have recently expressed interest in the status of the Administration's efforts to protect Indian sacred sites. The Departments of Interior, Agriculture and Justice have proposed an executive order to protect Indian sacred sites on federally-owned lands.

Background

In an April 1994 speech, you made a general commitment to protect Indian religious freedom and urged Congress to pass legislation designed, among other things, to protect Indian sacred sites. You also issued two memoranda: one directing agency heads to meet with Tribes on a government-to-government basis whenever taking an action affecting tribes; and one streamlining the process used by Tribes to obtain eagle feathers for religious ceremonies.

During the summer of 1994, Senator Inouye introduced broad legislation, covering both public and private lands, offering strong protection to sacred sites, including the creation of a private right of action against both government and private landowners. This legislation, strongly opposed by the timber industry and other business interests, never got out of committee in either the Senate or the House.

Early last year, Secretary Babbitt advised Tribal leaders that the Administration would take concrete steps -- including the issuance of an executive order -- to protect Indian sacred sites and provide at least some protections that had been included in the 1994 Inouye bill.

White House staff (Deputy Chief of Staff, Domestic Policy Council, White House Counsel) have worked with the Departments of the Interior, Agriculture, Justice, Energy and Defense to draft an executive order that provides workable standards for protecting sacred sites, while taking account of limits on Presidential authority, the Republican majority in Congress, the ongoing debate over the "war on the West," and the practical implications for affected agencies. The attached draft executive order reflects a consensus among the departments involved in the drafting process.

There are advantages and disadvantages to the issuance of this executive order:

Advantages

- Responds to a very high priority for the Tribes.
- Continues the Administration's commitment to the protection of religious liberty.
- Provides protection not offered by the Indian Religious Freedom Restoration Act.
- Does not impose a substantial administrative/legal burden on agencies.
- Is unlikely, according to Secretary Babbitt, to generate much opposition from the business community or ranchers because the order does not impose significant regulatory burdens.
- Should not, in light of limited scope, generate substantial opposition in Congress.

Disadvantages

- Provides substantially less than Tribal leaders desire or expect from the Administration -- although some of what the Tribes want, such as private rights of action, can only be established by legislation.
- Will thus likely lead to some criticism by Tribes, including that the order's scope is too limited; that the order does not impose a strict enough legal standard on agencies; that the order only covers federally owned lands; and that the order requires no regulatory changes, but instead only a "report" and "proposals" after one year.
- Because the order affects federal land management, it could be criticized in the context of the "war on the West" debate.
- The order could be criticized as an effort to impose by executive order rules that even a Democratic Congress was unwilling to adopt.

Recommendation

It is the consensus view of the Departments of the Interior, Justice, Agriculture, Energy and Defense that you should implement the proposed Executive Order on Indian Sacred Sites because, on balance, the advantages of the order outweigh the disadvantages. It would be our plan to arrange for meetings with Tribal leaders, prior to issuance of the order, to explain the order and encourage their support.



AGREE

DISAGREE

DISCUSS

EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. _____

INDIAN SACRED SITES

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, in furtherance of federal treaties, and in order to protect and preserve Indian religious practices, it is hereby ordered:

Section 1. Accommodation of sacred sites. (a) In managing federal lands, each executive branch agency with statutory or administrative responsibility for the management of federal lands shall, to the extent practicable, permitted by law and not clearly inconsistent with essential agency functions, (1) accommodate access to and ceremonial use of Indian sacred sites by Indian religious practitioners and (2) avoid adversely affecting the physical integrity of such sacred sites. Where appropriate, agencies shall maintain the confidentiality of sacred sites.

(b) For purposes of this order:

(i) "Federal lands" means any land or interests in land owned by the United States, including leasehold interests held by the United States, except Indian trust lands.

(ii) "Indian tribe" means an Indian or Alaska Native tribe, band, nation, pueblo, village or community that the Secretary of the Interior acknowledges to exist as an Indian tribe pursuant to Pub. L. No. 103-454, 108 Stat. 4791, and "Indian" refers to a member of such an Indian tribe; and

(iii) "Sacred site" means any specific, discrete, narrowly-delineated location on federal land that is identified by an Indian tribe, or Indian individual determined to be an appropriately authoritative representative of an Indian religion, as sacred by virtue of its established religious significance to, or ceremonial use by, an Indian religion; provided that the tribe or appropriately authoritative representative of an Indian religion has informed the agency of the existence of such a site.

Sec. 2. Procedures. (a) Each executive branch agency with statutory or administrative responsibility for the management of federal lands shall, as appropriate, promptly implement procedures for the purposes of carrying out the provisions of section 1 of this order, including, as practicable and appropriate, any additional procedures relating to public notice of prospective agency action in the management of federal lands.

(b) Within one year of the effective date of this order, the head of each executive branch agency with statutory or administrative responsibility for the management of federal lands shall report to the President, through the Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy, on the implementation of this order. Such reports shall address, among other things, (i) any changes necessary to accommodate access to and ceremonial use of Indian sacred sites; (ii) any changes necessary to avoid adversely affecting the physical integrity of Indian sacred sites; and (iii) procedures implemented or proposed to facilitate consultation with appropriate Indian tribes and religious leaders, and the expeditious resolution of disputes relating to agency action on federal lands that may adversely affect access to, ceremonial use of, or the physical integrity of sacred sites.

Sec. 3. Nothing in this order shall be construed to require a taking of vested property interests. Nor shall this order be construed to impair enforceable rights to use of federal lands that have been granted to third parties through final agency action. For purposes of this order, "agency action" has the same meaning as in the Administrative Procedure Act, 5 U.S.C. § 551(13).

Sec. 4. This order is intended only to improve the internal management of the executive branch and is not intended to, nor does it, create any right, benefit or trust responsibility, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law or equity by any party against the United States, its agencies, officers or any person.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4-12-96

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 12, 1996

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached for your approval is a proposed Executive Order to improve the transfer of excess Federal computer equipment to schools and nonprofit organizations.

The Vice President wants to announce your signing of this Order at the launch of the "CyberEd" truck next Wednesday or Thursday. The 18-wheeler is an electronic version of the bookmobile program of years past, and will provide teachers with advanced computer training. The truck will travel to every Empowerment Zone in the nation.

The Order acknowledges that computer, telecommunications, and research equipment is a valuable tool for computer education, and provides that when agencies transfer such excess equipment, they shall: 1) give preference to schools and nonprofit organizations; 2) give special preference when these are located in Federal enterprise communities and empowerment zones; and 3) publicize the availability of the equipment.

The Order also directs agencies to encourage employees to connect classrooms to the National Information Infrastructure, and provide ongoing maintenance and technical support. OMB and your White House advisors recommend that you sign the Order. If you approve, we will have it executed prior to the Vice President's event.

Approve ☒

Disapprove ☐ : Discuss ☐

Todd Stern *Todd*
Helen Howell *HH*

done -
4/15/96

CC: *Nelson*
1/2 - *Please take care of this. Work with Gagg & have it signed when then*
Greg

Want. And keep me posted.

April 7, 1996

'96 APR 15 P12:40

Dear *Staff Secretary Stern*:

The accompanying essay addresses how President Clinton has been ill-served by those who have been attempting to graft upon his Administration a weak American posture towards the Balkans and towards Caucasian and Central Asia.

In the case of Caucasian and Central Asia, some senior military officers and Department of Defense executives have engaged in a campaign to have the U.S. cede its interests in the region to the dictates of the Russian Federation and its aggressive projects.

Likewise, in the case of the Balkans, some have urged a deferring to the U.S. partners in Europe (Germany, France, England, and Italy).

The effect of carrying this through on both U.S. commercial and security outcomes could potentially be damaging. For one item, by letting the Russian Federation set the pace and course of events in Caucasian and Central Asia, the U.S. will let the Russian Federation control the transport and sale of petroleum and natural gas from Central Asia and the Caspian basin.

The logical outcome of the U.S. laissez-faire attitude in Europe is an increasing destabilization and polarization of Europe.

Please consider the enclosed essay and recommendations. If you have any questions please feel free to call or write. Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Kendall P. Brown

Kendall P. Brown

780 Highway 61 N., 21D
Vicksburg, Mississippi 39180

601-636-7675

Donna

for reply

Please let me offer my sympathies on the tragic death of Secretary Brown and his colleagues.

GUIDING U.S. ACTIONS IN THE BALKANS AND CENTRAL ASIA
USING RATIONAL LONG-TERM AMERICAN GOALS

Over the last eighteen months, President Clinton has been ill-served by those who have been trying to weaken American strategy towards the Balkans and towards Caucasian and Central Asia.

Who are these advocates of withdrawal ? They are, in part, within the Pentagon and the Department of Defense, and have been influencing America to move towards weakness in Bosnia and toward marginal responses in the Balkans. These exponents are adamantly opposed to American leadership in security for Europe.

For instance, the U.S. has failed to enforce crucial portions of the Dayton Peace Accords. The U.S. Armed Forces have not stopped ethnic cleansing, nor stopped terrorism against civilians, nor has it ensured the free transit of civilians within Bosnia.

Perhaps it is true that some of the provisions of the Dayton Peace Accord are impractical or difficult to enforce. However, these deficiencies in enforcement have not been due to impracticality or difficulty of enforcement. The difficult operation to close down a training center that included Iranian paramilitaries and terror-type anti-civilian methods of warfare was completed quickly and successfully. This rapid response added to the credibility, the reputation, and the visibility of the U.S. Armed Forces in Bosnia.

On the other hand, the U.S. Command in NATO and the U.S. Armed Forces in Bosnia made a deliberate decision not to interfere with the ethnic cleansing of the suburbs of Sarajevo by paramilitary parts of the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) and its auxiliaries, despite their use of standard weapons of terror-type anti-civilian methods, including timed incendiaries, bombing and booby-trapping of civilian targets, and direct violence against civilians, emergency response, and fire emergency personnel.

Then, at the penultimate point of the ethnic cleansing of the Sarajevo suburbs, the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) took limited steps (after nation-wide and world-wide horror at its passivity), by first catching and then releasing terrorists to the Serbian police. IFOR has put minimal efforts into preventing ethnic cleansing.

Most notoriously, IFOR has had a hand in preventing the Federation police from halting ethnic cleansing. IFOR restricted the numbers of Federation policemen that could enter Ilidza immediately following the removal of the Serb occupation forces. On March 29, IFOR turned reality on its head by its claims that attempts by the Federation police to halt arson and looting in

the Sarajevo suburbs constituted a violation of the Dayton Accords.

IFOR and NATO have given the astonishing appearance that they are encouraging the ethnic cleansing of the Sarajevo suburbs, by issuing statements "telling the Serbs that they "have the right to burn their own houses."

At the same time, no visible efforts have yet been made to ensure the free and safe passage of civilians across lines of separation of armed forces within Bosnia, with some limited exceptions in Mostar and a single late-stage initiative beginning at the end of March.

Given that the Dayton Agreement is to be adhered to, flaws and all, then it should not be selectively enforced, especially in not in such a way as to increase or maintain ethnic cleansing.

In these matters, the approach of the U.S. Armed Forces and the NATO Command, especially that of the senior U.S. command in NATO, has been to defer to the wishes of Germany, France, Italy, and England in how the Dayton Peace Accords are enforced.

However, the European powers have been complicit in the ethnic cleansing of Bosnia and attempts at annexation by Croatia and Serbia. A prime example of this is the overturning by the Rome Conference in March, 1996, of the Koschnick Settlement for peace in Mostar, replacing the Koschnick Settlement with a plan for the final partitioning and ethnic cleansing of Mostar, and by implication, Bosnia.

There are those within the U.S. NATO Command and within the Department of Defense that wish to cede the decision-making on enforcement of the Dayton Accords to the European powers (who were never happy with the potential positive outcomes of these accords to begin with, not least because of the U.S. leadership role).

In the case of Caucasian and Central Asia, these same advocates of passivity have engaged in a campaign to have the U.S. cede its interests in the region to the dictates and the whims of an aggressive and dangerous push by the Russian Federation.

The outcomes of war in the Caucasus will have real significance for the United States. This significance does not just originate in the changes in U.S. influence over the transport of transport and sale of Central Asian petroleum and natural gas through the Caucasus.

We only have to look at the impact of the Russian war against the Caucasus on Russian domestic politics to realize the serious global impact of how American decisions are made and what decisions are made in response to the crisis in the Caucasus.

There was an explicit decision made, again following the influence of some groups within the Department of Defense and parts of the U.S. Armed Forces command structure, to comply with the Russian Federation decision to send the Russian Army and Interior Ministry troops into a war against Chechnya, and now Ingushetia.

The origin and explanation for such an agenda is not plainly visible. However, its outcome is apparent. As a consequence of refusing to halt the war, the U.S. has drastically weakened Yeltsin's political position, and with it the political position of the liberals and reformers within the Russian Federation.

The United States has had a major hand in creating a situation in the Russian Federation where Boris Yeltsin will be in the same position that Prime Minister Alexander Kerensky was in July of 1917. Kerensky and his cabinet made the decision to defer to the Russian General Staff and to carry through on the Romanov war plans for a June offensive in 1917. Within one month, there had not only been a victorious German counteroffensive, but the Kronstadt sailors and the Vyborg district workers had almost carried through a seizure of Petrograd, even without the encouragement of Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

Yeltsin and the reformers and liberals (even if they oppose him on the war) are now tainted with being the war party. The Communists and their political allies (even if they are imperialistic or jingoists) will get the popular political credit for at least not having started the war.

Of course, many Russians to this day believe that it was the machinations of the English, the French, and the U.S., that led to Alexander Kerensky not reaching a separate peace with Germany in 1917. And the Communist Party, with Lenin at its head, got the popular credit for being the party of peace; it was this popular credit for being the party of peace that drove the political revolution into a status where the Communists could seize power.

Although it is extremely unlikely that the Communists, if in power once more, would withdraw the Army and the Interior Ministry troops from Chechnya and Ingushetia, they will benefit prior the election from the public anti-war sentiment.

By inserting deficiencies into American actions affecting the Caucasus and Central Asia, this network within the Joint Chiefs and the Department of Defense has hindered our strategictasks in Russia, North Asia, Central Asia, and Europe.

Likewise, in the case of the Balkans, parts of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and some civilian executives within the Department of Defense have urged that we defer to the principal powers in Europe (Germany, France, England, and Italy).

In particular, the U.S. has allowed Germany to influence our activities in the Balkans. The State Department, when it reflects these views, asserts that "the German government and public are deeply averse to all forms of militarism". Such an assurance has no basis in reality; the Bundestag is now considering a law to criminalize further any public statements against the German military, putting it even farther beyond either public scrutiny or criticism.

In similar assurances, the Department of State has said that "over the past forty-five years, the Federal Republic of Germany has proved itself to be a reliable ally which shares many of our interests and values." As for the present reliability and extent of shared interests with Germany, please consider the following:

(1) German industrial interests have played a key role in supplying equipment to construct chemical weapons factories in Libya, which may soon become operational.

(2) German industries supplied weapons and arms technology to Iraq.

(3) Germany is a primary financier of Iran, allowing it sufficient cash to finance terrorism, revolution, and weapons of mass destruction. Germany has refused to assist with the embargo on Iran.

(4) Germany has directed a tremendous flow of weaponry to the Croatian Armed Forces, both in violation of the arms embargo and with damaging consequences for European peace.

Germany has been attempting to reinsert military and economic influence back into Croatia, Bosnia, Slovenia, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, and Poland, using money and arms where these will work (in Slovakia and Croatia), and political intimidation, based on its position at the political fulcrum of the European Union, where arms and money will not work (such as towards the Czech Republic). It has also exhibited an interest in extending similar influences into Moldova and Bulgaria.

In this effort, Germany will have to come into some medium-term agreement with the Russian Federation. Again, the State Department has reassurances. "The Germans have no desire to repeat these policies, which ended in disaster for their country." It is useful to point out that past German agreements with Russia on spheres of influence in Europe have not been based on rational long-term interests, but on short-term political criteria. At the present, as in the 1920s, Germany is near the edge of an economic and political crisis, with resurgent militaristic habits. However, in this case, a stale nationalist government is attempting to fend off an even worse economic

crisis and the potential political consequences. In such a context, any faith in continuity and rationality of the German role in Europe is poorly placed.

The model for such an agreement with Russia can be seen in the negotiations between West Germany and the U.S.S.R. on the merger with East Germany. Clearly, the West Germans, under Kohl, were able to get what they wanted. What did the U.S.S.R. get in return? The Russians have stated publicly that the quid pro quo was to be a secret German effort for waiver of restraints on Russian military activity in Eastern Europe and Central Asia (such as the Conventional Weapons in Europe treaty or the arms embargo on Serbia).

In the same way, Germany has been able to place its armed forces back into the Balkans without any visible protests by the Russian Federation. What else has the Russian Federation obtained in return?

There are strong indications that what the Russian Federation received in return was a free hand, with no complaint from the European Union (or Germany, France, England, or Italy individually) to reconsolidate a military and economic hegemony in the Caucasus and in Central Asia.

For instance, in visits by German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl to the Russian Federation, there have been no criticisms of the war in the Caucasus, which has generally been at its most gruesome and hellish during these placid congratulatory visits by high German officials. In the follow-up to the heavy lobbying by the European Union for the new \$12 billion loan by the IMF to the Russian Federation, Germany followed this with a new \$4.5 billion loan (on top of the tens of billions of dollars that the Russian Federation already owes Germany).

Even more ominous are the military and diplomatic tentacles that Germany has put into the Balkans. For instance, Germany now has a plan afoot to train the Croatian Army on German territory, this September (agreed to by German Defense Minister Volker Ruhe and his Croatian counterpart Gojko Susak in January, 1996).

In the normal course of geopolitics in Europe, one would expect the Russian Federation to oppose the military, economic, and diplomatic entrance of Germany into the Balkans, particularly into Bosnia and Croatia. Nevertheless, and most curiously, the Russian Federation has been silent during this reentry.

It is not possible to conclude other than that Germany and Russia have come to an understanding. If Russia permits Germany to place troops and military bases in Croatia and Croatian-occupied Bosnia, then Germany will turn a blind eye to

the Russian actions in Central Asia, the Caucasus, Serbian-occupied Bosnia, and Serbia.

Consistent with this close political relationship between the governments of Boris Yeltsin and Dr. Helmut Kohl, there has been not a word of dismay from Germany in response to the open plans by Yeltsin to continue arming the JNA, and by extension, its paramilitary auxiliaries in occupied Bosnia.

What has been the American response ? We can be no less than astonished at the level of American complicity in the arming and training of the Croatian Army. Rather than providing a swift veto to both the German and Russian actions, the U.S. has stood aside and let arms and training flow to the two occupying armies. It is impossible to assume other than U.S. compliance when these arms were transferred from countries very sensitive to U.S. viewpoints, such as Germany, Ukraine, Hungary, and Austria.

The Department of State has accepted these German actions, even defending them, and has posited absurdities such as, in May of 1995, saying that "Chancellor Kohl has said that the tragic history of the German occupation of Yugoslavia precludes deployment of ground troops there." Of course, his government never intended to do so, and chose to ignore this commitment within a matter of months, sending one installation of ground troops to Croatia in June of 1995 and another in December of 1995.

The consequences of the U.S. laissez faire approach will be that these two occupying armies will be strengthened, and American interests in Central Europe and Eastern Europe will be damaged. The outcome for Europe is increasing destabilization and regional polarization. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe will find that they are forced to choose military and economic alignment with either Germany or Russia, a sure recipe for undermining the broad western alliance led by the United States.

In much the same way, in the case of Caucasian and Central Asia, there have been powerful advocates within the U.S. government who wish to have America cede its interests in the region to Russian designs.

The outcome will have real significance for the United States; both the commercial and the military results are potentially damaging. On at least one account, by letting the Russian Federation set the pace and course of events in Caucasian and Central Asia, the U.S. will let the Russian Federation control the transport and sale of petroleum and natural gas from Central Asia and the Caspian basin.

In the context of the issue of oil in the Caspian basin, it is useful to consider how American decision-making on Central Asia has been driven. The rational way forward is to consider

America's broad commercial and security interests, develop a plan to enhance them, and then let individual companies make their own way within those outlines. But rather than this approach, we have been swayed by company particulars.

For instance, specific companies have influenced U.S. traffic with Iran. Rather than maintaining a stable regime over the volume and particulars of commercial and financial transactions, we have oscillated between permissiveness and rigor.

The rational approach to the Iranian government is to openly assert that we recognize their intentions to sponsor terrorism, violent revolution, and weapons proliferation. Then, having done so, American diplomats or intermediaries (such as retired U.S. diplomats and politicians) can sit down with the government in Teheran and establish a working channel for communication that will not give the Iranian regime the benefits of public friendliness by America.

Iranian actions in the Middle East and Central Asia have been no more hostile than those of Russia, China, Pakistan, or Syria. Fortunately, the American strategy of containment has at least been clearly put forth, but because of the loose cannons of private industry and the foolishness of the Republican Congress, there have been difficulties in implementation.

One aspect of this difficulty in implementation has been what to do about the transshipment of oil and natural gas from the Caspian basin to Europe and East Asia. Private U.S. companies have different interests in different routes, but American interests lie in giving neither Turkey nor Iran nor Russia a lock on transshipment. If possible, the countries of origin (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and the Caucasian Republics) should have as much autonomy as possible to choose routes without susceptibility to military or economic pressure.

For this reason, the route through Iran must be left open, and although it is in our interest to do so, we should be getting something from the Iranians in return. This could include, for instance, restraint in nuclear weapons development, perhaps coupled with Iranian willingness to provide diplomatic support for a test ban treaty and a nuclear-free zone in Central and South Asia. In return, Iran would have U.S. technology and financing for a small oil transshipment pipeline from a Caspian Sea port to the Gulf. This would be a small price for the U.S. to pay for something that is in our natural interests (i.e., a viable alternative to a transshipment route through Russia or Armenia). For face-saving reasons, the U.S. could nominate commercial proxies in Pakistan, Azerbaijan, or Kazakhstan to carry out the transactions.

By these means, if we have the political resilience to resist specific commercial lobbies, we would keep Iran on our

active communication list, while enhancing our clout in Iraq, Turkey, the Russian Federation, and all of Central Asia.

Again, this strategy will not be pursued if we simply follow the lead of Russia and Turkey in their separate pursuits of selfinterest and agendas in the region. Those who have advocated abdicating our directive role have made assurances similar to those made about Germany. And they suggest that "exercises with the Russian military improve our understanding of this key institution in Russian society and lays the foundation for effective cooperation with Moscow on important security issues of common interest like Bosnia."

This brand of neglect could be characterized as willful naivety. It certainly will neither produce positive outcomes or enhance our diplomatic and military reputation.

Perhaps the type of cooperation that can be expected from the Russian Federation in Central Asia can be extrapolated based on the following:

(1) The senior Russian military officer sent to oversee American officers in Bosnia at Bjeljina and to share U.S. intelligence windfalls in Bosnia was a senior Russian officer in the battle to capture Grozny in 1995 (Colonel Alexander Lentzov). This fact alone is a damning indictment of the current American approach to military cooperation with the Russian Federation. The primary fact of the war against Chechnya is that more than 40,000 civilians have been intentionally slaughtered, while the Russian General Command and Ministry of the Interior has succeeded in brutalizing an entire generation of young Russian men.

One would think that after experiences in Vietnam, Haiti, and El Salvador, that the U.S. Armed Forces commanders would be shy of close and supportive association with such war criminals and sociopaths. However, the U.S. senior commanders appear to be as indifferent as ever to the contamination of American fighting men and women, in this case by close cooperation with the Russian and Serbian armed forces. It seems to remain the Pentagon's unwritten rule to enforce passivity on American soldiers in the face of war crimes and attacks on civilians.

(2) The Russian Federation has adamantly proceeded with sales of nuclear technology to Iran. It continues with arms sales, including advanced fighters, to China and to India.

(3) It remains to be seen what the Russian role has been and continues to be in the development of Indian ballistic missiles.

Boris Yeltsin has been habitually deceptive in his public statements on the Russian war against Chechnya. For example, he has repeatedly stated that the assault on the Caucasus will cease, while in fact, these attacks continue unabated.

The Russian President has made it clear that it is his intention that neither Chechnya nor any other part of his dominion will be allowed to determine its own future. This dictum has been accompanied by a final solution that includes the razing of villages and towns, the subjection of surrounded towns and villages and their populations to sustained air and ground artillery attacks, and the use of concentration camps, as well as an enlargement of the war to Ingushetia. The Russian war plan is to use massive retaliation against the civilian population in return for any armed resistance; these acts will inevitably lead to greater political decay in Central Asia and Russia.

To see where the Kremlin's war in the Caucasus and expansion in Central Asia is aimed, one need only consider that Russia, under new Foreign Minister Yevgeni Primakov's direction, by arming Iran and encouraging Iraq, will now directly oppose U.S. dual containment strategy.

Again, the U.S. cannot encourage this behavior. Just as we blundered by permitting the rearming and training of Croatia, prior to the expulsion of the Krajina Serbs, we have too long acquiesced to German and Russian intentions.

It is not hard to find where the sources of this error are. There are those, both in the private parties used in such mistaken actions (such as Military Professional Resources Inc.) and in the portions of senior officer staff linked to them (such as those in the DIA), who are intentionally undermining our influence over the European powers. We cannot continue to do so and retain our national safety.

We must place American strategic needs ahead of any private or institutional players. This means recognizing that we cannot continue to sponsor the Russian Federation's plans for empire and its wars in Asia. And we cannot let Germany create satellites in Central Europe, in either Croatia or elsewhere.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc Scheduling
April

April 9, 1996

Dr. Jim Henry
President
The Southern Baptist Convention
3701 L.B. McLeod Road
Orlando, Florida 32805-6691

Dear Jim:

Thank you for the invitation to worship with you at First Baptist Church, should my travels bring me to Central Florida on a Sunday. Although I am never sure what my calendar will hold, I have asked my schedulers, Stephanie Streett and Anne Walley, to look into your suggestion.

The assurance of your prayerful support means a great deal to me. I always feel strengthened and uplifted by the prayers of the faithful.

May God continue to guide and bless you in His ministry.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 9, 1996

O. S. Hawkins
Pastor
First Baptist Church
1707 San Jacinto
Dallas, Texas 75201

Dear O. S.:

Thank you for your letter forwarded to me by
Rex Horne. Your candor and forthrightness are
sincerely appreciated.

Although there are countless issues upon which
conscientious, faithful Christians earnestly
disagree, these differences of opinion need not
separate us nor deter us from seeking the
common good.

Knowing of your prayers for me means a great
deal. Be assured of mine for you in your
pastoral leadership that God will continue to
guide and bless you in His ministry.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton
Thank you



Send

Linda Lader

March 25, 1996

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President,

I am praying for you most frequently during these days. I trust you are doing well.

I am enclosing a letter I received from O. S. Hawkins, pastor of First Baptist Church Dallas. This is the church W. A. Criswell has served for 50 years!

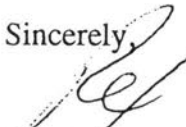
I appreciate O. S.'s letter. If I may be so presumptuous as to recommend you answer his letter, but if you think of doing anything else, please give me a call first.

Also, I've enclosed a copy of the letter Jim Henry sent you. I would not hesitate to take him up on this offer. Again, If I can give my insight there, I would be pleased to do so.

Mr. President, I know the political season is going fast and furious now. If you would like to meet with a small group of younger influential pastors, I feel sure they would be honored to visit with you. I would include Hawkins and Jack Graham from Dallas, Rick Warren from California, and perhaps to add some "flavor," Bill Hybels and Max Lucado.

May the Lord bless you, today!

Sincerely,


Dr. Rex M. Horne, Jr.
RMH/mlw

Enclosures

W/HO-D/B
only

THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

Jim Henry, President

March 20, 1996

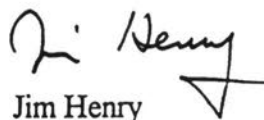
The Honorable Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President and Hillary,

In these busy, demanding and perilous days, I just wanted you to know of our prayers for God's wisdom, guidance and counsel. I also wanted to invite you to worship with us if your campaign brings you through Central Florida on a Sunday, any time between now and November. You will be graciously received and we'll work with your people to make the experience a positive one, a time for spiritual and soul refreshment and encouragement in the faith.

Have a terrific day.

In Abiding Prayer
and Friendship,


Jim Henry

JH/sm

Numbers 6:24-26
James 1:5

cc: Flo McAfee
✓ Rex Horne



O. S. HAWKINS, PASTOR
FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH
DALLAS, TEXAS 75201

Mr. President —

GREETINGS FROM DALLAS ^{and our} FIRST BAPTIST
CHURCH. ALTHOUGH I AM NOT CONSIDERED
AS "FACILELLIAN" BY THOSE WHO KNOW ME, I
HAVE BEEN A RATHER OUTSPOKEN CRITIC OF
YOU & ^{many} OF YOUR POLICIES & APPOINTMENTS
IN THE PAST. I HAD DINNER WITH OUR MUTUAL
FRIEND, BILLY HUBBS, LAST WEEK. I CAME AWAY ^{deeply}
CONVICTED AT THE POINT THAT I HAVE FAILED YOU &
MOST IMPORTANTLY OUR LORD IN NOT PRAYING FOR YOU
AS REGULARLY AS I SHOULD. I HAVE ASKED REX
TO PASS ALONG THIS NOTE TO YOU ASSURING YOU
OF THE JOY I HAVE FOUND THIS WEEK IN CALLING
YOUR NAME TO THE LORD. I LOOK FORWARD TO
VISITING WITH YOU SOME TIME IN THE FUTURE.

Blessings to you -

O. S.

3/20/96

Handwritten text in Urdu script, possibly a signature or a note, written on a yellowed piece of paper. The text is written in black ink and includes the words "میں نے" (I have) and "کے" (of). The paper is torn and has two yellow diagonal lines drawn across it.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 12, 1996

Millard Fuller
Habitat for Humanity International
121 Habitat Street
Americus, Georgia 31709-3498

Dear Millard:

Thanks for your letter of April 4. It was so good to have you here for the signing of the Housing Opportunity Program Act although I'm sorry we weren't able to visit longer.

Your plans for the twentieth anniversary of Habitat for Humanity sound wonderful. While I'm not yet sure what my schedule will hold over Labor Day weekend, I've asked Stephanie Streett and Anne Walley, my schedulers, to keep the event in mind.

Your prayers and support during this difficult time are greatly appreciated. Please give my best to Linda and to Georgia.

Sincerely,

Bill



Habitat for Humanity International

Building houses in partnership with God's people in need

April 4, 1996

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

Dear Bill,

It was great to see you again last Thursday. I only wish we could have had more time to visit together.

I do want to thank you again for supporting us on the legislation which provides funds for land and infrastructure for Habitat for Humanity houses. This money should greatly enhance our ability to build more houses for needy families in the months ahead.

You have long been so supportive, both as a friend and as a partner with Habitat for Humanity. Personally, and as president of Habitat for Humanity, I want to express my deepest appreciation to you for all you have done, and continue to do, for this work.

On a personal note, you can see that I am copying our daughter, Georgia. I want her to know about my good visit with you. She will be pleased to learn that you are fully informed on her "Swiss connection".

I do hope you, Hillary and Chelsea can be with us for at least a part of our 20th Anniversary Celebration in Atlanta over Labor Day weekend--August 30, 31-September 1. And, especially, we want you to be our honored guests at the concert at the Omni on that Sunday evening, September 1. As we discussed, Ken Kragen is producing that outstanding event and he is just as hopeful as I am that you will be able to be with us.

ABC Television does plan to film the event and show it nationwide later in the week. Ken has many outstanding entertainers already lined up to perform that evening including Harry Belafonte, Kenny G, Kenny Rogers, Amy Grant, Reba McIntyre, and others.

Take care. Linda joins me in sending all of our love to you and to Hillary and Chelsea. May God continue to guide you in your leadership of our beloved nation.

In enduring friendship and with profound gratitude,

Millard Fuller

MF/slt

cc: Georgia Fuller

*P.S. Our prayers are with you
as you deal with the tragedy of
the plane crash.*

M.

96 APR 15 A8:09

THE AMERICAN
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
IN FRANCE : 09



Office of the President

April 4, 1996

The Honorable William J. Clinton,
President of the United States,
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.,
Washington, DC 20500,
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. President:

It was with shock and sadness that I learned of the death of Ron Brown and his party yesterday evening.

Secretary Brown was a great friend and supporter of American business abroad and of American Chambers of Commerce. We in France were always impressed by his willingness to find time in his crowded schedule to meet with us when he was here and to discuss in an open, intelligent way our mutual concerns.

I spoke with Secretary Brown for the last time at a small reception organized by Pamela Harriman at the Embassy Residence on Tuesday evening just before he left for the airport to fly to Bosnia. He was clearly excited at the prospect of the trip, and the initiative of bringing high level business executives to Bosnia in an effort to stimulate the kind of economic development which must occur if there is to be lasting peace in that region reflected well Ron Brown's thoughtful and imaginative approach to developing practical solutions to seemingly intractable problems.

He will be missed.

To : Jim Denskind

4/15/96

Sincerely,


Richard G. Asthalter