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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	re: Human Radiation Contact List [partial] (1 page)	05/13/1996	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 7697

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files May 11-17, 1996: Tuesday, May 14, 1996

2019-0774-S
rs3317

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]

Chen

1

To Darshin
for reply
Per Phil

original sent

-John

96 MAY 14 P5:32

Donald R. Beall
Chairman of the Board and
Chief Executive Officer

May 14, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

Your leadership, exemplified by your organizing the forum for CEOs this week and bringing to the forefront of national debate the issues of corporate responsibility and corporate citizenship, is commendable. Because of an unexpected development, I now, regrettably, am unable to join you and the others in Washington. However, I thought you, your staff and the Cabinet might be interested in Rockwell's perspective on these matters.

As you said recently, "Our business community is the engine of economic growth ... the envy of the entire world." Indeed, the U.S. economy is once again the most productive in the world. American business today is more intensely customer-focused than ever before. As a result, many companies in many industries are growing market shares on a global basis, creating good American jobs by the thousands. We are the world leaders in developing the new technologies that will improve the quality of life for millions, perhaps billions, of people the world over. And we are leading the transformation from a manufacturing era that focused on domestic mass production to one focused on flexibility and specialization to meet the unique needs of our many and diverse customers wherever in the world they are.

At Rockwell, as at many other companies, the single most important ingredient of our success has been the tremendous efforts of our people. Our approach to involving our people has evolved over time from a more traditional command-and-control philosophy that worked very well during an earlier era, to an approach where we have sought and received personal leadership and accountability in the workplace from all of our people as we must in today's much fiercer competitive environment.

As you do, Mr. President, I travel extensively all over the world. I meet with customers, business partners, suppliers, government officials and many of our 82,000 Rockwell employees worldwide. And I can tell you firsthand that our people are excited, energized

and fully engaged in all aspects of our business -- and are the reason Rockwell is achieving such excellent levels of performance in our very challenging global markets.

We want to sustain this excellent performance. In fact, we are pursuing a shared Vision at Rockwell: to earn and maintain the reputation as the best diversified high technology company in the world ... not as I and others on our Board judge us, but as evaluated by four other key groups. These "judges" include not just two groups by whom observers of corporate America might expect us to be judged -- our shareowners and our customers -- but by two other very key constituencies, our employees and our communities. Our goals in these areas are: to be recognized as the best place to work; and to be known as engaged, enthusiastic supporters of our communities. Though much work remains to be done to achieve both goals, we believe we're well on our way.

Our goals in these areas dovetail very well, in fact, with the goals you've set and the concerns you've expressed in the area of corporate citizenship and corporate responsibility.

I want to share with you some of our philosophy on these issues, and tell you about just a few of the many actions we're taking at Rockwell ... using the "challenge areas" as your staff has outlined them for this week's forum. Then I'd like to ask for your help on a few public policy initiatives that we believe could help us improve our overall competitiveness so that we could build even more of these kinds of activities and programs into the Rockwell of tomorrow.

In the first "challenge" area, "creating and maintaining family friendly workplaces that allow workers to be both productive and caring, responsible family members," we at Rockwell recognize that work, health, family and continuous learning are important facets of our lives, and believe our work environment can and should support a balance in these varied aspects of our lives. Our ongoing series of programs and activities include:

- a variety of child and elder care programs including an on-site child care in Cedar Rapids, Iowa that benefits more than 200 children and offers a sliding fee scale for lower income parents;
- many convenient on-site services ranging from dry cleaning to shoe repair to on-call family pagers, and including on-site prescription delivery through our very popular Rockwell pharmacy, which serves over 150,000 employees, retirees and their dependents and will save employees and the company \$5 million in FY 96 alone; and
- various flexible scheduling options including a compressed workweek, job sharing and telecommuting. In fact, one of our paralegals who has a son whose muscular

dystrophy requires considerable medical care told us her Rockwell flex time has been a "true blessing" in her life.

- Other activities at Rockwell that promote a family friendly workplace include adoption assistance, health fairs and on-site fitness centers and a variety of family leave programs, most of which were in place before federal law mandated our compliance.

In the second "challenge" area, "providing economic security that a living wage, health care and pension benefits can guarantee," we have long been proud of our activities at Rockwell. Toward this end:

- The compensation of our hourly employees has improved with wage and COLA increases of between 18-20% over a three-year period. Through the cooperative involvement of our unions, these wage increases have been leveraged by significant productivity gains.
- Many of our businesses are implementing business performance-based salary programs. Our fastest growing business, Semiconductor Systems, the world leader in fax and data modem chips and headquartered here in California, ties all 4,300 employees into a package that has a potential payout this year of \$9.2 million if the business's goals are exceeded.
- Our Rockwell Savings Plan, in place for several decades now, is a real favorite of our workforce and a significant competitive differentiator for us when compared to what is offered by many other companies. Most of our salaried employees and an increasing percentage of our hourly employees participate. On average, salaried employees save 7% of their earnings, matched by 75% of free Rockwell stock. The average value of savings plan holdings today is \$122,000 per employee, up from \$82,000 three years ago. Clearly, our people are benefiting from the increase in "shareowner value" we're generating as our stock price continues to rise. I might add that in holding 24% of Rockwell common stock through the savings plan and other avenues, Rockwell employees make up a significant element of our "shareowner" constituency!
- On health care, we are self-insured and cover all 61,000 of our U.S. employees and their families as well as 55,000 retirees at an annual cost of \$450 million. We have a partnership with our employees to save costs, which we are sharing with them through lower premium rates.
- We also recognized early the needs of those who don't work to their normal retirement date, and provided that employees could leave the company, come back

and still get the benefits of past service -- again, before any federal regulations required it.

In the third challenge area, "investing in employees through education and training for new skills and advancement," our viewpoint and activities encompass two broad areas: the education of our next generation, and continuous learning among our present workforce.

- Rockwell contributes to education not only with our checkbook (\$50 million over the last decade) but also by donating equipment and employees' personal time to help develop curricula and set local policy through service on school boards. Though historically we've been most active at the college and university level, K-through-12 is our most significant focus today. Our "Advanced Career Training" (ACT) program in partnership with local school districts has "graduated" more than 26,000 students over more than a quarter century, many of whom have later come to work for Rockwell businesses; each year during National Engineers Week (a significant effort I led as national chair in 1994), we send more than 500 engineers into schools to help inspire students to study math and science and consider engineering as a career and a way to help improve our society; our "Parents, Kids and Computers" program has graduated 2,000 students and parents in Florida and California and 300 are on the waiting list to get in; and with the assistance of the Los Angeles Educational Partnership, I recently convened a broad group of business executives, school district superintendents, educators and teacher representatives which resulted in a 12-year plan to improve math and science in Los Angeles schools, focusing mainly on K-8 teacher enhancement, the area identified as having the greatest leverage in student achievement.
- We believe it is only through our employees' personal commitments to continuous learning and development that our company and its employees will together reach our full productive potential. Rockwell's current annual investment of \$72 million in education and training is about 2.2% of payroll, compared to the American Society of Training and Development's norm of 1.5%. We increased our company investment 20% in 1996 and, with the upcoming rollout of our worldwide Rockwell Training Institute, we expect another 15-20% increase in 1997. Our 30-year-old educational reimbursement program alone has invested more than \$15 million during the last three years to help employees return to college or university studies.

In the fourth "challenge" area, "partnering with employees so that they have a voice in the workplace and share the burdens and benefits of good times and bad," our activities are significant:

- More than 1,000 of our people helped us develop and shape our Vision for the future that I mentioned earlier in my letter.

- We have at work, across functions and businesses and with our customers and suppliers, literally hundreds of Integrated Product Teams that are finding solutions that are often clearly superior than any one unit would likely find on its own (many of these teams are also self-managing, which further empowers our workforce and reduces overhead).
- I have personally traveled to visit the workplaces of thousands of these employees over the past four years, presenting more than 1,700 with our Chairman's Team Award.
- We've redefined union/management relations, now negotiating master contracts in a non-adversarial "win-win" process and including employee involvement in our union plants. Work processes have improved, along with productivity, and we have had a harmonious relationship with our unions for more than a decade.
- We've also made a great effort to develop training and outplacement centers for people we've had to let go. Most recently, services offered by our Employment Transition Center in Anaheim, California included resume consulting and preparation, telephone/copier/fax/mail/PC services, and job interviewing classes. Overall, 16,000 visits were made to the center and thousands of clients obtained new jobs.

Your final "challenge" area involves "providing safe and secure workplaces that protect the health and safety of employees through management commitment and employee involvement." Workplace safety is a core value at Rockwell. We are committed to being among the top five in the U.S. as judged by OSHA by the year 2000. We call this world-class safety performance. Already, 87 of 205 company facilities have achieved this level of performance and the others are working towards it. We voluntarily participate in OSHA's STAR program in some plants, and have plans to expand to other Rockwell facilities. In addition, we are learning from another company, DuPont, which has pioneered a unique safety training program we are using throughout our operations.

Now let me turn to public policy. Efforts by business alone to improve our society will not be enough. The government must help in removing or easing impediments that keep us from reaching our full potential. Again, I've grouped our needs for government help by "challenge" area.

- Family Friendly Workplace -- We could benefit by amendment of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to permit employers to give workers greater flexibility in scheduling their work weeks. As you may know, the law as currently written sets 40-hour work weeks as standard and requires employees covered by the act to be paid time-and-a-half overtime for each hour over the 40-hour standard worked in a given week. Employees could not work, for example, 30 hours one week and 50

the next at regular pay, even if both workers and employer agreed. I ask for your support for legislation (S. 1129 and H.R. 2391) to permit greater workweek flexibility.

- Economic Security -- The first step toward economic security is strong economic growth, which will expand job opportunities, increase wages and improve the nation's standard of living. I urge you, Mr. President, to advance: the pro-growth agenda of the Business Roundtable and other trade groups who have advocated a balanced federal budget, a smarter, more cost-effective regulatory system, a simplified tax system that encourages investment in the economy and in intellectual capital, and international trade and investment initiatives that will enhance America's global competitiveness; and Administration actions that will encourage our trading partners to implement policies that eliminate business practices that disadvantage American businesses due to the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act. I might add that your leadership on NAFTA and GATT was tremendous. We also urge you to press for speedy enactment of recent Senate- and House-passed legislation (now with conferees) that guarantees health insurance coverage and renewal for all groups regardless of individual health status.
- Investing in Employees -- Make permanent the exclusion from income taxes of employer reimbursements of tuition assistance to employees (Sect. 127). Because this law is not permanent, it creates a lot of uncertainty among employees as to whether they'll owe additional taxes at year end. It's not only a hardship for some employees but a disincentive for others to continue their lifelong learning. Also, we urge you to prevail upon Congress to complete their work aimed at consolidating the 150 or so separate government job training programs into a new comprehensive workforce development system at the state and local level. This will eliminate redundancies, bring help closer to the people who can benefit, and give them a speedier "leg up" into the fast-changing global labor market.
- Partnering with Employees - Pass the Teamwork for Employees and Managers (TEAM) Act, so that worker-management teams that have increased our ability to compete in the global marketplace become protected by law. Right now, a 60-year-old law makes workplace cooperation illegal for the 85 percent of American workers who are not union members.
- Safe and Secure Workplaces - I urge your Administration to codify your efforts to "reinvent" OSHA. We believe you share with industry many worthy goals in this area, including encouraging employee involvement in workplace safety and health matters, elimination of inspection quotas, restructuring of penalties to recognize employer good faith efforts, better targeting of enforcement resources and elimination of fines for nit-picking violations. Bipartisan bills (H.R. 1834 and

year-old law makes workplace cooperation illegal for the 85 percent of American workers who are not union members.

- Safe and Secure Workplaces - I urge your Administration to codify your efforts to "reinvent" OSHA. We believe you share with industry many worthy goals in this area, including encouraging employee involvement in workplace safety and health matters, elimination of inspection quotas, restructuring of penalties to recognize employer good faith efforts, better targeting of enforcement resources and elimination of fines for nit-picking violations. Bipartisan bills (H.R. 1834 and

S. 1434) to codify these proposals into law deserve your support. Together, we can ensure adequate protection of workers' health and safety without imposing unfair burdens on employers.

Thank you again, Mr. President, for your interest and leadership on these issues and for giving us at Rockwell the occasion to assemble and communicate to you our many activities and thoughts in these areas.

Sincerely,

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

Donald R. Beall

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5/13/96

through Staff Sec.
cc: NH

96 MAY 13. A9:21 OFFICE OF
CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM J. JEFFERSON
240 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-1988 / FAX
(202) 225-6636 / OFFICE

TO:

Nancy

FAX NO.:

456-6703

FROM:

LIONEL COLLINS, JR.
CHIEF OF STAFF
THE HONORABLE WILLIAM J. JEFFERSON
MEMBER OF CONGRESS
SECOND DISTRICT, STATE OF LOUISIANA

TIME:

NUMBER OF PAGES(INCLUDING COVER):

2

5-13-96

COMMENTS:

From Rebecca -

Send to scheduling?

Yes ✓

And John
HILLEH
C.

WILLIAM J. JEFFERSON
SECOND DISTRICT, LOUISIANA

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
240 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-1802
(202) 225-8836

LIONEL R. COLLINS, JR.
CHIEF OF STAFF

DISTRICT OFFICE:
1012 MALE BOGGS FEDERAL BUILDING
501 MAGAZINE STREET
NEW ORLEANS, LA 70130
(504) 588-2274

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-1802

COMMITTEES:
NATIONAL SECURITY

SUBCOMMITTEE:
PROCUREMENT

HOUSE OVERSIGHT
JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING
DEMOCRATIC STEERING AND
POLICY COMMITTEE
WHIP AT-LARGE

May 10, 1996

Ms. Nancy Hernreich
Deputy Assistant to the President
& Director of Oval Office Operations
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Nancy:

I have been asked to set up a brief meeting with the President and the two new Members of Congress, Congresswoman Juanita Millender-McDonald of California and Congressman Elijah Cummings of Maryland. These two Members could be very helpful to the President in the coming months and would like to pay a him a courtesy visit.

I would appreciate it if a meeting could be scheduled for next week, if the President's schedule permits.

Nancy, thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,



William J. Jefferson
Member of Congress

WJJ:lrc

5



Nancy Henreich
Deputy Assistant to
the President and Director
of Oval Office Operations
The White House
The Executive Office
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

10 5555-5555

[illegible]



PUBLIC ADVOCATE FOR THE CITY OF NEW YORK

96 MAY 14 P5:05

May 8, 1996

MARK GREEN
Public Advocate

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

Dear Mr. President:

Thanks so much for joining in and kicking off "Kick Butts Day."

It worked. Kids, of course, loved hearing from you but they also loved going into the field, doing surveys and, well, kicking butt -- especially a target such as tobacco firms.

Your staff was great to us. But like any first-time effort (I'm here thinking of our respective congressional races), it was a bit ragged -- in large part because we tried to do in eight weeks what should have taken eight months. Also, FYI, we got a national telecommunications firm, EMG (owned by Sumner Redstone) to teleconference you (pro bono) from Woodbridge to 3,800 schools around the country; but because you were on a political swing, the campaign would have had to pick-up the tab. So it was scratched. Groan.

Since we really do want to make it an annual event -- because every year there's a new crop of 8th graders who are targeted and because our goal was a recurring "Earth Day" for kids against cigarettes" -- please tolerate us returning post-election to have you back for an even better Butts II next year. Without campaign financing complications in '97, we can promise not dozens but thousands of schools to be teleconferenced together to hear your vision and words.

Best regards,

Mark

Mark Green

/mp

cc: Harold Ickes

Jennifer O'Connor

Document: Clinton.ltr

P.S. Because of a glitch at my end, no Queens student was able to talk to you. I promised them I'd send you their questions/comments.

1 CENTRE STREET NEW YORK, NY 10007 TEL: (212) 669-7200 FAX: (212) 669-4701

mgreen@pubadvocate.nyc.gov TTY: (212) 669-7438

GCU

Q: We are all aware that banning the sales of cigarettes would result in the having to pay a great deal of money, but does it not cost the U.S. more money to support those who suffer from the affects of cigarette smoking ?

M.A.

Q: Cocaine and marijuana have been called illegal drugs, why is a cancer causing drug like tobacco not given the same title?

C.P.

Q: New York City has laws that prohibit smoking in areas where people have to be, why can the government not withhold federal funds thereby pressuring states to install laws similar to those of NYC?

M.S.



PUBLIC ADVOCATE FOR THE CITY OF NEW YORK

MARK GREEN
Public Advocate

May 8

Dear Nancy,

My family and I can't thank you enough for your kindness and courtesy when we visited with the President in the Oval Office after a radio address last month.

That was also when I explained my idea for "Kick Butts Day" to him, which came off well yesterday.

If you could pass on my thank you letter to him re 'Kick Butts,' I'd appreciate it.

Best,
Mark

The Cullinane Group, Inc.

Specializing in American/Irish High Technology Ventures

John J. Cullinane
President

96 MAY 14 P5:09

MEMORANDUM

*Pres has
not seen -
enclosure
Pres. ply*

TO: The Honorable William J. Clinton
FROM: John Cullinane *[Signature]*
DATE: May 14, 1996
SUBJECT: Northern Ireland

I just returned from Belfast where I addressed an economic conference and also met with various community leaders. I was most impressed with the progress made to date, but concerned with the underlying tension and the need for jobs for the people of West Belfast, both Protestants and Catholics, as soon as possible.

Last evening, I had the opportunity to listen to Secretary William Perry's speech on using defense at The Kennedy School. He did an outstanding job, as did Secretary Christopher in the recent past. I also had the chance to have dinner with Secretary Perry. The thought occurred to me during dinner that Belfast has a long tradition of shipbuilding and repair. Why not send a major ship to Belfast for repair? This could create a lot of jobs overnight and might just be key to keeping the peace. I realize there are laws governing where U.S. ships are repaired, etc., but it doesn't have to be an American ship. It's the jobs that are all-important.

JJC/mb
cc Nancy Soderberg

*5/14 from OCAK original sent
Todd, NSC
TO Donald for reply
— yes — no*

5/14 from Oval

Todd ~~Jim Keating~~ original set

To ~~Chris Walker~~ to handle?

✓ yes — no

cc ~~Katie~~ McIntyre

BYRON L. DORGAN
NORTH DAKOTA
713 HART BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3405
202-224-2951
202-224-9378 TDD

COMMITTEES:
COMMERCE, SCIENCE & TRANSPORTATION
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
ENERGY & NATURAL RESOURCES
INDIAN AFFAIRS
ETHICS

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3405

96 MAY 14 P5:10

May 10, 1996

STATE OFFICES:

312 FEDERAL BUILDING
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P.O. BOX 2579
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P.O. BOX 2250
FARGO, ND 58107
701-239-5389

102 NORTH 4TH STREET, ROOM 108
GRAND FORKS, ND 58201
701-746-8972

100 1ST STREET, S.W., ROOM 105
MINOT, ND 58701
701-852-0703

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I want to join many of my Senate colleagues in expressing my support for the environmental analysis conducted by the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) relating to its rule on open access electric power transmissions and wholesale electric competition, Order No. 888.

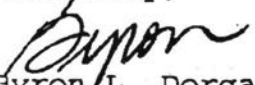
I understand that you may be receiving comments from others who are claiming that Order No. 888 will increase the amount of harmful emissions released into the atmosphere. They are also seeking a review of the Order by the Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ). I am asking you to resist this inappropriate effort which would unnecessarily delay the implementation of the FERC rule.

FERC has fully reviewed, with input from the Environmental Protection Agency, the environmental issues relating to implementation of its recent Order and prepared a Final Environmental Impact Statement (FEIS) finding that the rule would not adversely affect the environment. In fact, the FEIS found that air pollution could decrease overall as a result of Order No. 888.

Its clear that referral of this matter to the CEQ is unnecessary and inappropriate. CEQ review would not improve the FERC Order but would only raise other policy matters that should be addressed independently.

Again, while I have not had an opportunity to consider every aspect of FERC's extensive ruling, I believe that its environmental analysis was both thorough and accurate. Therefore, I urge you to reject any efforts to have the Order reviewed by the CEQ.

Sincerely,


Byron L. Dorgan
U.S. Senator

U.S. Senator Byron L. Dorgan

To: The White House

With: _____

Fax: 456-6703

Voice: _____

From:

Mike Eggl
Office of Senator Byron L. Dorgan
Hart 713
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510-3405

fax 202-224-1193
voice 202-224-3486
mike_eggl@dorgan.senate.gov

Cover plus 1

IMMANUEL
BAPTIST
CHURCH

96 MAY 14 P 1: 57

May 6, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President,

I am enclosing a letter and information from Dr. Jerry Rankin, president of our Foreign Mission Board - a good man.

You have a strong record in religious freedom and liberty at home and abroad. I thought you might want to give this a personal look and perhaps send a brief note to Dr. Rankin.

Call on me!

Your pastor and friend,

Ref
Dr. Rex M. Horne, Jr.

RMH/mlw
Enclosures

original sent
5/14
TO ~~President~~ for reply
Muhl
yes — no
(from OUAL)

S.



Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention

Jerry A. Rankin, President • P.O. Box 6767 • 3806 Monument Avenue, Richmond, Virginia 23230-0767 • (804) 353-0151

2 May 1996

Dr. Rex Horne
Immanuel Baptist Church
1000 Bishop Street
Little Rock, AR 72202

Dear Rex:

The attached copy of a letter deals with a matter of grave concern regarding the status of Baptists and other evangelicals in Israel. If you deem it appropriate and are comfortable in doing so, would you mind bringing this to the attention of President Clinton should you have an opportunity? You may have many requests to share matters with the President and do not feel it appropriate to discuss such concerns in the context of a pastoral relationship with him. We would understand fully if you thought it inappropriate to mention this to the President.

I pray God's blessings upon your ministry at Immanuel Baptist Church and your service as president of the Arkansas Baptist Convention. We appreciate the world vision of Arkansas Baptists and rejoice in our partnership with you in bringing the lost peoples of the world to saving faith in Jesus Christ.

Sincerely yours,

Jerry Rankin, President
Foreign Mission Board, S.B.C.



Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention

Jerry A. Rankin, President • P.O. Box 6767 • 3806 Monument Avenue, Richmond, Virginia 23230-0767 • (804) 353-0151

May 2, 1996

The Honorable Warren Christopher
Secretary of State
State Department
Washington, D.C. 20520-6243

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Our organization, Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, is a member of the United Christian Council in Israel, an organization of evangelical churches and ministries in Israel. UCCI is the only organization of evangelicals in Israel. There is a matter which is of great concern to us and to the UCCI--the issue of religious liberty for evangelicals in Israel.

Although the Declaration of the State of Israel (a document which is not legally binding) refers to religious freedom, there is no legal definition of that term and there is no constitutionally enforceable right of religious liberty in Israel. The Government of Israel has undertaken to respect the religious "Status Quo" which existed at the time of the establishment of the state in 1948 and some longer established churches are classified under pre-existing law as millets; that is, recognized religious communities with ecclesiastical courts and so forth. But, since the meaning, extent, and applicability of the "Status Quo" has never been clarified in law, even churches which are part of the "millet" system are not guaranteed the full range of rights which modern ideas of religious liberty require, and churches which are not part of that system are in an even less favorable position and have to depend on the variable "good will" of whatever government happens to be in power when a problem arises. It was against that background the the Vatican found it necessary to sign a treaty with the State of Israel in order to lay the basis for establishing what religious freedom actually means in practical terms. Negotiations between those two parties are currently in progress to implement the treaty.

The Vatican has stated that it is not negotiating on behalf of any other church but the Government of Israel has made it clear that it intends in some way to confer on other churches whatever "benefit" derives from the negotiations with the Vatican. The UCCI finds this situation untenable. On the one hand, not everything sought by the Vatican is relevant to the evangelical churches; while on the other hand, not everything required by those churches is being sought by the Vatican.

The UCCI has therefore been attempting for more than a year to get the Government of Israel, via the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to begin negotiations with the evangelical and other churches in order to define what is meant by religious freedom and to determine how that right can be realized in practical terms concerning such things as visas, ownership of property, taxes, and so on. Unfortunately, we have not so far received from the Government of Israel any positive response to our request for negotiations, and

The Honorable Warren Christopher

May 2, 1996

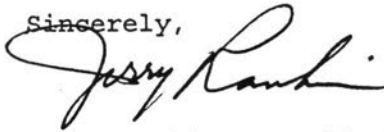
Page 2

as time passes the danger increases that we will end up being presented within an adequate and unacceptable "fait accompli."

On behalf of the Foreign Mission Board, I would therefore urge you to help us by raising the issue of legally guaranteed religious freedom for evangelical churches in Israel through the appropriate diplomatic means at your disposal. The key question you might ask is: Does the government of Israel intend to acknowledge the needs and rights of evangelical churches in the country and to guarantee in law respect for those rights by all government departments and agencies and at all governmental levels?

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter. If you have any further questions, please contact me or Rev. Tom Hocutt, Chairman, UCCI, 50/9 Ahuza St, Ra'anana, ISRAEL, Tel: 972-9-432832 or FAX: 972-9-432081.

Sincerely,



Jerry Rankin, President
Foreign Mission Board, S.B.C.

JR/cm

cc: Mr. Strobe Talbott, Deputy Secretary
Mr. Donald Bandler, Director, Israel & Arab-Israeli Affairs
✓ Dr. Rex Horne, Pastor of Immanuel Baptist Church, Little Rock, AR and
President of the Arkansas Baptist Convention

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96 MAY 14 P5:06

May 6, 1996

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for the opportunities to share with you some of the concerns of the conservation community at our recent meetings. This is an important constituency whose members are strong advocates for sound conservation policies. I am hopeful that you will be able to sit down with representatives of this group soon, as we discussed on April 9.

I am writing to you today to express our concerns about your decision to open CRP acreage to grazing and haying under the emergency provisions of the Farm Act. I believe that you have received bad advice on this issue. This action will certainly have substantial negative impacts on this year's waterfowl production as well as the breeding success of many other wildlife species who depend on our Nation's grasslands. The CRP has been clearly shown to have reversed the declines in species that would likely have reached threatened or endangered status.

CRP lands have been opened frequently under 'emergency' conditions over the 11 years of program. It seems to me that we need a better balance between the ecological and recreational values of these lands and the economics of commodity production. The economic effects of lost wildlife dependent recreation opportunities appear to have been omitted from consideration in this decision making process.

I encourage you to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to put in place regulations that recognize the CRP as a critically important conservation measure, and will provide for careful review prior to any further implementation of emergency releases of these lands for non-conservation uses.

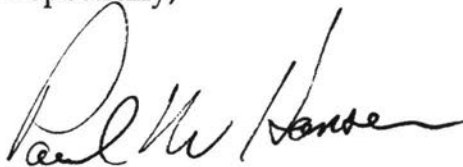
National Office:
707 Conservation Lane Gaithersburg, Maryland 20878-2983
Phone: (301) 548-0150 Fax: (301) 548-0146

Midwest Office:
5701 Normandale Road Minneapolis, Minnesota 55424
Phone: (612) 922-1608 Fax: (612) 922-0240

I would also take this opportunity to applaud your April 22 announcement on the impacts of transportation on our National Parks. I would ask you to give the same consideration to our system of National Wildlife Refuges. As you rightly point out in your announcement, intrusion of aircraft can interfere with wildlife and visitor enjoyment of natural sounds without interruption from mechanical noise.

Your Executive Order 12996 seems to provide for expansion of opportunities for military use of the refuge system, including over-flights. Such activity does not seem to be compatible with the mission of the System you articulated so well, and is at odds with most recreational uses.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Paul H. Hansen". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Paul" being the most prominent.

Paul H. Hansen
Executive Director

cc: A. Gore
D. Glickman
K. McGinty
M. Scott

ISLAND PARK

KIDS FOR

PRESIDENT

CLINTON

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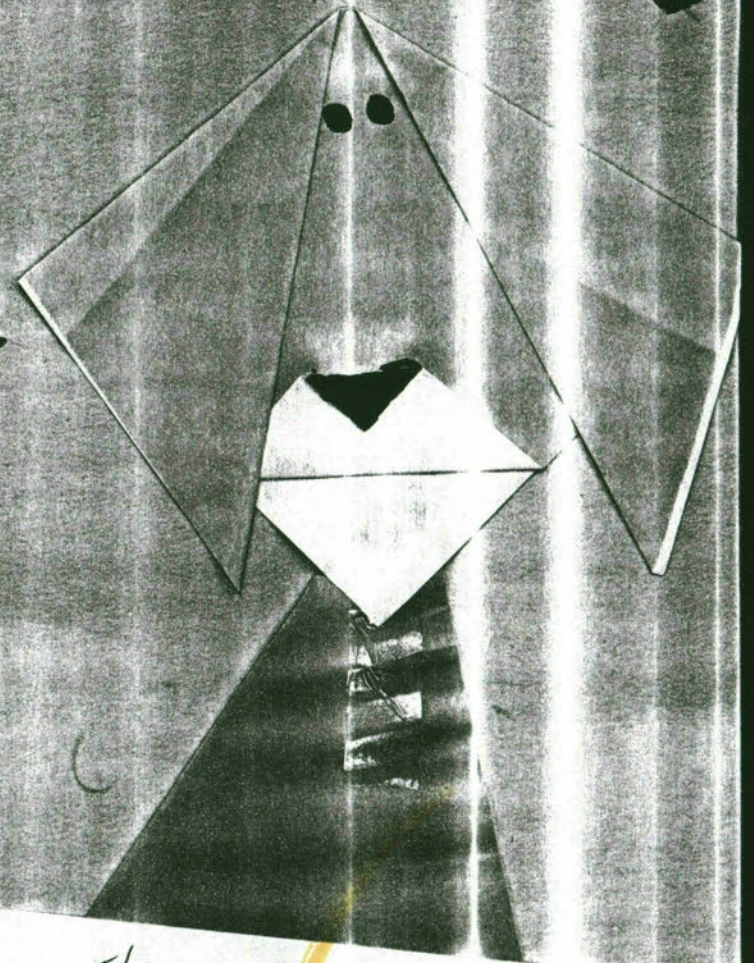
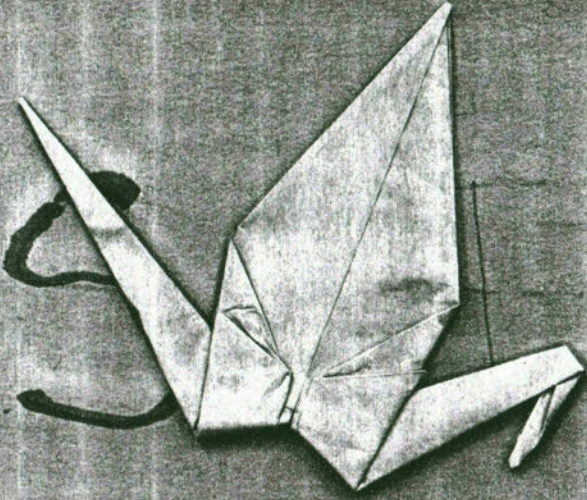
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5/14/96

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CC: Leon S
George
Jack Marshall

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-14-96

96 MAY 13 49:02

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 10, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: LEON PANETTA 

FROM: JACK QUINN
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
MARSHA SCOTT

SUBJECT: GAY MARRIAGE LEGISLATION

This week, legislation on gay marriage was introduced by Bob Dole and Don Nickles in the Senate, and by Bob Barr (plus five other Republicans and two Democrats) in the House. We understand that there will be joint Senate-House hearings on the gay marriage bills as early as next Wednesday.

The proposed legislation has two parts. The first provides that states need not give "full faith and credit" to other states' recognition of gay marriage -- a provision that appears to anticipate legalization of gay marriage in Hawaii. This provision is of no real substantive significance, however, since the Constitution's "full faith and credit" clause already would permit each state to choose whether to recognize a gay marriage granted by another state.

The second part of the legislation would set forth that under any federal statute, rule or regulation, the terms "marriage" and "spouse" shall only refer to heterosexual marriage. This provision would mean that any federal funds, privileges or protections, including those administered by states, could not be made available to same sex married partners, even if same sex marriages are recognized by the state where they reside. This provision does have substantive significance and may be viewed by the gay and lesbian community as a form of overt discrimination. At least for now, however, it would not alter the status quo, since no state recognizes same sex marriages and neither does the federal government. There are, of course, many difficult issues facing our communities related to what benefits and rights can be associated with same sex partnerships outside the context of marriage. But those difficult issues are not addressed by this bill.

Given your stated and longstanding opposition to gay marriage, we believe there would not be a substantive basis for you not to sign the proposed legislation if it were to be adopted by Congress. **It is therefore our recommendation that you should sign this legislation if it is enacted.**

At the same time, we believe that your willingness to sign this legislation should not be announced until it is absolutely necessary to do so. While it is critical that your position be unambiguous and unwavering, there is a risk that too early an announcement of a willingness to sign the bill could cause Republicans to add even more draconian provisions.

For this reason, we recommend that in the first instance, the White House should state that you are opposed to gay marriage, but that there has not yet been an opportunity to review this legislation. The legislation has not yet even been marked up by committee, and thus it is premature for the White House to comment. If and when this approach is no longer viable, the White House would state that you would be prepared to sign this bill if enacted by Congress.

Assuming your approval of this approach, Marsha, George and others will be talking to key leaders in the gay and lesbian community to explain your position and why it is necessary for you to take this action. We can expect that many gays and lesbians will be hurt, if not offended, by this approach to the proposed legislation.

_____ AGREE

_____ DISAGREE

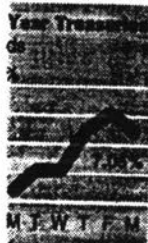
_____ DISCUSS

5/14/96

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BUSINESS Digest

Market Loses 137.2 Points After Roller-Coaster Ride



The stock market rode a roller-coaster, with the Dow industrials falling 54.91 points before rebounding to close down only 13.72 points, at 5,464.31. The Nasdaq composite index rose 1.71 points, to 1,186.31.

With the yield on the Treasury's long bond

stubbornly above 7 percent, rate gains continued to weigh down the stock net. [Page D12.]

Prices of Treasury securities rose, aided by bargain hunting after Friday's selloff. With the market bracing for a flood of new offerings, the yield on the 30-year bond fell six points to 7.05 percent. [D21.]

Warner's Castle Rock for Sale

Warner Broadcasting acknowledges that its Castle Rock Entertainment film division is up for sale, but potential buyers may find putting a value on it difficult. Castle Rock, a winner, has had a string of box office hits in recent years. [D8.]

Clinton-Fitzgerald Talks Begin

Peace talks began in the battle over the Clinton-Fitzgerald L.P., a leading institutional investor of government securities, just hours after a Delaware chancery court judge began hearing evidence. [D4.]

Helmsleys Sue the Helmsleys

Schwartz and Irving Schneider, former tenants of Harry Helmsley, once New York's premier real estate mogul, sued Mr. Helmsley and his wife Leona, contending that Helmsley had stripped Helmsley-Spear of \$40 million in assets. [A1.]

Plan to Disclose Cray Plans

SGS Graphics and its recently acquired subsidiary, Cray Research, plan to spell out how they will merge their competing computer designs into one family. [D2.]

Plan to Use Windows NT

IBM Computers agreed with Microsoft to use machines that would run on the Windows NT operating system, a more open platform than Tandem has traditionally used on its powerful systems. [D4.]



In the choice between President Clinton and Bob Dole, most executives probably vote for the traditional Republican leaning but Mr. Clinton is making inroads in what appears to be

FOR CLINTON



JOHN H. BRYAN
Sara Lee, chairman and
chief executive

Dole '96 Button Not Necessarily Business Attire

Executives Aren't Showing Usual Enthusiasm for G.O.P.

By JUDITH H. DOBRZYNSKI

As a longtime supporter of President Clinton, John H. Bryan, the chairman of the Sara Lee Corporation, is used to

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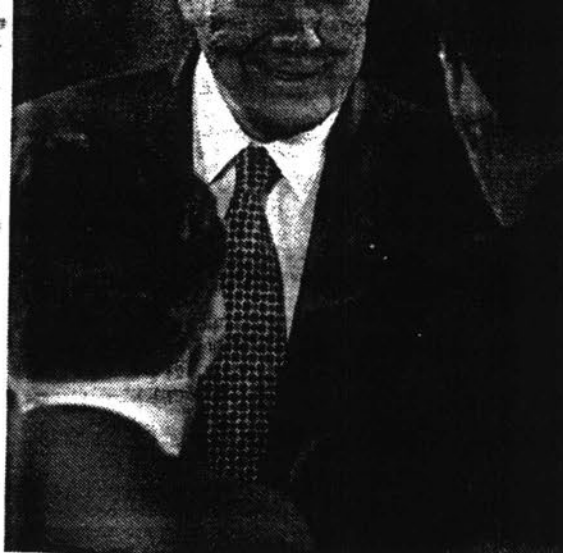
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Stephen Crowley/The New York Times

In the choice between President Clinton and Bob Dole, most executives probably won't be swayed from their traditional Republican leaning but Mr. Clinton is making inroads in what appears to be weak support for Mr. Dole.

FOR CLINTON



JOHN H. BRYAN
Sara Lee, chairman and
chief executive



EDGAR BRONFMAN JR.
Seagram, president
and chief executive

PAUL A. ALLAIRE
Xerox, chairman and chief
executive

ROBERT E. DENHAM
Salomon Inc.,
chairman and chief
executive

RICHARD H. JENRETTE
Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette,
senior adviser



LAWRENCE J. ELLISON
Oracle Systems, chairman,
president and chief executive

PAUL M. MONTRONE
Fisher Scientific
International, president and
chief executive

ALAN PATRICOF
Patricof & Company,
chairman

BERNARD SCHWARTZ
Loral Space and
Communication, chairman

Dole '96 Button Not Necessarily Business Attire

Executives Aren't Showing Usual Enthusiasm for G.O.P.

By JUDITH H. DOBRZYNSKI

As a longtime supporter of President Clinton, John H. Bryan, the chairman of the Sara Lee Corporation, is used to having his politics questioned by other chief executives, most of whom are staunch Republicans. "Every now and then, someone will check in and ask if I still back him," Mr. Bryan said last week. "I always profess my loyalty."

Lately — and surprisingly — Mr. Bryan has been getting less ribbing.

The political mood in the nation's executive suites is showing signs of subtle change. Mr. Clinton, despite irritating business leaders with what they perceive as broken promises and policy flip-flops, appears to have put himself back in the race. Many executives, lacking enthusiasm for Senator Bob Dole, are giving Mr. Clinton a second look, or at least remaining uncommitted.

That, in itself, is quite a turn-around. A few months ago, Republicans did not know whom their Presidential nominee would be, but they figured they could count on support from the leaders of big business, almost regardless of whom the party nominated. Now, Mr. Dole is the all-but-certain candidate, but — based on more than a score of interviews with top executives who frequently talk politics with their col-

leagues and with political analysts — his hold on the nation's executive suites is no sure thing.

Mr. Dole's support among top executives is wobbly for several reasons, including what some of them see as his fumbling on economic issues. Some are upset by the just-resolved, highly partisan fight over the 1996 budget, which they believe made the Republicans look extremist. And others have been put off by the sway the party's right wing often exerts on social issues like abortion.

"Right now, I'm worrying," said David R. Goode, chief executive of the Norfolk Southern Corporation. "Five or six months ago, I would have been stronger for Dole. If I had to vote today — well, I'll take the Fifth on that."

For both parties, corporate chief executives like Mr. Goode are much bigger quarry than their numbers would suggest. They are trophies — important because they are symbols and because they give money, raise yet more funds and often wield influence in their communities and industries.

For the Clinton campaign, they represent even more. By wooing chief executives in 1992 — winning more business support than any Democratic nominee since Lyndon B.

Continued on Page D4

FOR DOLE



HENRY R. KRAVIS
Kohlberg Kravis Roberts,
partner



DONALD B. MARRON
Paine Webber, chairman
and chief executive



LESLIE H. WEXNER
The Limited, chairman

PHILIP F. ANSCHUTZ
Southern Pacific Rail,
chairman

LODWRICK M. COOK
ARCO, chairman
emeritus

JOHN H. DASBURG
Northwest Airlines,
president and chief
executive

DAVID A. JONES
Hamana, chairman and
chief executive

DREW LEWIS
Union Pacific, chairman of
the executive committee

JOHN W. SNOW
CSX, chairman, president
and chief executive

Sources: Bob Dole for President;
Clinton-Gore '96 Campaign



In Japan, It's See No Evil; Have No Harassment

By ANDREW POLLACK

she said, but finally realized they were related experience on the job, mainly be-

Tandem Computers to Create Machines With Microsoft

By LAWRENCE M. FISHER

SAN FRANCISCO, May 6 — Tandem Computers Inc. and the Microsoft Corporation said today that they had set up an alliance to create machines that will be made by Tandem and will run the Microsoft Windows NT operating system. The first of the systems is to be available this summer.

Though the companies will not formally announce the deal until Tuesday, the agreement was broadly anticipated. The shares of Tandem closed today at \$14.125, up \$1.125, while Microsoft shares closed at \$111.75, up 87.5 cents, both in Nasdaq trading.

Tandem, which is based in Cupertino, Calif., is best known for large, so-called fault-tolerant computer systems, which use multiple, redundant processors to insure continuous operation. Though Tandem for many years has been a leading supplier to banks, stock exchanges and other customers requiring such perform-

ance, its sales have stagnated as the market for large, proprietary systems has become saturated. Teaming with Microsoft to produce a less costly, more open system could result in new growth.

For Microsoft, joining forces with Tandem may push Windows NT into the market for so-called mission-critical applications, meaning those without which an organization cannot function. Though Windows NT, the more powerful counterpart to Windows 95, has been gaining corporate users rapidly, it has not penetrated the very high end of the market, which remains a stronghold for Tandem and similar companies.

"We want to make sure that nothing gets in the way of NT getting used in the most demanding mission-critical applications," said Steve Ballmer, Microsoft's executive vice president, in a telephone interview. "Our goal is to push that as fast and far and furiously as we can. We see more and more situations where people need the kind of security and robust solutions Tandem provides."

A software giant and a developer of large systems see benefits in an alliance.

Roel Pieper, who took over as president and chief executive of Tandem in January, said in a telephone interview that he had been seeking opportunities for growth. "Microsoft and Tandem are taking 'expensive' and 'proprietary' out of the business-critical computing equation," he said. He said he did not believe that the NT-based machine would take away business from Tandem's proprietary systems any time soon. "It will still be quite some time before the high-end systems we have today can be replaced," he said.

Mr. Pieper said that as part of the program with Microsoft, Tandem would begin making computers us-

ing microprocessors from the Intel Corporation. Tandem now makes some smaller systems using the so-called MIPS processors developed by Silicon Graphics Inc., which run the Unix operating system, and it plans to use both processors in the Windows NT line. Though actual prices were not available, Mr. Pieper said the new machines would start at \$30,000 to \$50,000, while Tandem's proprietary systems start at about \$150,000.

John Jones, an analyst with Salomon Brothers, said both Microsoft and Tandem stood to gain from the deal. Microsoft "needs somebody who can help them get into the Fortune 500 with really robust systems," he said, noting that the company was also working with the Digital Equipment Corporation.

Because the agreement gives Tandem a product line that can be sold at lower prices in far higher volume, "this deal may end up being the real nugget that turns Tandem back into a contender in the marketplace," Mr. Jones said.

Dole Button Not Necessarily on Every Business Suit

Continued From First Business Page

Johnson in 1964 — Mr. Clinton bolstered his credentials as a "New Democrat" who would not tax and spend the way that Republicans contend traditional liberals do. Silicon Valley executives in particular came out in force. Republicans like Lawrence J. Ellison of the Oracle Systems Corporation and Edward R. McCracken of Silicon Graphics Inc. endorsed Mr. Clinton because he offered policies to aid high-technology companies.

By last fall, though, many chief executives had returned to the Republican fold. Mr. Clinton's veto in December of a bill limiting shareholder lawsuits was the coup de grace for many. Mr. Ellison even wrote a check to Mr. Dole's campaign.

Now Mr. Clinton may again be living up to his reputation as "the comeback kid," thanks to yet another reversal by executives like Mr. Ellison, whose anger has subsided. "I intend to wholeheartedly support the President this year for the same reasons I supported him in 1992 — his commitment to education and technology," Mr. Ellison said.

Neither candidate seems to have an edge when it comes to money. Each party is expected to raise \$120 million this year, mostly from business interests, according to Josh Goldstein, research director at the Center for Responsive Politics, which tracks contributions. "Business always gives to both sides," Mr. Goldstein said. "Their giving is not ideological but pragmatic."

And as of now, six months before Election Day, support from top executives for Mr. Clinton is by no means as widespread as it was in 1992. Indeed, "there may not be as many as the last time, when a lot were voting against Bush," cautioned Paul A. Allaire, the chief executive of the Xerox Corporation and a Clinton backer. Then, with the economy stagnating, business leaders were frustrated by what some saw as President George Bush's lack of vision and inability to work with the Democratic Congress.

Some of Mr. Clinton's executive

backers, of course, will come from traditional Democratic bastions like Hollywood, where Edgar Bronfman Jr., the chief executive of Seagram, is a supporter, and Wall Street, where Robert E. Denham, the chief executive of Salomon Inc., has stepped forward.

But, as in 1992, a share of Mr. Clinton's executive support is likely to come from Republican turf, where some backers and analysts say Mr. Dole's troubles are compounded by his uninspiring performance on the hustings. Indeed, some executives who would normally be expected to voice public support for Mr. Dole are reluctant to do so publicly, which is read as a sign of his weakness.

"Most chief executives will probably vote for Dole, but I don't see any enthusiasm for him," said the head

are not out to defeat him," Mr. Coelho said. "They think Republicans will lose and it's not worth it for them to try to make a difference."

Executives like to back a winner, and the most recent national opinion polls show Mr. Dole trailing Mr. Clinton by some 20 percentage points. "Everyone said it was the Republicans' to lose," Mr. Allaire said, "and my colleagues now feel that they will."

These are, of course, early days in what could be a volatile campaign. Springtime polls often prove wrong by fall. "This time in 1992, President Bush was ahead by 12 points, and in 1988 at this time he was trailing by 30 points," noted Lodwick M. Cook, the chairman emeritus of ARCO. Mr. Cook is a deputy chairman of Mr. Dole's national finance committee, along with Mr. Marron and Henry R. Kravis, the leveraged-buyout investor. "I think the support is there," Mr. Cook said.

Pendleton E. James, an executive recruiter who is on the finance committee for the Republican Eagles, a group of top contributors, said that chief executives "are waiting for Dole to give some leadership, which he hasn't."

"I'm optimistic," he added, "and I think that will change."

Yet some Republicans worry because on balance, they admit, Mr. Clinton has not been bad for business. The economy is growing. The President has not been tagged with responsibility for any foreign policy fiascos. In trade, he pushed for approval of the North American Free Trade Agreement despite labor union opposition, and he personally helped win foreign contracts for companies like the Raytheon Corporation, which landed a big electronics contract in Brazil.

Executives are also quick to acknowledge their debt to Ronald H. Brown, the Commerce Secretary who died in a plane crash on April 3 while leading one of his many trade missions. Others praise Robert E. Rubin, the Treasury Secretary.

On the minus side, big business faults the Administration for failing to ease the burdens of regulation and litigation. And they recoil at the criti-

cism that Labor Secretary Robert B. Reich has heaped on companies that have cut their work forces.

But even in the worst of times — during the debate on health care, for instance — many acknowledge that Mr. Clinton kept channels open, playing host at lunches for chief executives, among other things. "Clinton has never given upon the business community," Mr. Bryan, the Sara Lee chairman, said.

In one typical example, the President met stony faces last October when he gave the dinner speech at a meeting of the Business Council, a prestigious group of chief executives. But afterward, he went from table to table, listening to the concerns of each chief executive.

Lately, he has picked up the pace of his business courtship, especially in Silicon Valley. Mr. Clinton and Vice President Al Gore have been busy trying to rebuild bridges throughout California, a key state.

Mr. Ellison aside, they have not been completely successful. Mr. McCracken of Silicon Graphics, who is considered a key swing vote in the computer industry, is remaining mum for the moment. Even if Mr. Clinton wins more support, it is unclear if he can turn it all public. "C.E.O.'s are not comfortable supporting a Democrat publicly, and that's a fact," Mr. Bryan said.

Meanwhile, a few Dole supporters are complaining about Republican efforts. "No one in the Dole campaign is reaching out to the business community," one supporter said, adding that the campaign seems only to ask for money. "It's a failing of the Dole campaign."

The Dole campaign did not respond to several requests for comments.

At this point, there is no telling whether an issue will arise to push executives in one direction or the other, the way the North American trade accord sealed a lot of business backing for Mr. Clinton. In the end, the split will probably depend on Mr. Clinton's moves before November.

"There's no question President Clinton is an outstanding campaigner," said Mr. Cook, the Dole backer. "It'll be an interesting race."

Few executives seem determined to prevent another Clinton term.

of one large company, who insisted on anonymity. "I wish I did, because I'm a Dole supporter."

Donald B. Marron, the chief executive of Paine Webber Group Inc. and a fund-raiser for Mr. Dole, said he had not heard such complaints. "When I talk to business people," he said, "they see in Bob Dole a very experienced person who has strong feelings about having less government and more economic growth" — which, Mr. Marron said, is exactly what big business wants.

Even if Mr. Dole gets executive votes, he will have to contend with a subtler issue. "People don't feel that if Clinton gets re-elected it's the end of the world," the anonymous Dole backer said of the business community.

Based on the soundings he has taken, Tony Coelho, an informal adviser to Mr. Clinton and chief executive of a financial services firm that bears his name, agreed. "Executives

Warnaco Plans Hathaway Sale And a Charge

Warnaco Group (WAC,N)

Qtr. to Apr 6	1996	1995	%Ch
Rev.	205,480,000	195,188,000	+5.3
Net Inc.	15,218,000	10,820,000	+43.3
Sh. earn	29	26	
Sh. out	53,240,000	41,396,000	

Revenues are not revenues.
The results are for the first quarter.

Yesterday's closing price: \$22.37

2 Sides Begin Settlement Talks In Battle Over Cantor Fitzgerald

By DIANA B. HENRIQUES

in Delaware and covered by the laws of that state.

↑
Laura/Gun
Sister/Emily

Bo

The New York Times Week in Review

Not Making It

We're Leaner, Meaner and Going N

By LOUIS UCHITELLE

FOR years, Americans have been told to place their hopes for a better standard of living in the huge investments in automation and computers and in the tens of millions of layoffs intended to make the nation more efficient and productive. And now there is a growing acknowledgment among economists and others that this strategy has not worked.

What this means, if that conclusion in fact solidifies as a broad consensus, is that many of the layoffs might have been in vain. After nearly 25 years of only minor increases in what economists call productivity, the great hope of an economy vigorous enough to raise just about everyone's income level is still just a hope.

Without rising productivity, an economy cannot really boom. Productivity is the amount, valued in dollars, that a worker produces in a given hour, using computers, or complicated machinery, or a telephone, or a hammer and wrench, or simply one's head and hands, working alone or in teams or on an assembly line. From the late 19th century until the early 1970's, productivity rose smartly most of the time, helped along by technological innovations. That made possible annual raises that, in effect, allowed millions of Americans to pocket ever-growing shares of their own rising output.

But since the early '70's, the improvements have been small: 1 percent annually

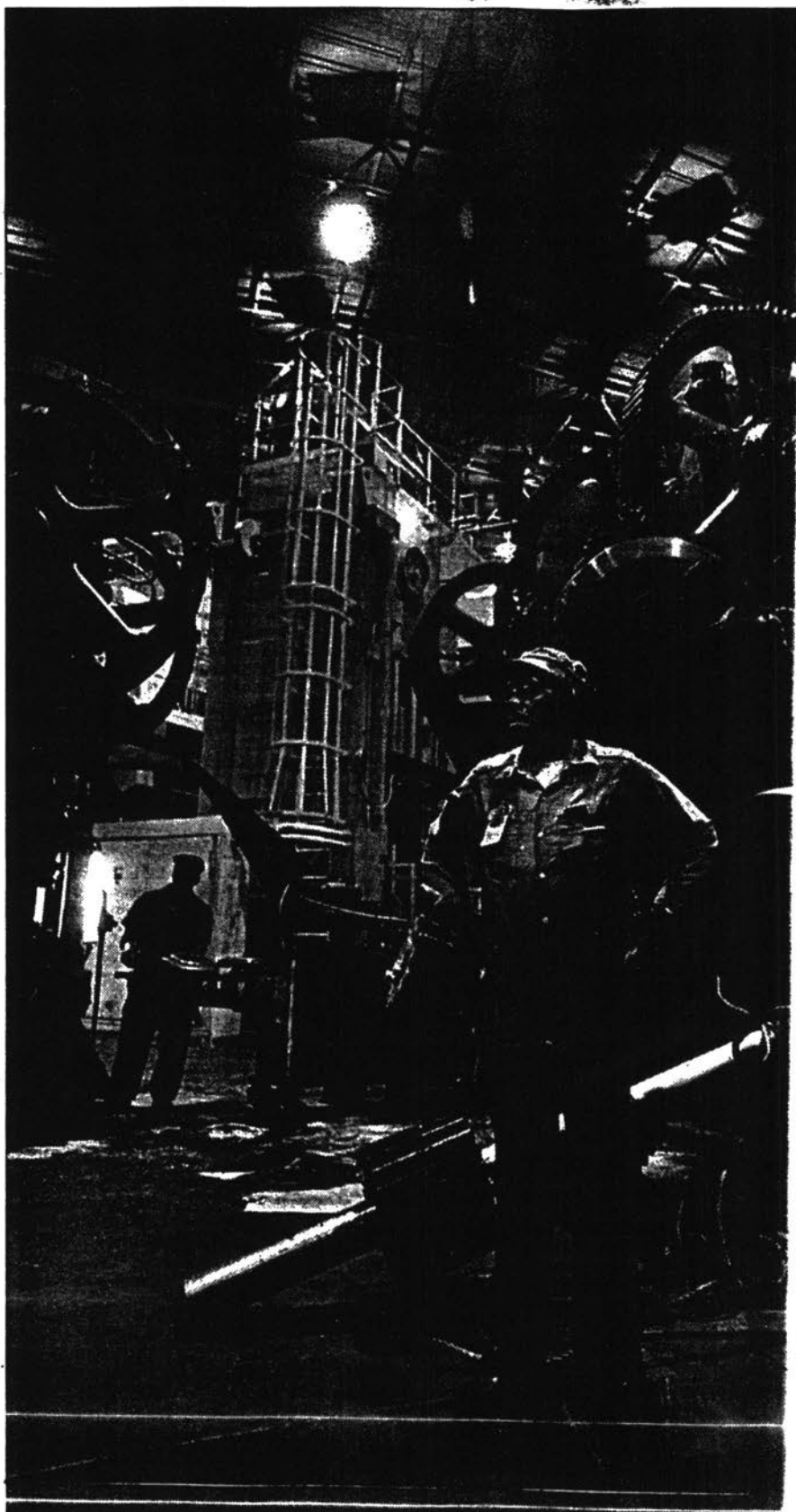
Why didn't layoffs and technology produce the benefits that Americans were promised for so long?

compared with nearly 2 percent or more in many earlier years. As a result, incomes for most people have stagnated. Achieving a breakthrough in productivity has become a national obsession. How-to books proliferate on the subject. Chief executives proclaim that at their own companies productivity is rising, and that is often true. But the nation as a whole has not made the leap, although both Bob Dole and Bill Clinton promise that their policies will do the trick.

"The hype about productivity has been much greater than the performance," said Robert M. Solow, a Nobel laureate in economics, reflecting a view widely held in his profession. "Maybe we have gotten so good at hype that the information revolution seems bigger to us than the electric motor seemed when it was invented. But the electric motor had a big impact on how many shirts you could sew in a day."

Industrial Winners

Many individual companies, of course, have become more productive. The formula of cutting staff and investing heavily in computerized equipment has paid off particularly in manufacturing, which enjoys a much greater productivity growth rate — more than 3 percent a year on average in the 1990's — than business as a whole. General Electric is a winner. So is the Chrysler Corporation. But what has happened at Chrysler sheds



The Kelsey-Hayes wheel manufacturing plant in Romulus, Mich., 1977: in the nation, the big slow

Week in Review

Section 4

It

aner, Meaner and Going Nowhere Faster



light on why innovative technology and downsizing, now or in the past, is probably not enough to make productivity rise for the entire nation.

Chrysler last year made 1.72 million cars in the United States, the same as in 1988, but with 9,000 fewer workers. The departure of those workers meant that the remaining 93,700 produced more cars per hour than in 1988. The rub is in what happened to the departed workers. Many apparently shifted to less productive jobs — in restaurants, perhaps, or offices or small companies now doing tasks as subcontractors that Chrysler no longer wants to bother with. Preparing the payroll is an example.

Cancel the New Car

These new, less productive jobs drag down the nation's productivity rate as a whole. And the workers draw lower wages, which makes them less likely to buy new Chrysler cars. Chrysler, for that reason, will be less likely to increase production. But if it could somehow sell 300,000 more cars, it might rehire the laid-off workers to staff a new factory or two.

That would put pressure on, say, restaurants that had been employing some of them. Rather than pay more to get enough workers, the restaurants might automate so that they, too, could function with smaller staffs. A modern-day version might emerge of Horn & Hardart, where customers inserted coins and small glass doors popped open, allowing the customers to withdraw hot baked beans

A breakthrough in overall productivity has become a national obsession. But it's not materializing.

or pie or a meat dish.

That was a form of automation dreamed up earlier in the century when rising wages for restaurant workers encouraged early fast-food restaurants to rely on labor-saving devices. Horn & Hardart needed only a handful of people to resupply the cubbyholes behind the glass doors, not the hordes at fast-food counters today.

But that raises a question. Was rising demand in this rapidly expanding nation the mother of innovations like the nationwide railroad system, the electric motor, the internal combustion engine, jet engines or plastics — innovations needed to help production keep pace with what people wanted to buy? Or does innovation come first, creating in supply-side fashion a demand for the things that some new invention like the computer can make possible?

Economists say they don't really know, although Alan Blinder of Princeton University notes that America's greatest period of productivity growth, from the mid-1940's through the 1960's, came after two decades in which consumer demand had been deferred, first by the Depression and then World War II. Invention, however, didn't slow during those years, Mr. Blinder says, and when demand was unleashed, the technology was there to help meet it.

What is certain is that productivity im-

Continued on Page 4

The Kelsey-Hayes wheel manufacturing plant in Romulus, Mich., 1977: in the nation, the big slowdown had already started.

Earl Dotter/Impact Visuals



run at him in the jungle, near a base where the colonel served as a commander. The evidence was murky, but the colonel had at minimum tried to cover up the killing.

Senior United States officials agonized over what to do with the information. They did not share all they knew with the widows, for fear it would become public. But it did: Representative Robert G. Torricelli, a New Jersey Democrat and a member of the House intelligence committee, revealed it on March 22, 1995.

Last week, the State Department released thousands of pages of documents on human rights abuses in Guatemala. But more damning evidence about the colonel came to light in classified documents that the State Department gave only to Congress, and did not release to the public.

Excerpts from five classified papers, provided to The New York Times by a Government official, provide an unusual look at the struggle to deal with an impending scandal.

A Jan. 3, 1995, cable from the American Embassy to the National Security Council described intelligence reports about Colonel Alpírez.

A senior G.O.G. [Government of Guatemala] official



Jennifer Harbury staged a hunger strike in Guatemala City in 1994 to learn her husband's fate.

cial has heard that Alpírez was responsible for Bámaca's death. . . .

By all reports, Alpírez is a bad egg. He is corrupt, a liar and has been negatively involved in matters involving human rights.

Alpírez seems to have more wealth than can be explained, there are rumors of past narcotics trafficking and he is tainted by being the Kabil base commander where Michael DeVine was killed.

... We must be very careful how we use this information, lest it take on a life of its own, no matter what later reporting shows.

However, the Justice Department apparently asked the C.I.A. to remain in contact with him in case Alpírez could provide information about the DeVine case, and he did not officially leave the C.I.A. payroll until June 1992. Alpírez never told his C.I.A. handlers about the Bámaca case, and his role was discovered only recently by a longstanding source. . . .

The C.I.A. is very concerned about the safety of their source, so any approach to the Guatemalan Government will have to be handled very carefully. Finally, we would have to decide how to convey this information to the Intel committees and then possibly to JH. Given the leaks which have plagued this case, it is almost certain that Hill staffers will inform JH of this info.

An unsigned memorandum, written by an unidentified official, from Feb. 9, 1995:

The U.S. Embassy should have a plan of action to deal with Colonel Alpírez in the event that there is a major public news story identifying him as a C.I.A. agent who killed the husband of a U.S. citizen.

In that eventuality, Colonel Alpírez's life may very well be in danger.

that the 1991 report was "seriously flawed" — but that "the Agency believed it" at the time.

Alpírez participated in the army cover-up of DeVine's murder. However, the evidence that he had a direct role in the murder itself is weak. A single 1991 clandestine report by a source "whose past reporting is insufficient to establish a degree of substantiation" indicates that Alpírez was present when DeVine died while undergoing interrogation at a base under Alpírez's command.

Ambassador Marilyn McAfee cabled Secretary of State Warren Christopher on March 24. She referred to low-ranking Guatemalan soldiers jailed in the DeVine case:

Alpírez may very well be guilty of DeVine's murder, but there is a need not to paint ourselves into a corner. Naming Alpírez could lead to legal challenges of those already convicted.

Colonel Alpírez, cashiered in February 1996 by President Alvaro Arzu of Guatemala, never has been convicted of a crime. The United States Government never has officially acknowledged his role in the killings.

Leaner, Meaner and Going Nowhere Faster

Continued From Page 1

Improvements have been minuscule for nearly 25 years, the longest such plateau since 1870. Many explanations are surfacing, with mass layoffs rising toward the top of the list, the explanation being that they destroy loyalty, job stability and continuity, increasingly recognized as ingredients of productivity. The American Management Association, in its surveys, finds that a majority of companies that cut staff have failed to increase productivity a year or two later.

Others, like Stephen D. Oliner, a Federal Reserve economist, note that despite the national love affair with computers, they represent only 2 percent of the net investment by business, and an even smaller percentage of all the machinery, equipment and buildings business owns. That is too small a percentage to make a difference in productivity. By comparison, early in the century railroads represented 18 percent of the capital stock.

Global competition and imports play a role, of course, in suppressing production by a company like Chrysler. More broadly, argues Jeffrey Madrick, an economics writer, in the recent book "The End of Afflu-

ence," America's great skill at mass production gave it an edge over other industrial nations, an edge now lost in an era of smaller production runs and open markets.

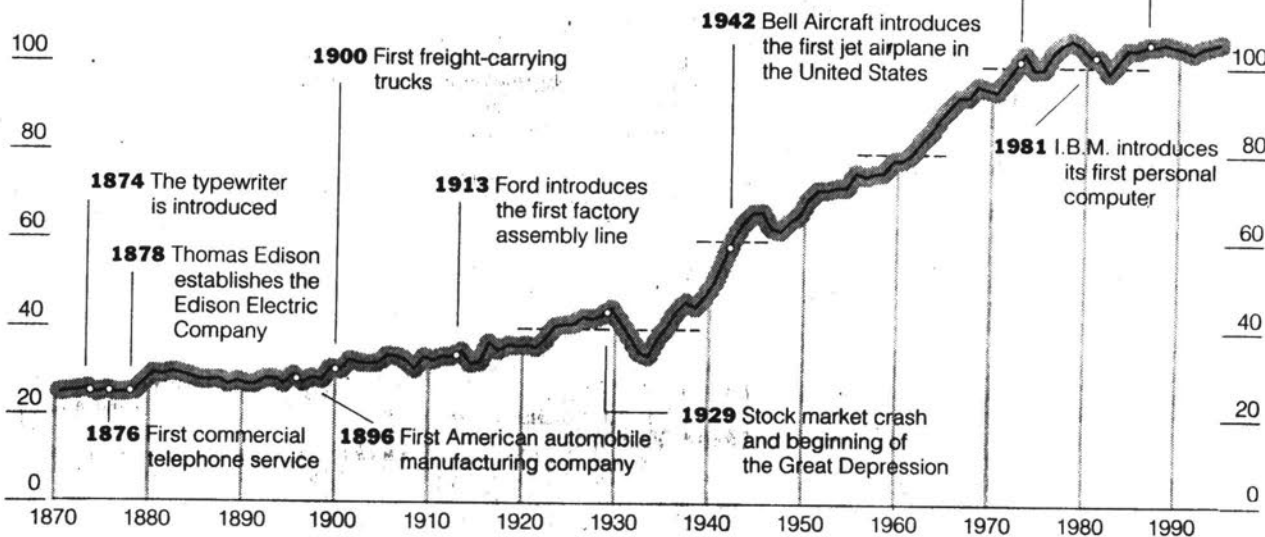
Such talk raises the possibility that the era of rapidly rising productivity may be over, not only here but in other major industrial nations. Mr. Dole and Mr. Clinton reject that proposition, insisting instead that their particular prescriptions will restore the patient; Mr. Dole urges lower taxes and less regulation, Mr. Clinton training, education and public investment.

Most economists are similarly unwilling to throw in the towel. Some argue that demand would rise, and with it productivity, if only the Federal Reserve would lower interest rates to stimulate the economy. Others call for more public investment. And Paul David, a Stanford economist, believes that in time, computers will be as much a source of rising productivity as the electric motor in its day, and patience is in order until computers begin to pay off.

After all, Mr. David notes, a quarter century elapsed before the electric motor transformed the workplace. Perhaps something like that will be the case for computers. And perhaps not.

Not So Fast

Multifactor productivity in the United States from 1870 to 1994. The chart, which uses an index in which 1972 equals 100, measures output per hour resulting from the contribution of both labor and capital invested by businesses.



Source: Robert J. Gordon, Department of Economics, Northwestern University

greater productivity growth rate — more than 3 percent a year on average in the 1990's — than business as a whole. General Electric is a winner. So is the Chrysler Corporation. But what has happened at Chrysler sheds

The Kelsey-Hayes wheel manufacturing plant in Romulus, Mich., 1977: in the nation, the big slowdown had already started.

Earl Dotter/Impact Visuals

demand was unleashed, the technology was there to help meet it.

What is certain is that productivity im-

Continued on Page 4

The State of Welfare in Italy

Where Every Day Is Mother's Day

By CELESTINE BOHLEN

OVER the last five years, a high school teacher here, 38 years old, has been on the job for only a year and a half, but has drawn a salary for all but a few months. Why? The answer to this riddle, laughably simple for any Italian employer, is: The woman is a mother with two babies who has taken full advantage of every last clause in one of Europe's most generous maternity leave packages.

"In both cases, I suppose I should have returned to work earlier than I did," said Carla Starita, a teacher of literature and philosophy and mother of Gaia, 4, and Elisa, 1, "but I think it isn't right to leave one's children after a few months. Many of my colleagues went back to work early and their children didn't die, but this was my time to have children, and I believe during those occasions, it is right to use all the opportunities that are offered to you."

Having babies is a serious business everywhere. But in Italy, working women are given the time to treat it almost like a job. Long paid leaves, combined with free medical care, are considered part of an Italian mother's birthright — one element of the safety net that middle-class taxpayers across Europe have both enjoyed and supported with very steep taxes for many decades now, in contrast to their middle-class counterparts in America, who by and large see social spending as money only for the poor.

Now, however, as European governments feel



Susan Beccio for The New York Times

Alessandra Efratti, a store owner, with her 11-month-old daughter, Ludovica, in Rome.

the need to make their economies more efficient, as they try to unify their currencies and draw ever closer economically, Germany, France, Spain and Italy are finding that they must trim some of this web of social benefits. Just last month, France announced cuts in its health-care programs and Germany put forward a plan for cuts that could reduce its budget deficit by \$33 billion.

For Americans, the details of Italy's maternity policies offer a good example of the style of benefits Europeans have grown so attached to — worth a look not because they are in jeopardy, but because they are so sacred.

In France, maternity benefits have come under the gun. But in Italy, a country that feels

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SENT

5-14-96



Uncivil Liberties
A Russian revolt looms — if the other guy wins.

By Michael Specter

5

Flights of Fancy

Truth, once again, reduces Byrd to the littlest explorer.

By Malcolm W. Browne



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Continued From Page 1

particularly protective about motherhood, especially now in a period of declining birth rates, it is a different matter. In Italy, challenging maternity benefits is still regarded as political death — even though the Italian state bears more of a direct burden than most other countries do.

According to a law adopted in 1971 and amended many times since, pregnant women here are obligated to take off the last two months of pregnancy and the first three months following the birth — for a total of five months during which they receive full salary, 80 percent of it paid by the state.

And that bundle — which is about par for the course in continental Europe — is not all. Where Italy breaks ahead of the pack is with its options: Once the baby is three months old, a working mother (father too, in certain cases) can choose to stay out for another six months at 30 percent salary, courtesy of the state.

Altogether, mothers can stay off the job for a year after their child's birth, with only

Whatever the budget, in Italy attacking maternity benefits is like attacking motherhood itself.

the last three months without salary. Last year, the Italian state paid 1.425 trillion lire — \$900 million — in maternity leaves.

There are also benefits that are not written in legislation, but simply sanctioned by tradition. For instance, women with risky pregnancies are entitled, with the appropriate doctor's certificate, to take all nine months of pregnancy off. Likewise, mothers suffering from depression, or mothers whose babies require special care can get other doctors' certificates, entitling them to stay away from work for up to three years. (In these cases, salaries are not automatically guaranteed.)

With loopholes like these, it follows that they are exploited, particularly by women working in the Italian state bureaucracy, where employee rights are as sacred as motherhood itself. Dr. Cristina Damiani, a gynecologist/obstetrician in Rome, notes that at least half of her patients have claimed so-called risky pregnancies right from the first trimester. "Many women take advantage of this extended leave," she said, "and doctors find it difficult to deny it to them, because they could spontaneously abort tomorrow and then it's nothing but trouble."

Extensive leaves have also become trouble for women themselves, though. Smaller companies have been known to make young women sign blank resignation forms upon hiring. One journalist noticed that a bank in her home town recently refused to accept women candidates for a job opening, and Italian trade union representatives say they

have seen an increase in part-time, contractual work that effectively puts young employees in their child-bearing years at greater risk.

But attempts to amend, even criticize, Italy's maternity laws are politically dangerous, as the newspaper *Il Giornale*, the journalistic mouthpiece of the Italian right, found out when it dared criticize the system. "In the end, so much coddling can turn against the same women who now lament both the negative effects that a long maternity leave can have on their career as well as the diffidence with which all those who wear a skirt are seen," the paper said in an editorial.

Il Giornale's offensive against the maternity leave system was taken as just that by

a wide swath of society, from die-hard Communists on the left, to Alexandra Mussolini, a legislator who is also the granddaughter of the dictator, on the far right.

"Do we want to throw the social state away," asked Ms. Mussolini, a member of the National Alliance, and a new mother herself. "It's true, social consciousness has some costs. But it is unthinkable that the cuts must begin with maternity benefits."

Like virtually all European countries, Italy has free medical care — which in the case of pregnant women and new mothers, covers everything from ultrasound screening to breast pumping machines. The drawback of the public health care system for some mothers is that it doesn't allow a choice — of either gynecologist, obstetrician, hospital or

Italy's Welfare State

Where Every Day Is Mother's Day



Susan Beccio for The New York Times

Chiara Amato, an insurance agent, with her 8-month-old daughter Gaia in Rome.

Helping Moms Be Moms

National policies for maternal leave vary widely in length and salary provisions.

Italy 22 weeks*

Mothers are required to take off two months before and three months after childbirth. For risky pregnancies, they can take off the entire period of pregnancy. During maternity leave, most women receive full salaries: 80 percent is covered by social security and 20 percent is paid by employers.

Germany 14 weeks

Women are entitled to six weeks before and eight weeks after childbirth. They get 12 weeks after delivery in the event of multiple births. During maternity leave, women receive full pay: national health insurance pays about \$16 a day for 30 days and the employer pays the rest.

Britain 18 weeks

Women are entitled to a maximum of 18 weeks of leave, which can begin any time between the 11th week before the expected delivery date and the week the baby is due. During maternity leave, women are entitled to all normal employment benefits except for salary. Most female workers get weekly benefits from their employers of up to 90 percent of their average earnings for 6 weeks and about \$85 for the next 12 weeks. For other women, social security provides weekly payments of up to \$85 for 18 weeks.

U.S. 12 weeks

Under the 1993 Family and Medical Leave Act, which covers workers at companies with 50 or more employees, mothers and fathers are entitled to 12 weeks of unpaid leave to care for a new baby, biological or adopted. But actual maternity benefits vary widely: at most large companies, women get paid maternity leave of six to eight weeks, and most women take a total of 10 to 12 weeks away from their jobs. The benefits arise not from any national family policy but rather as part of disability insurance programs designed to replace a portion of pay lost from temporary disabilities. The Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 requires employers to treat maternity-related disability the same as any other temporary disability.

France 16 weeks

Mothers get 6 weeks before and 10 weeks after childbirth for their first and second children. After that, they get 8 weeks before and 18 weeks after delivery. They may take another six weeks in the event of health complications. They get full pay: 95 percent is paid by social security and 5 percent by employers in most cases.

* May vary slightly because policy is stated as five months instead of in weeks.

The New York Times

pediatrician — which is why many who can afford to do so have their babies in private clinics, at extremely high costs.

But given the range of free benefits, the marvel is that more Italian women aren't having more babies. In fact, the reverse is true. Italy's birth rate has been in decline for several years and many women note that while the Italian state is diligent about encouraging working women to have babies, it is inadequate in helping mothers take care of them and work at the same time.

"This is really an historic problem," said Franca Fossati, a former editor of the women's magazine *Noi Donne*, and a consultant to a government Equal Opportunity Commission. "Italy is primarily a Catholic country — a Catholic and a Communist community, where the policy on maternity has been protectionist. As a result, there is a strong policy on maternity leave, but other things don't follow."

For instance, public day care or nursery schools for children up to 3 years old are

rare and access is limited only to the most needy — except in some regions, like Emilia Romagna, where local government has been under the control of the Communists or their successors for decades. By the time a child is 3, the public education system kicks in: An estimated 90 percent of children between 3 and 6 are in "scuola materna," the state-supported kindergartens.

According to Patrizia Ghedini, the Italian representative on the European Union Commission Network on Infancy, only 5 to 6 percent of Italian children under 3 years old are in nursery schools, compared to the 20 percent who attend "crèches" in France.

"It is an indication that there continues to be a perception of women as being the caretakers of young children," said Ms. Ghedini. "Even with the greater number of women entering the work force, there is no parallel development of child care structure because the society at large still thinks that women should take on the burden of raising children themselves."



COMMITTEE OF 100

Tony (Sandy)
This is good
Let's discuss
By

May 13, 1996

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President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5.14.96

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—John Young

Dear Mr. President,

Our member, John Huang, has delivered the enclosed position paper titled, "*Seeking Common Grounds... While Respecting Differences: A Win-Win Strategy for U.S.-China Relations*," an eight point comprehensive recommendation for your review.

We believe the recommendations, including a "One-China" policy, Summit and Congressional meetings, Rule of Law assistance, MFN approval, cross-culture concerns, China-Taiwan remedies, and educational exchanges, will bring forth a coherent long term strategy for permanent improved relations with China.

We feel that the bi-cultural backgrounds of Committee of 100 members can help by contributing an added dimension to the foreign policy discourse. In 1994, our Committee members, with John participating, met with President Jiang Zemin and President Lee Teng-hui to exchange views for cordial China-Taiwan relations. We also briefed Secretary Rubin upon our return in his role as National Economic Adviser.

The Committee of 100 is a non-politically aligned group of prominent Americans of Chinese heritage from among the leadership in their professions. Our governors, I. M. Pei, Chancellor Tien Chang-Lin of U. C. Berkeley, together with John and several of our directors would appreciate the opportunity to meet with you and your senior advisers to contribute our bi-cultural perspective and understanding.

Very truly yours,

Henry Tang
Chairman

HT:dyy
Attach/



*Seeking
Common
Ground,*

*While
Respecting
Differences.*

A Win-Win Strategy
for US-China
Relations

Committee of 100

April • 1996

The Committee of 100 is a national, non-politically aligned organization that pools the resources of concerned Chinese Americans in a diverse range of fields, from the arts, sciences, medicine, business, finance, government, law, education and many other pursuits. Our mission is to promote the full participation of Chinese Americans in all areas of American society, and to encourage constructive relationships between the people of China and the people of the United States.

This paper is prompted by our concern over the recent crisis in the Taiwan Strait. It reviews some of the roots of the recent crisis, the importance of the "One China" policy, the need to overcome cultural differences, and find common ground where the United States and China can work together to assure peace and prosperity for both countries, for the Asia/Pacific region, and the world.



Executive Summary

Position paper on US-China Relations released by the Committee of 100 on April 29, 1996.

As Americans of Chinese descent, we are deeply concerned with the recent crisis in the Taiwan Strait and the future of US-China relations. With our bicultural background, we feel compelled to speak out and help secure a win-win situation for Americans and people living on both sides of the Taiwan Strait.

The full text provides recommendations, rationale and additional details. This executive summary highlights our major recommendations. We ask our President and Congress to consider these recommendations and act in a timely fashion.

To our government, we respectfully suggest:

- Firmly uphold our "One China" policy initiated under President Nixon, and adhered to by each Administration since. China's world view is shaped by its history. China suffered invasion, defeats, loss of territory and deep humiliation at the hands of Japan and colonial powers in the last 150 years. Its institutional memory is such that mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity must

be the cornerstone of any bilateral relation.

- Strongly support China's continuing movement toward the rule of law, both domestically and internationally. It is the best way to foster human rights for the Chinese people and to protect our commercial investments and intellectual property rights in China.

- Establish regular summit meetings with the president of China, the first of which is to occur as soon as possible.

- Develop a clear, consistent, bipartisan China policy based on long-term interests and cultural understanding, and thereafter for the Administration and Congress to speak with an unified voice. Foster mutual understanding through quiet and consistent diplomacy, rather than open and disruptive confrontation.

We make these bold recommendations, because the window of opportunity for the United States and China to build a positive relationship will not stay open indefinitely.

Seeking Common Ground, While Respecting Differences

A Win-Win Strategy for US-China Relationship

Our Deep Concern

As Americans of Chinese descent, we are deeply concerned with a further deterioration in U.S.-China relations and the possibility of renewed tension in the Taiwan Straits. Some of this concern is personal: Many of our members have close friends and relatives in Taiwan and China. Many have children and grandchildren serving in the armed forces of the United States. The personal cost of conflict is great.

Yet more importantly, our concern arises from a recognition that constructive relations with China is vital to the long-term interests of the United States, the Pacific region, and the world as a whole. The Committee of 100 speaks today because it believes that the bicultural background of its members offer a unique perspective on U.S.-China issues. This bicultural view, we believe, sheds much light on the origins of and the solutions to some of the misunderstandings that have brought the United States and China to the verge of confrontation.

Roots of the Recent Crisis

The crisis in the Taiwan Straits arose for many different reasons. Internal politics within China and Taiwan and the failure of the United States to articulate a clear, consistent, bipartisan China policy all contributed to the problem. Recent attempts by Taiwan for greater international space

alarmed the Chinese leadership, triggering military maneuvers. The resulting threat to regional stability, in turn, prompted an American response.

Lying underneath these events, however, were three more fundamental problems which will continue to derail U.S.-China relations if they remain unremedied. First is the absence of a unified China policy supported by both the President and Congress. Second is inadequate understanding on the part of China and the United States of each other's perspective. Third is the overemphasis on the part of both countries on areas of disagreement instead of focusing on areas of common concern.

Adherence to the "One China" Policy

Positive and enduring U.S.-China relations cannot exist without a clearly defined, long-term vision of the substance of the relationship. Such a relationship cannot be sustained without a clear, consistent policy and effective means of implementation.

The "One China" policy, affirming the principle that China and Taiwan are part of one China and as articulated in the Three Communiqué exchanged between the United States and China, was initiated under President Richard Nixon. For the past two decades, every administration has adhered to this policy. This policy has helped normalize relationships between the United States and

China, relaxed tensions across the Taiwan Straits, increased trade among China, Taiwan, and the United States, and promoted stability and prosperity in the Pacific. The President and Congress should uphold this policy and make it work effectively.

Respecting Differences

Cultural and historical differences between the United States and China naturally hinder mutual understanding. The fact that China often fails to articulate its views effectively to the Western world adds further misunderstanding. Nevertheless, if the United States is to build a lasting relationship with China, it must seek to understand the perspective from which the Chinese people speak. While China needs to communicate better, we need to become better listeners.

We recognize the immense challenge of managing a country of 1.3 billion people. China is as diverse as England, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Mexico, Israel, and the United States combined, yet it has twice as many people as the combined population of these countries and no where near their combined wealth. No other country faces the task of dealing with a floating labor population of 120 million people or the need to feed an additional 13 million mouths each year. The sheer magnitude of internal problems helps explain the intense concern Chinese leaders have about maintaining stability and their interest in relying on economic growth as a means to keep social peace.

Perspectives on Human Rights

As Americans of Chinese descent, we share the basic American values of freedom, democracy, and respect for human rights. We strongly believe that Chinese people everywhere should enjoy such rights. Yet it is important for the

United States to understand the context in which the Chinese people view human rights. Within living memory, a substantial part of the Chinese population has suffered from extreme poverty, famine, and a lack of basic human necessities. American policymakers, therefore, must understand that to the Chinese, the most important human right is the basic right of survival.

Economic reform over the past twenty years have brought much freedom to the Chinese people, though it is a type of freedom that is often ignored in discussions on human rights. The growth of the Chinese economy has lifted much of the population from subsistence existence. According to World Bank figures, 200 million people were lifted from the poverty level in the 1980s alone. Concurrently, such growth has improved living standards, social mobility, geographic mobility, and access to information from the outside world.

The result of these reforms have contributed to greater personal freedoms — though undeniably not to the extent we enjoy as Americans. In evaluating Chinese progress with respect to political rights, however, we must remember that democratic institutions do not appear instantaneously. The United States has been a free republic since 1776, but it was not until 1865 that slavery was abolished, it was not until 1920 that women were given the right to vote, and it was not until the 1960s that civil-rights legislation began to address seriously racial discrimination.

Encouraging the Rule of Law

Past U.S. approaches toward advocating human rights in China have been ineffective because China has perceived such approaches as foreign interference in its internal affairs. It is time to consider a fresh approach.

Guarantees of freedom and equality are empty

promises if they are not safeguarded by a legal framework capable of protecting such rights. Encouraging China to follow the rule of law, both domestically and internationally, and assisting China with the development of its legal institutions will help lay the foundations for a broadening of political rights. Already we have seen early signs of progress in this area: China recently enacted legislation to strengthen administrative and penal laws against arbitrary actions by local police.

Encouraging the rule of law can ease U.S.-China relations in areas beyond human rights. In recent years, intellectual property piracy has been a point of dispute between the United States and China. The development of adequate legal institutions will protect intellectual property and other American commercial interests. It will enhance the investment climate, leading to further economic growth. More importantly, stronger rule of law will help reduce corruption — a major concern of the Chinese people.

Taiwan

Chinese history shapes China's world view. For a large portion of its modern history, China was subject to invasion, territorial annexation, and humiliation at the hands of Western powers and Japan. China's defeat by the British during the Opium War led to the forced opening of treaty ports, substantial payments of war indemnities, and forced opium imports into the country. Fifty-five years later, China lost the Sino-Japanese War and was forced to cede Taiwan to Japan, which did not return the island until the end of World War II. In foreign concessions in Shanghai, public parks held signs that said "No dogs or Chinese allowed." The list goes on. Given this history, can it be surprising that China is particularly sensitive to perceived threats to its sovereignty?

Of all issues germane to U.S.-China relations, the issue of Taiwan requires the most sensitivity. China considers Taiwan to be an inseparable part of China. No Chinese leader who is perceived as unable or unwilling to protect China's territorial integrity can survive.

It is important to recognize that relations between China and Taiwan are more complex than the rhetoric of conflict would indicate. In fact, since the 1980s, relations between China and Taiwan have steadily increased. Prior to the recent events, there was continuous interaction between China and Taiwan on all issues at official, unofficial, and private levels. Cross-strait travel and exchange of all kinds — academic, scientific, legal, and others — continued to flourish as did bilateral trade and Taiwanese investment in the mainland. Even during the recent crisis in the Taiwan Straits, private and unofficial exchange did not cease. Taiwanese investment in the mainland totals \$26 billion — an amount that exceeds the total U.S. investment in China — and continues to grow.

The people of both sides of the Taiwan Straits desire peace. Managing cross-strait relations is critical to the leaders of China and Taiwan. So long as tensions across the Taiwan Straits remain low, there is every reason to hope that China and Taiwan can continue to nurture their own constructive relationship, reaching solutions according to their own terms and at their own pace. The role of the United States is to refrain from acting in a way that might heighten tensions, while insisting that any resolution to these issues must be through peaceful means.

Agenda for Peace in the Taiwan Straits

As we recently saw, the gains from the careful nurturing of a constructive relationship between Taiwan and China that has taken place over the

years can be easily reversed within a short period of time. We must repair the damage before it becomes irreversible. We hope that with American encouragement, the leadership in Taiwan and China will seize the moment by agreeing to:

1. Refrain from political and military provocations that would strain tensions and escalate conflict across the Taiwan Straits.
2. Immediately resume plans to establish the "Three Communications" — direct trade links, direct postal links, and direct travel between China and Taiwan.
3. Set, as early as possible, a date and place for the top leadership of both sides to meet.
4. Encourage further economic cooperation.
5. Initiate more artistic, athletic, cultural, and educational exchange.

In sum, until 1994 both China and Taiwan enjoyed the benefit of improved cross-strait relations. We recognize the complexity of the political situation on both sides. Nevertheless, we call on the leaders of China and Taiwan to avoid provocative actions, to be far-sighted, and to take prudent initiatives to advance peaceful ties and cross-strait reconciliation.

Increasing Understanding

While the United States must understand China, China must understand the United States. The United States was founded in opposition to European despotism, and Americans are especially sensitive to the suppression of individual rights by the government. These are our basic values, and China must recognize that American actions will reflect these values.

China also must learn about how the American political system functions: It must learn that power is not centralized in one pair of hands, but is instead distributed among various branches and organs of government. It must recognize that our system of government can at times produce conflicting policies. It must also understand how the media helps form public opinion, how decisionmakers are influenced by public opinion, and how such influences help shape policy decisions.

Toward these ends, both the United States and China must not only step up efforts to understand each other, but also affirmatively act to teach the other side about itself. Increased governmental exchange will facilitate this process.

More communication, however, can occur at all levels. Indeed it is not enough for decisionmakers on both sides to understand each other. The American public's understanding of China and the Chinese public's understanding of the United States must be increased. Greater support for cultural exchange is one method. More educational exchange is another. The Chinese scholar who studies in the United States brings home with him American ideas. Similarly, the American who acquires in depth knowledge of China stands in a better position to come to terms with China.

Shared Interests

American perceptions of China often focus only on the negative side of the relationship. They highlight areas of disagreement, driving U.S. policy toward adversarial positions and creating the impression that U.S.-China relations is a zero-sum game. In the process, they neglect many areas for cooperation.

The United States and China share many common interests. On the bilateral level, strong economic

ties serve China's interests in economic development while opening up new markets for American business, which in turn creates high-paying, export-related jobs in the United States. Furthermore, business ties also reinforce political ties, strengthening bilateral relations in the process. The influence of economic relations into the political realm must not be discounted. As we see in China today, the need for legal institutions to handle commercial transactions is leading the way in the development of the rule of law.

On the global level, issues such as nuclear proliferation, regional security, environmental degradation, free trade, and public health are impossible to address effectively without cooperation between the United States and China. China represents nearly a quarter of the world population; it seeks to achieve the respect it believes it deserves in the world community. As we saw when China played a key role in defusing the nuclear threat in North Korea and when it helped restore peace in Cambodia, China is willing to participate when given a chance. By treating China as a respected member of the world community, the United States can forge a powerful partnership for addressing pressing international problems.

The basis of any constructive relationship is mutual respect. Keeping a Cold-War mentality and seeking another communist enemy to fight will not help the United States resolve its difference with China. There is compelling self-interest for both the United States and China to maintain a peaceful and mutually beneficial relationship. China can become an enemy if we choose, but it also can be a friend.

A Win-Win Strategy

The relationship between the United States and China need not be a zero-sum game.

Accordingly, the Committee of 100 encourages the U.S. government to firmly uphold a consistent "One China" policy, and to adopt the following win-win strategy:

1. Develop a clear, consistent, bipartisan China policy that will foster positive relations through quiet yet firm, consistent yet flexible diplomacy rather than open confrontation.
2. Focus on areas of mutual interest between the United States and China, while recognizing that there will be areas of difference. Forge a vision of a 21st century in which both countries collaborate closely on economic, strategic, and global issues to ensure peace and development throughout the Pacific region. The President must be able to articulate this vision clearly; the strategy for implementing it must be concrete.
3. Seek constructive dialogue on military, political, economic, and environmental issues with Chinese leaders. Begin with a summit meeting between President Bill Clinton and President Jiang Zemin soon as possible, definitely before the end of the year.
4. Establish regular dialogue between members of Congress and their Chinese counterparts.
5. Support initiatives toward developing a legal framework in China for the protection of individual and commercial rights. Assist with the development of the rule of law through greater exchange of judicial personnel and legal scholars. Offer technical assistance on enforcing laws protecting intellectual property rights.
6. Encourage direct dialogue between China

and Taiwan so that both sides may settle cross-strait issues according to their own terms. Avoid any action that may interfere with or complicate such dialogue.

7. Broaden cultural and educational exchange.

Encourage the expansion of Chinese studies programs at all levels of educational institutions in America as well as the expansion of American studies programs in China. Provide public and encourage private funding for these exchange and cultural programs.

8. Promote strong economic relations between the United States and China. In line with U.S. policy toward most other countries in the world, renew Most Favored Nation trade status unconditionally. Support the entry of China into the World Trade Organization.

More important than the above recommendations is a greater principle: U.S.-China

relations must be based upon greater understanding of and respect for cultural differences. With bicultural understanding the United States and China can forge a solid, lasting friendship.

The relationship between the United States and China stands at a historic crossroads. Two powerful nations face each other — each viewing the other through colored lenses. The issue at hand is simple: Do they focus myopically on their differences, allowing these differences to drive both sides into adversarial positions? Or will they broaden their perspective and seek common ground in an effort to lay the foundation for sustained, mutually productive cooperation?

The window of opportunity will not stay open indefinitely. We respectfully urge the President of the United States and the United States Congress to act wisely and in a timely fashion so that future generations of Americans and Chinese may live together peacefully in the coming century.

DATE: 5/14/96

TO: Andy Sens

FROM: Staff Secretary

Is NSC also working
on this? Any comments
to add as this memo
goes to POTUS?

Please let me know.

J. Miller



CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

*To The President -
following on your
request.*

May 7, 1996

TO: Leon
FR: Tom
RE: CHINA'S POTENTIAL AIRCRAFT DEALS

I've organized the notes below in order of the President's highlights of the WSJ article. There are two key issues: 1) getting the Chinese to sign orders already written up and agreed to and 2) potential deals on China's future co-development of the AE-100, a new aircraft. The WSJ article and a Post article are attached.

Unfinalized orders for American aircraft (the orders are ready but awaiting signatures): Commerce estimates (but is not privy to exact amounts and specifications) that the Chinese have outstanding but unfinalized orders amounting to as much as \$4 billion with Boeing and McDonnell-Douglas, and they are in discussions on future orders with both Boeing and McDonnell-Douglas. (We believe that Boeing's orders are for 25 737s, ten 777s and five 747s.)

Wu Yi, China's Trade Minister, is willing to use these orders for political ends, as the Post notes. She is now talking about rescheduling her "**buying mission**" to the U.S. to June [in order to have maximal impact on Congress's MFN deliberations]. She is capable of cancelling the buying mission if MFN looks to be in danger.

Bottom line: It sounds as though these orders may be delayed but will eventually be signed, barring the loss of MFN status -- that's a probability, not a certitude.

The AE-100: China has signed a letter of intent with the British-French Airbus consortium to buy Airbus's services in the building of China's next passenger plane, the AE-100. That letter of intent is viewed as a possible statement to the US, and Commerce believes that China would prefer to buy Boeing's expertise. The AE-100, a twin-engine jet with 80-115 passengers, would be a co-development project with an assembly line in China. A Commerce Department official estimates that the plane would come on the market in about 2005. The deal for China's partner (Boeing or Aerospatiale, e.g.) is reportedly worth roughly \$2 billion. Singapore is also already a partner with China in the project.

The French Connection: The Chinese are clearly playing us off the French by announcing a letter of intent with France's Aerospatiale the week of April 8 yet indicating that Boeing is still in the running. Most of China's purchases to date have been American. On economic/business grounds, they should stick with their best/largest supplier -- Boeing. For politico-strategic reasons, they may be diversifying their suppliers.

Airbus's Flaws: According to Commerce, the Chinese "don't really like the Airbus [French/British plane]." Commerce maintains that pilots think the Airbus controls the pilots rather than the reverse. Airbus is the only company to have produced jets in

which test pilots have crashed in normal operations; they don't have "friendly" manual overrides.

Politics in service of business: Commerce believes that Boeing is still in the running but that China will milk the politics of this deal for all it is worth, both to bring down Boeing's price and to reap rewards in other non-trade areas.

China's Strategic Goals: China wants to use this aircraft program to become a world player in aircraft production. They would like to build as many as 332 AE-100's for themselves. They also see the export of as many as 900 to the US and up to 600 to Europe between now and 2020. Boeing's provision of services to China in the co-development of the AE-100 would promote the development of a competitor in the long run if China were successful. On the other hand, it is very unlikely that China would make those sales; they're unproven as producers, and it would probably take them 20 years to establish themselves as a reliable producer of reliable aircraft. Moreover, Boeing would like to win this co-development agreement.

Export of jobs?: Boeing's union (the Intl. Assn. of Machinists and Aerospace Workers) would rather see planes built in Seattle than in China.

Technology control: The French would be willing to share more technology than we would probably allow Boeing to share. Commerce has not yet seen what kind of technology China is requesting in its proposal, but an export license would be needed to transfer the kind of technology they are seeking. They are most interested in Boeing's systems integration, marketing strategy, quality control and manufacturing process expertise.

What to do? Commerce's staff say that it seems difficult for the USG to do anything other than maintain MFN and use senior officials to jawbone the Chinese on these aircraft deals, unless we are willing to back off on other concerns such as IPR, non-proliferation and human rights.

If the President wants to ratchet up USG involvement, you may want to advise the President to ask Laura Tyson, Mickey Kantor and Charlene Barshefsky to come up with a recommendation as to **whether we really want to help** Boeing on the AE-100 -- given the union's concern and the technology control issue -- and, if so, how to help.

[Sources: Sally Bath, Director of Office of Aerospace Trade Development, ITA, Commerce; and Steve Falcon at USTR.]

China Is Playing Politics in Orders For Airplanes

Chinese, U.S. Executives Agree Poor Relations Holding Deals Hostage

By Joseph Kahn

Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal
BEIJING - When it comes to aviation, China is following an old dictum of Mao Tse-Tung: politics in command.

That's the conclusion of industry executives from both China and the U.S. who gathered at an international symposium here. With Sino-U.S. relations in a troubled state, the business of making and selling airplanes isn't just a business anymore, they say.

"We'd like to make our decisions based on technical and commercial factors," says Zhu Yuli, president of Aviation Industries of China, referring to his company's plan to build 100-seat aircraft with Western help. "But governments and statesmen are involved. We can't control that."

Ronald Woodward, president of Boeing Co., echoed the sentiment, complaining bitterly that his company has missed out on China orders because of strained bilateral ties. He attributes China's recent order for 30 A-320 jets from archrival Airbus Industrie squarely to politics. "Relations between our two countries made a Boeing decision impractical," Mr. Woodward said.

Their comments suggest a consensus that Beijing intends to hold a few high-profile business deals hostage until the U.S. makes diplomatic concessions. China faces a tough battle this spring to retain its low-tariff access to its largest overseas market, amid negative congressional sentiment on issues including Taiwan, human rights, nuclear nonproliferation and copyright protection.

"I wish we could just say that the Taiwan question and the aircraft question are two separate things," one Chinese aviation official said. "But our central authorities have decided to link them together."

First Salvo

The first salvo in that effort came last week. On a visit to France, Chinese Premier Li Peng unveiled China's largest-ever order for Airbus planes, trumpeting the deal as a new era in China's business ties to Europe. China and France also signed a preliminary agreement to produce a 100-seat regional aircraft, anubing Boeing and McDonnell Douglas Corp.

The aircraft issue seems likely to arise again shortly. The two U.S. manufacturers say China has outstanding but unfinalized orders for as much as \$4 billion in U.S. planes. Wu Yi, China's trade minister, may reschedule a delayed buying mission to the U.S. around the time Congress debates whether to grant China most favored nation trade status. That raises the prospect of the orders once again becoming a "political football," one Boeing official said.

China also has set June, just after the MPN vote, as the deadline to select a final partner for its \$2 billion aircraft project, dubbed the AE-100. U.S. executives say they believe Europeans now have the upper hand in that contest. But China continues to announce tidbits of its decision-making step by step for maximum political effect.

China generally puts its commercial interests first and rarely has penalized U.S. companies for political reasons, analysts and Western diplomats say. Moreover, any anti-U.S. actions don't appear to have spread beyond the aviation industry, where Boeing holds 10% of the local market.

Frustrating Stalemate

Still, Boeing executives aren't disguising their frustration at the current stalemate. The Seattle-based aircraft maker has successfully negotiated terms for the sale of 60 aircraft to Chinese airlines, but Beijing has blocked the deals, Mr. Woodward said. "They are stuck at the central level," Mr. Woodward said in an interview. He said Boeing has an agreement with individual Chinese airlines for 25 B-737s, 10 B-777s, and 5 B-147s.

China's recent decision to purchase Airbus jets was clearly political, Mr. Woodward said, disputing a widespread view among outside analysts that a large Airbus order was overdue. He said China Southern Airlines, which will take the first batch of A-320s on order, has an all-Boeing fleet. "It makes no economic sense" to add A-320s, he said.

Chinese aviation executives agree that politics has taken a front seat recently, though for different reasons. Mr. Zhu, president of Aviation Industries, described the process for selecting a manufacturing partner for the AE-100 as two-layered. "We consider the technical elements, but someone else makes the political decision," he said in an interview.

Mr. Zhu called the related letter of intent signed between his company and France's Aerospatiale SA last week as "important." But he insisted that China and Singapore, its main Asian partner in the project, will continue to debate which partner to choose, implying that Boeing isn't yet out of the running.

Aviation Industries also is caught in a politically charged relationship with South Korea, its original partner for the aircraft project. Mr. Zhu confirmed yesterday that his company can't agree on terms with South Korean counterparts.

"At the industry level, we're not communicating," Mr. Zhu said. "The governments will have to solve the problem."

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 1996

PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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Britain, in Reversal, Gives Refuge to Saudi Dissident

By a Wall Street Journal Staff Reporter

LONDON - The British government decided not to deport a Saudi Arabian dissident whose pro-democracy activities had threatened to damage Britain's relations with Saudi leaders.

Mohammed al-Masari, who has been campaigning against the Saudi royal family from the United Kingdom, will be allowed to remain in Britain for four years, along with his family. The deal is seen as a compromise between expelling Dr. al-Masari and granting him full asylum.

The U.K. government came under fire at home for its decision in January to deport Dr. al-Masari, whose criticisms had infuriated the Saudi government. The initial British decision to deport Dr. al-Masari, critics said, came only after Saudi officials threatened to pull out of valuable arms deals if the dissident wasn't expelled.

The new decision to allow Dr. al-Masari to stay in Britain came after an immigration appeals tribunal ruled that Home Secretary Michael Howard was wrong in dismissing the dissident's request for asylum. The tribunal also warned that the safety of Dr. al-Masari, who most likely would have been sent to the Caribbean island of Dominica, couldn't be guaranteed.

what can we do?

Leon/Tony

let's discuss

Tom U

MORE?

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Get the power

Turn Off Pressure, China Tells U.S.

Beijing Vows Tough Response on Human Rights and Trade Issues

By Steven Mufson
Washington Post Foreign Service

BEIJING, May 3—China, faced with a fight in the U.S. Congress over renewal of preferential trade status and with threats of sanctions over commerce and arms sale disputes, is responding with threats of its own.

Top Chinese leaders are warning the United States: Stop badgering us about alleged violations of human rights, intellectual property rights and nuclear proliferation accords, or China will retaliate by punishing American companies trying to do business here.

Today, the state-run New China News Agency said it was "irrational" for the U.S. trade representative to identify China this week as the world's major pirate of copyrights and patents. "If the U.S. goes so far as to implement its trade retaliation, China will, according to its foreign trade law, take countermeasures to safeguard its sovereignty and national esteem," said a spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation.

"Competition in the China market is fierce," Foreign Ministry spokesman Shen Guofang said pointedly at a press briefing earlier this week. "It is unwise to link political issues with economic or trade issues."

Shen's warning came in the wake of the Clinton administration's decision to hold up Export-Import Bank credits for part of a Guangzhou subway project until further talks are held over Chinese exports to Pakistan of specialized magnets that the administration says could be used in making nuclear weapons.

Shen's warning also came just three weeks after Premier Li Peng, on a trip to France, unveiled an agreement to buy 33 passenger planes from the British-French Airbus consortium instead of from Seattle-based Boeing. And Li hinted that U.S. government pressure on China would cost American companies more contracts in the future.

"In the early 1990s, when some

countries could not understand China and imposed unfair sanctions on it, French entrepreneurs and technical personnel continued to honor their contracts and did not exert pressure on China as some major Western countries did," Li said in a speech in France.

Chinese political concerns have also become a topic—and a factor—in contract talks with American companies. One executive negotiating a contract worth hundreds of millions of dollars was told that there were four considerations: price, reliability, after-service support—and whether the U.S. government takes a "more reasonable stand" toward China.

"I've never seen it this bad," said the executive, who has done business in China for many years. "The Chinese have made it clear we're playing politics with them over trade issues, so they're going to play politics with us."

In contract negotiations, he said, "they're very direct and very blunt. We know that if things continue like this, the business will go to Europe." Often, he added, companies will cut prices to try to hang onto sales—and some cynics say that is China's true objective, but "business can only reduce prices for so long to compensate for political atmosphere."

The Chinese threats to link contract talks in China with political considerations come, ironically, one year after the Clinton administration decided to sever the link between human rights concerns and China's trade status. Moreover, if carried out, China's threats would hit hardest at American businesses that have been helpful to China.

"I must tell you that I am disappointed in China's most recent order for Airbus airplanes," said Boeing's president, Ronald B. Woodard, in Beijing recently.

Woodard ticked off items on Boeing's record of service to China: lobbying for permanent most-favored-nation status for China; support for China's inclusion in the World Trade Organization; transfer of production and assembly opera-

tions to China; safety internships for almost 2,000 Chinese pilots and maintenance people in Seattle and China; \$100 million spent improving Chinese airport safety equipment and donation of two 737 simulators for Chinese training of air crews.

Some analysts said that the plane contract would have gone to Airbus anyway, that negotiations were completed well in advance of Li's visit, and that Li was simply capitalizing on the decision to make a political point. But China has been fuming at the United States since last summer's visit by Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui, and politics could still have influenced the decision.

Many analysts say that China is playing a potentially self-destructive game. Although China is the most rapidly growing market for the United States, the U.S. market is even more important to China. Nearly 40 percent of its exports end up in the United States, and China has a \$25 billion to \$30 billion trade surplus with the United States, depending on counting methods.

"We should very soberly look at what the costs will be as we slide down the road toward an adversarial relationship," said David M. Lampton, president of the New York-based National Committee on U.S.-China Relations.

Many China analysts say that whatever happens on specific contracts like the airliner deal, the Chinese government has made a strategic decision to diversify its sources of investment and its export markets.

"In my view, they've made a strategic decision to diversify their investment base and sources of trade, and the day will come when they really don't need the U.S.," said an American executive here. "We'll be an important trade partner, but the U.S. won't be able to turn the trade screws."

Meanwhile, China is feeling confident that the lure of future sales in its rapidly expanding market will sway American business, and thus American politicians.

Wall-to-Wall Clearance Sale!

5/13/96

Came through interoffice mail
Send to Scheduling for
appropriate action?

Yes ☒

No ☐

C.

Ronald H. Brown Foundation, Inc.

2121 K Street, N.W., Suite 625

Washington, D.C. 20037
96 MAY 13 8:31

Alma Arrington Brown
Chairman of the Board

Thomas Hale Boggs
Treasurer

Tracey L. Brown
Secretary

Vernon B. Jordan, Jr.
Board Member

Michael A. Brown
President/CBO
(202) 835-0700

May 8, 1996

Mr. William J. Clinton
President
United States of America
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

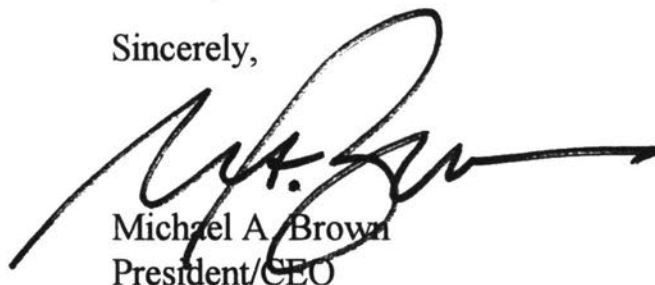
Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for agreeing to be the Honorary Chairman of the first annual Ronald H. Brown Foundation Golf & Tennis Tournament on September 23, 1996, at the Loews Island Club in Sterling, VA. I appreciate you adding your name to this event. If your schedule allows, we would also love for you to play in the tournament in some capacity.

Also please let me extend on behalf of my family our appreciation to you, Mrs. Clinton and the Vice President and Mrs. Gore, on how supportive all of you have been during our ordeal.

Thanks again. We will be in touch with further details.

Sincerely,



Michael A. Brown
President/CEO

Enclosure

Mission Statement

The Ronald H. Brown Foundation, created to carry forward his legacy and vision into the 21st Century, will focus on the interaction of the three central areas reflected in the Secretary's life work: commitment to education, political development and international commerce. Ron Brown's life comprised varied roles and encompassed many accomplishments, but each in its own way contributed to the singular goal of providing opportunity for people of all races, beliefs and social classes. The Foundation will perpetuate that fundamental mission, while focussing on the following specific areas of particular interest of the Secretary of Commerce:

- **Activism:** Ron Brown brought an activist spirit to each position he held throughout his career, from his days fighting for civil rights with the National Urban League to fighting for American business at the Commerce Department. At each stop along the way, Secretary Brown actively worked to ensure that all Americans shared access to the same opportunities.
- **Youth:** As demonstrated by the ages of those who worked, and died, with him, Ron Brown believed that America's youth held great potential - potential that we could foster by providing education and opportunity to the leaders of tomorrow.
- **The Democratic Process:** Ron Brown firmly believed in the importance of the democratic process and the value of political participation, regardless of where one stands on the political spectrum.
- **Global Commercial Development:** In his final and greatest role, Secretary Brown elevated the importance of trade beyond the bottom line. His commercial diplomacy and advocacy not only created jobs for Americans, but it also created opportunities for people in markets and areas where few previously existed.

The Foundation will seek to carry on Ron Brown's mission, as defined by these issues, through the following programs:

- **Education:** The Foundation will establish an education center affiliated with an existing academic institution, that will provide a core curriculum consisting of international business and management and non-partisan political development skills. The student body will reflect the diversity that is America's greatest strength.
- **Policy Center:** The Foundation will create a policy think tank that will deal with issues of the day essential to domestic and global economic and political stability and growth.
- **Global Commerce:** The Foundation will establish a commercial program that will complement the work of the Department of Commerce and other Federal agencies. The program will build on the work of the Secretary in terms of advocacy, minority business development and other efforts to open new export and investment opportunities for American businesses, particularly smaller companies.

given to the President
in N.Y. -
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5/13

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PATRICK J. KERZIC
720 KING GEORGE'S POST ROAD
FORDS, NJ 08863-0538

96 MAY 13 PM 8:47

May 6, 1996

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am a Regent of Saint Mary's College in Orchard Lake, Michigan. The school was founded in 1885 by Polish immigrants and has long historical ties with Poland and other countries in that region of Europe. Since the fall of communism, Saint Mary's has begun to recruit students from Poland and more recently from Albania and Slovakia. It expects to expand its efforts to educate students in the best traditions of a Catholic Liberal Arts education to Belarus next year.

I seek your assistance to facilitate the process of getting student visas for our applicants. In recent years the college has had, on occasion, difficulties with the U.S. Consular Service, particularly in Poland, which has questioned the credibility of some of its students. Saint Mary's values its reputation highly and is careful to enroll only serious and qualified students. Hence, we have found some of the rejections arbitrary and very problematical.

The College President, Dr. Thaddeus Radzilowski (who served on your East European Policy Roundtable during the transition) and other college officials will be visiting Warsaw, Krakow and Tirana between May 11th and 23rd to seek to iron out past difficulties in Poland and to smooth future relations at those sites and in Tirana.

A word from your office will go a long way to help Saint Mary's bring the benefits of a quality education as well as a favorable image of the United States to Poland, Albania, Slovakia and Belarus in the years to come. I thank you in advance for any help you can give us in this regard.

Sincerely,


Patrick J. Kerzic

cc: Adam Cardinal Maida, Archbishop of Detroit
Rev. Msgr. Stanley E. Milewski, Chancellor, Orchard Lake Schools
Mark T. Megge, Chairman of the Board of Regents
Chairman and CEO, Carron and Company, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan
Dr. Thaddeus Radzilowski, President, Saint Mary's College

Hand delivered

5/13

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Do st kind for
reply?

☒ yes ☐ no
S.



CALIFORNIA SENIOR LEGISLATURE
The Los Angeles City/County Caucus

May 10, 1996

*Pattus has
not seen*

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

Attn: Betty Currie,
Executive Secretary

Dear President Clinton:

As you are aware of California's interest in Health Care, the members present at the Los Angeles City/County Caucus Of the California Senior Legislature on May 24, 1996 voted unanimously to ask you to vigorously oppose privatization of Social Security.

Previous problems in the banking industry due to laxity of management during the Savings & Loan crisis in the 1980's, mergers, and acquisition of private financial investment firms are a tract record that financial management is of a dubious nature.

We appreciate you continued support for Medicare and Medicaid and strongly urge you to oppose privatization of Social Security.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Wagner

Robert Wagner, Senior Senator
Chairman of the LA City/County CSL Caucus

Caucus Members Present:

Jack M Trystman
Elizabeth Eastman
Albert Sampson
Robert Wagner
Mildred Greenberg

Harold Wulke
Marguerite Coffey
Lila Garrett
Dan Cohen
Elsie Spindel
Augustus Rhodes

a:cslpres

Johnny Mike and Debbie Walker

1657 Sunrise Mountain Road
Fayetteville, AR 72701

96 MAY 13 A 8:32

Telephone 501-521-2101

May 4, 1996

Dear President Clinton:

Debbie and I would like to thank you for making our first trip to Washington one we will remember the rest of our lives. This letter is being written before we have even left Fayetteville, but we are quite sure we are going to have a wonderful time. Of course, we realize we are very fortunate to have Beth Coulson as a special friend who is able to arrange for your time to visit with us.

My parents and Debbie and I appreciate the work you do for our country and wish you success in your bid for re-election this year. We hope we can be of help to you in that regard. Please feel free to call on us in any way. Debbie even remembers how to knock on doors and hand out campaign information, as she did in college when you were running for Attorney General.

On behalf of Linda Lee Cadwell, I am giving you this tape on the life of Bruce Lee. Linda was married to Bruce Lee from August, 1964 until his death in July, 1973. Linda and her husband, Bruce Cadwell, have become friends of ours in the past few years and thought you might be interested in the biography. I don't know if you might have been a Bruce Lee fan, but he is still admired and respected by millions of people around the world, not only for his acting and martial arts ability, but also for his knowledge in various academic pursuits. We hope you enjoy the movie.

Any consideration you might give to the issuance of a postal stamp in tribute to him is greatly appreciated. This matter is something that has been on the agenda of the United States Postal Service in the past. Linda, Bruce, Debbie and I feel very strongly that Bruce Lee's contribution to our society is worth remembering and honoring. Thank you for any consideration you give this matter.

Sincerely,

Johnny Mike Walker
Johnny Mike Walker

Came through interoffice mail -
Send to ~~Desk~~ ? M.A.H.R.

(N/A)

Yes ☒
No ☐

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96 MAY 13 48:33

"Using no way as way, having no limitation as limitation"

--BRUCE LEE

May 10, 1996

Dear President and Mrs. Clinton,

I am grateful to our good friends, Johnny Mike and Debbie Walker, for this introduction to you.

America is a multicultural society which gives people of all ethnic backgrounds the opportunity to excel. My late husband, Bruce Lee, an American of Chinese descent, personified the image of a minority youth who overcame physical disabilities, racial prejudice and financial hardship to reach his greatest potential in the short 32 years he was given. Since his death in 1973, Bruce Lee's life journey has served as a model for thousands around the world. The country of Tanzania and the colony of Hong Kong have found his inspiration to their citizens to be so great that they have issued stamps in his honor.

Bruce Lee was born in the United States, but as an infant he returned to Hong Kong with his parents. By virtue of his birth, the privilege of American citizenship was his if he chose to exercise it. The status of citizenship is one most of us take for granted, but for Bruce it was a conscious and proud decision. It is my earnest hope, and that of my family and his many fans, that the United States of America will honor Bruce Lee as he honored his country.

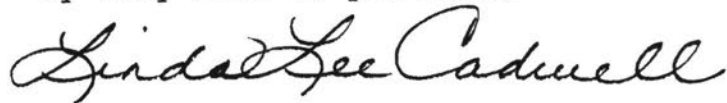
Judging by the books and articles, films and fan mail that his story continues to generate, I know that Bruce is a hero figure for American young people, especially inner city and troubled youths who often find themselves in situations of violent desperation. He was truly an extraordinary man, not only because of the superb physical talents for which he is best known, but more importantly for the philosophical and psychological insights he developed to integrate martial arts into all aspects of his life. His message to youngsters that physical confidence leads to the mental ability to avoid conflict is of utmost importance in today's violent world, and one worthy of the recognition of our country.

I realize this is a very busy time for both of you in a very special year, but I hope you will be able to squeeze in a viewing of the "Bruce Lee Biography"--it is entertaining and informative. Chelsea may also enjoy it. Perhaps now or during your second term you will find the time to give consideration to a United States postage stamp in honor of Bruce Lee--a role model for young people and future American citizens.

I know there are several efforts underway to combine martial arts training with an overall education that strives to find peaceful means to avoid and resolve conflict. I myself am in the process of co-writing a series of books with a renowned author and martial artist whose goal in life is to use **Martial Arts For Peace**. I would be willing to lend the name of Bruce Lee and my numerous resources to a concerted national effort in this direction. If this should become part of your educational agenda, know that you can call on me for support.

Thank you in advance for any influence you may exert on our behalf. If you ever need a place to stay in Boise or Sun Valley, our house is your house. My husband now, Bruce Cadwell, happens to be a great golfer (1 handicap), and would be honored to take you out on the links at any time.

My very best to you both,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Linda Lee Cadwell". The signature is fluid and elegant, with the first letters of each name being capitalized and prominent.

Linda Lee Cadwell

2165 Bluestem Lane
Boise, Idaho 83706
208/336-5415
208/389-7856 fax

HI-OUTPUT
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VIDEO CASSETTE
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VHS

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5.14.96

Leon / Up
annual review
Re

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 7, 1996

MR. PRESIDENT:

In the attached memo, Laura Tyson discusses -- but recommends against -- two proposals for creating a task force on economic growth.

The first comes from Paul London at the Commerce Department. He suggests an Administration task force established by executive order on the model of the President's Export Council. Your economic and political advisors see significant downside risks -- e.g., the task force could make proposals that we might find ourselves opposing on matters such as tort reform, capital gains cuts, entitlement reform, privatization of Social Security, and means-testing Medicare and Social Security.

The second proposal is to endorse a Subcouncil on Economic Growth of the Competitiveness Policy Council -- an entity created by the 1978 Omnibus Trade Bill and headed by Fred Bergsten. Bergsten has asked Felix Rohatyn and Dana Meade to co-chair, and Felix is interested, but doesn't want to waste his time in an exercise that may be of no use to you. Laura sees less downside here, since it wouldn't be an Administration council, but recommends against endorsing it or appointing an Administration member (which we could do under the statute) since, again, we couldn't know in advance whether we'd be in a position to support the recommendations.

George thinks we should leave both of these proposals alone.

Todd Stern

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

96 APR 29 P7:23

April 29, 1996

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LAURA D'ANDREA TYSON 
RE: TASK FORCE ON ECONOMIC GROWTH

At your last meeting with Felix Rohatyn in New York in March, you spoke with him about the possibility of establishing a task force to develop proposals on how to increase the economy's growth rate. You will recall that you also met with Felix and a small group of CEOs to discuss this issue last September. Since that time several business leaders and the National Association of Manufacturers have stated publicly that they believe the economy is capable of faster growth without inflation, and Felix made that case in his recent opinion piece in the Wall Street Journal. Meanwhile, the new chain-weighted output numbers for the economy indicate that its sustainable growth rate is lower, not higher, than the 2.5% which the Administration had been using in its earlier economic forecasts, and the new forecast is based on a sustainable growth rate of only 2.3%.

The growth issue may prove to be an important one in the upcoming campaign, and your advisers are already working to refine our economic message in terms of how our policies are designed to increase economic growth. One way to draw attention to this issue would be to include it in a major speech on your economic vision and agenda sometime later this spring.

Another way to illustrate your commitment to the growth issue would be to establish a task force of the type you briefly discussed with Felix. The attached letter from Paul London of the Commerce Department contains a specific proposal for such a task force to be established by executive order and to be modeled after the President's Export Council.

Many of your political and economic advisers believe, however, that a Presidentially-appointed growth task force entails some significant downside risks, the most important of which is that we may find ourselves opposing many of its likely recommendations like serious tort reform, tax reforms that reduce the burden on capital and increase it on labor, and entitlement reforms, like the privatization of Social Security or means-testing of Medicare and Social Security. The task force might also want to recommend a different course for monetary policy, thereby implicitly criticizing the Federal Reserve and calling into question our policy of avoiding commentary on the Fed.

As you know, we are already confronting the political challenge of how to respond to the controversial recommendations of the President's Advisory Panel on Social Security, which is scheduled to report to you sometime this spring. If we appoint a growth task force, we could confront a similar challenge in responding to its recommendations, including those which are leaked during its preliminary meetings prior to the election. In light of these risks, many of your advisers, including me, recommend against the formation of an Administration task force on growth. And if you were to decide in favor of such a task force, Paul London's proposal itself would raise a serious problem because of possible internal conflicts on the growth issue between Commerce on the one hand and Treasury, CEA and NEC on the other.

Last week Felix called me to inquire about your possible interest in an alternative approach. The Competitiveness Policy Council, which was established by the 1978 Omnibus Trade Bill, and which is headed by Fred Bergsten, wants to use its remaining budget to finance a Subcouncil on Economic Growth, and Fred has asked Felix and Dana Meade to co-chair. The Council has statutory authority to establish such a subcouncil, subject to the conditions that it have bi-partisan membership and that it include members from business, labor, government and the general public. (Traditionally, the government participant on subcouncils has been an administration official, but the Administration itself does not appoint other subcouncil members.) Felix is interested in participating in such an effort, but he asked me to inquire about your interest both because he does not want to waste his time in an exercise that may be of no use to you and because he wants to avoid doing anything that might harm your re-election.

My own view is that it is unlikely that the formation of a CPC subcouncil on growth could cause much political difficulty for you because it would be an independent entity, not a Presidentially-appointed commission. In addition, there is no requirement that an Administration official serve on the subcouncil, although Fred and Felix would like someone from the Administration to participate. The only immediate risk posed by the subcouncil's formation would be possible questions from the press about whether the Administration supports it.

At the same time, I think it unlikely that the subcouncil will develop many new recommendations, and it may re-cycle some problematic old ones, like tort reform and capital gains tax relief. Whatever its final recommendations, there is no way to guarantee to Felix that you and your economic team will either endorse them or incorporate them into your second-term agenda.

On balance, I recommend that the Administration take a neutral position on the formation of a CPC subcouncil on growth, treating it as an independent entity and that we not appoint an Administration official as a member. This will disappoint Felix but it is probably the safest course of action in this political year.

Please let me know if you want to send Felix a message about your views concerning a CPC subcouncil or if you have any questions or reactions to the Paul London proposal.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-14-96

More Americans Able to Buy Homes. A new report shows that mortgage lending to low- and moderate-income families in Chicago has increased dramatically over the past 5 years due to increased enforcement of the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) and fair lending laws. Between 1990 and 1994, loans to low- and moderate-income homebuyers increased 85 percent, while loans to upper- and high-income borrowers increased only 28 percent. The greatest increases in lending were concentrated in African-American communities. The study finds that the pattern of increased lending is part of a national trend. As reported by the Federal Reserve, home purchase loans to lower-income and minority households have grown explosively in recent years, with loans to blacks rising 55 percent between 1993 and 1994, after increases of 26 percent and 36 percent the prior 2 years.

A two-step plan to create 2 million new jobs before Election Day.

JOBS. JOBS. JOBS.
If rhetoric could create jobs, the economy would be rolling in prosperity by now. Clearly, what's required is decisive, bi-partisan action by the Administration and Congress; legislation capable of prompt enactment, designed to do two things which everyone agrees need doing:

1. Jump-start the economy.
2. Create long-term growth and opportunity.

The mother lode of jobs.

Historically, small entrepreneurial businesses have created the most new jobs, invested the greatest percentage of assets in new equipment, and provided the greatest percentage of technological breakthroughs and new products per dollar invested.

More than a third of America's workers are employed by businesses with fewer than 100 employees. Small businesses built America's economy.

Henry Ford, working in his garage.
Ray Kroc, the founder of McDonald's, selling out of the back of a station wagon.
Charles Revson, of Revlon, selling nail polish door-to-door.

Steve Jobs, creator of Apple Computer.
Bill Gates, who started Microsoft.
It's no accident that these breakthrough companies created entire industries.

Between 1982 and 1986, newly organized firms created 14.2 million new jobs. Companies with fewer than 100 employees created an additional 4.5 million new jobs. Meanwhile, the Fortune 500 companies decreased their employment by 20% over the last decade.

Seed money.

As an investment banker, I have raised equity capital for hundreds of companies.

The very next day after we give new companies a check, they are out hiring, creating jobs, investing in R&D, buying capital equipment, and creating new products and services to improve health and quality of life for us, our children and grandchildren.

Seed money creates growth. Instantly.

Step One: The Multiplier Effect.

My proposal is to provide tax incentives for new investments in small businesses.

Not in IBM. Not in General Motors.
Not for old investments.

In the small entrepreneurial companies that are capable of quantum growth.

To incentivize such investments, there should be no taxes on gains realized from investment in small companies, so long as such gains are reinvested in other small companies within six months. (Very much like the tax treatment afforded those who sell a home and purchase another within two years.) There should be no minimum holding period.

We're not looking to lock in "patient capital." The sooner the money is reinvested, the faster it can go to work again.

This multiplier effect increases the pool of investment capital, and keeps it flowing to where it can do the most good.

Step Two: Encourage risk-taking.

To encourage high-risk investing in start-up situations, losses from these investments should be deductible against any and all forms of income – not just passive gains.

There must be no limit on the amount of write-off for losses from investments in small companies.

We must encourage the kind of risk taking that stimulates growth.

Two million new jobs?

This proposal is not a windfall for the rich.
Not a giveaway. Not a quick fix.

It is a politically sound, voter-friendly, targeted incentive to leverage natural market forces without costly new government bureaucracy.

Almost nineteen million new jobs were created in small businesses in the four years between 1982 and 1986, despite the fact that there was no incentive offered that was in any way comparable to this proposal.

In addition, interest rates were not at a seventeen-year low. On the contrary.

Capital is seeking opportunity.

Opportunity is seeking capital.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Majority Leader, the time is now, before more millions of Americans lose their jobs to persistent economic stagnation.

Yourselves, perhaps, included.

J. Morton Davis
J. MORTON DAVIS
Chairman of the Board, D. H. Blair Investment Banking Corp.
Chairman of the Board, American Public Priorities Institute
Author, "Making America Work Again" (Crown Publishers 1983)

This ad is a summary of the two-step targeted tax incentive for small businesses proposed by Mr. Davis in testimony before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives on February 6, 1992. If you have any comments or questions concerning these proposals, or, more importantly, if you would like to join with Mr. Davis in helping to make America work again, please feel free to write to him at 44 Wall Street, New York, NY 10038.



1/24/66

Samson gave this to 14026
can you see a draft reply
to me

14026 14 03 14026
Bo

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-14-96

Apr 26, 1996

Dear Hilary.

With all due respect, if this message is presumptuous, please understand the honorable intent.

I implore you to ask President Clinton to seek the support of his legislative friends to disapprove mandating changes to the law which will allow contracting out fire fighter and security guard positions in the federal sector.

Downsizing the government and replacing federal employees with contractors does not positively benefit the deficit. It simply shifts higher payments to profiteering contractors.

The first step towards balancing the budget in relation to downsizing federal employees should be to pass the House Bill introduced by Chairman Homer Norton during the 103rd ^{Democratic} Congress and again in the 104th ^{Republican} Congress. New bills will bring cost comparison and accountability to using contractors to perform service support functions previously performed by federal employees.

I am President of the National Federation of Federal Employees (NFFE) Local 178, NPD, located at the Chemical Biological Research Development Command (CBDR&M) and the Medical Research Institute (USAMRIID), both ~~located~~ tenants of Aberdeen Proving Ground, Md. All attempts to learn the costs of contracting out and the number of ~~employees~~ shadow government (contract employees) ~~are~~ ^{the Senate} are hidden within the system. NO one, not Congress, OPM, EAO, or DOD can provide truthful facts concerning switching ^{costs} ~~costs~~ from federal employees to contractors. In many cases, cost analysis is not a prerequisite to going

See if we can
get a tape or the
transcript of the
R

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 13, 1996

Deane Shatz
4243 Lenore Lane, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Deane:

Thanks for your note of May 1. As always, it was good to hear from you, and I appreciated your usual forthrightness and candor. I'm sorry to have missed Diane Rehme's show -- I'm sure it was excellent.

I think effective Presidential character requires making tough choices, bringing folks together, and using the government as a catalyst to increase individual ability to do the right things. That's what I've tried to do throughout the last three and a half years, and I agree with you that we need to find a way to communicate this to every American.

I hope you and Paul are doing well and that we'll see you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Maureen

Todd 5/13

Who should we send POTUS' note to, to get the tape or transcript of the show.

McCarthy

S

Deane Shatz
4243 Lenore Lane N.W.
Washington, DC 20008
Telephone (202) 364-2929 FAX (202) 364-2929

Maurice
(2ry?)

May 1, 1996

Dear Mr. President,

I heard a program on the Deane Rehme show that should serve as a "benchmark" on character. This was a topic on April 23: commentators were David Lewis Goodwin, Michael Beschloss, Harry McPherson(?) and Charles Krauthammer. The definition of ^{effective} Presidential character should be disseminated throughout the country!

I am pleased to see that you are turning into a leader. Making hard choices and bringing us with you is your challenge for the years ahead.

Sincerely,

Deane Shatz

P.S. I hope the Federal gasoline tax stays in place.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 14, 1996

TO: Diane Regas
Elizabeth Drye

FROM: Phil Caplan

Attached for your information/use
is a copy of the Human Radiation
Contact list.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	re: Human Radiation Contact List [partial] (1 page)	05/13/1996	P3/b(3)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 7697

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files May 11-17, 1996: Tuesday, May 14, 1996

2019-0774-S

rs3317

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]

Human Radiation Contact List

Interagency Working Group

CIA:

(b)(3)

DOD: Claud Bailey ph: 703-442-5675 fax: 703-847-0890

e-mail: james.mccullough@cpqm.saic.com

Joan Ma Pierre ph: 703-325-7302 fax: 703-325-2959

Gordon Soper ph: 703-697-5561 fax: 703-695-0476

DOE: Elly Melamed ph: 202-586-6857 fax: 202-586-3552

e-mail: elly.melamed@hq.doe.gov

Lori Azim ph: 202-586-5319 fax: 202-586-0956

Lisa Blatt ph: 202-586-5289 fax: 202-586-1499

Steve Galson ph: 202-586-7700 fax: 202-586-9626

Robert Nordhaus ph: 202-586-5966 fax: 202-586-1499

Tara O'Toole ph: 202-586-6151 fax: 202-586-0956

DOJ: Pat Glynn ph: 202-616-4200 fax: 202-616-4473

Eva Plaza ph: 202-514-3309 fax: 202-514-8071

HHS: Gary Ellis ph: 301-496-7005 fax: 301-402-2071

e-mail: ge4l@nih.gov

Wendy Baldwin ph: 301-496-1096 fax: 301-402-3469

NASA: Arnauld Nicogossian ph: 301-358-1894 fax: 301-358-4174

e-mail: anicogossian@gm.olmsa.hq.nasa.gov

Earl Ferguson ph: 202-358-1894 fax: 202-358-3038

Janis Stoklosa ph: 202-358-2209 fax: 202-358-3038

OMB: Eric Macris ph: 202-395-4706 fax: 202-395-4817

e-mail: macris_e@a1.eop.gov

T.J. Glauthier ph: 202-395-4561 fax: 202-395-4639

OSTP: Rachel Levinson ph: 202-456-6137 fax: 202-456-6027

e-mail: levinson@ostp.eop.gov

VA: Susan Mather ph: 202-535-7182 fax: 202-535-7572

Harold Gracey ph: 202-273-4808 fax: 202-273-4877

Neil Otchin ph: 202-565-7057 fax: 202-565-7572

WH: Phil Caplan ph: 202-456-2702 fax: 202-456-2215

e-mail: caplan_p@a1.eop.gov

EPA: William Frank ph: 202-564-2584 fax: 501-0069

e-mail: frank.william@epamail.epa.gov

note: main contact is listed first, although this is not necessarily the most senior member of the IAWG staff for that agency; where e-mail is available for the main contact, it is included.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/14/96

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



May 13, 1996

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KATHLEEN A. MCGINTY

RE: UTILITY COMPETITION/CLEAN AIR ISSUE

You may remember that two weeks ago the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission issued a rule (eighteen months in the making) that is slated to save consumers \$5.5 billion annually by introducing competition in electric transmission and making cheaper power available nationwide.

You may also remember that we reported that Northeastern Governors and Senators had begun a drumbeat of concern for the potential negative air quality implications of pollution transported from the coal-burning Midwest as those cheaper plants fire up to take advantage of the open market for electricity. New England and the Mid-Atlantic states already face stringent NOx controls to help them achieve attainment of ozone (smog) standards. They have incurred huge costs and have not yet seen attainment, in part because of transport of pollutants from the Midwest. Even though there is currently a process (Ozone Transport Assessment Group - OTAG) to bring controls to transported pollution, they fear one of the results of competition will swamp that effort and bring more pollution.

The combatants in the Northeast include those genuinely concerned with pollution implications of increased emissions and others simply trying to slow or stop competition because they stand to lose to cheaper power.

FERC issued an Environmental Impact Statement, immediately attacked, that showed **no near term** increases in pollution as a result of competition and refused to stretch their legal authority under the Federal Power Act to mitigate any perceived damage. They claimed Clean Air Act authorities under EPA were adequate to handle any eventual increases (which they see in the 2010 and beyond timeframe).

EPA joined the attack claiming that the results could not be true and began their own analysis designed to impeach the FERC EIS. Pressure began to rise to "refer" the issue to CEQ in a mistaken impression that the White House could "direct" FERC (an independent regulatory agency) to take a different course on mitigation.

It has always been our view that we can have both competition and clean air, and we have urged the agencies to resolve their differences.

EPA and FERC have been negotiating for a week with direct conversations between

Administrator Carol Browner and Chair Betsy Moler.

Although every matter is not resolved even this morning, it is likely that EPA will "refer" this matter to CEQ today (Monday, May 13), along with very complementary words about the FERC rule and their environmental study. **In the course of doing their own analysis, EPA has concluded that the FERC EIS is, indeed, solid, and that there will be no near term impacts from pollution in the Northeast (as FERC had claimed).** Further, EPA has concluded that between FERC and EPA, and with additional help from the Department of Energy (which has been an indispensable honest broker in this process), **the Administration has a long term strategy to mitigate NOx emissions which will start with attempting to support and jump start the already existing OTAG process and, failing that, using Clean Air Act authorities to supplement those voluntary efforts.**

FERC, for its part, has agreed to provide back-up help to EPA by threatening to look again at environmental mitigation if EPA is unable to clean up pollution using current authorities.

Efforts began this morning to get Northeastern Senators to declare this solution completely satisfactory when it is announced and to cool the tempers of the Members and interests from the rest of the country who feared we would abandon competition.

Letters have poured into the White House in the last week on all sides of this issue with the Northeast united (letters from Governors and their environmental staff and some environmental groups) in asking "referral" of this issue to CEQ and Midwestern interests as well as Southern, Western, Southeastern asking us to avoid holding up the rule. The natural gas industry supports the rule wholeheartedly as do independent power producers, municipal electric and rural electric providers, industries (which will take the cheaper power), progressive electric utilities in every region, and renewable energy suppliers.

Offices in the White House strongly supporting the rule but also supporting announcing a strong mitigation plan for the future include the DPC, OMB, CEA, OVP, and OSTP.

I have briefed both the Vice President and Harold Ickes since this issue started to emerge. They both concurred in the strategy to seek agreement between the two agencies and to firmly support competition while ensuring that this Administration will back policies to achieve healthy air for all Americans.

WHY CLINTON IS GOING TO WIN

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/15/96

CRK
POST

5/10/96

ideal source
stud / call
Koch? -
Amun
Doran?
Bc

THERE are miles to go before the presidential election, but at this moment Bill Clinton looks like an easy victor. Bob Dole appears to be falling on his face every time he opens his mouth.

President Clinton is advised on the left by Harold Ickes, who responds to the liberal wing of the Democratic party, and on the right by Dick Morris, who responds to the moderate wing. The Democratic party moves diagonally and to the left. Its mirror image, the Republican party, flies diagonally to the right.

In the budget battle, the President brilliantly played the veto card and produced a grand slam. The Republicans, led jointly by House Speaker Newt Gingrich and Senate Majority Leader Dole, believed they had a winner in threatening to close down the government — and then doing it twice. They thought they could blackmail the President into accepting their version of a balanced budget.

They were wrong. The Presi-



New York Post/Charles Wenzelberg
BOB DOLE

dent never flinched. In this game of chicken, Clinton — offering his own more compassionate, balanced budget — took the role of James Dean in "Rebel Without A Cause," jumping out of the car in time while the Republicans went over the cliff.

Clinton shrewdly concluded that the public would blame the Republicans for the near debacle and the two government shutdowns — and he was right. To his credit, House Budget Committee Chairman John Kasich (R-Ohio), an honest man, admitted that the Republicans had been defeated in this battle for the hearts and minds of the American public.

What did the President and the Democratic party achieve? After seven months of intense negotiations, the Republicans threw in the towel and agreed to a permanent \$160 billion budget for the fiscal year that began last October.

While the Republicans did achieve a \$24 billion cut in spending over last year's budget, their acquiescence to the restoration of \$5 billion for the President's high profile health, education, environment and jobs programs had a much heavier impact on the public. The Democrats are now seen as the legitimate protectors of Medicare, Medicaid and welfare; translate, the elderly, the sick and the deserving poor.

The President acknowledged with Cheshire cat graciousness the contributions of the Republican leadership, knowing the media would accurately trumpet the brilliance of his campaign response to the inept GOP maneuvers.

The Republicans laid traps for the President, but in each case the foot caught was theirs — and, like entrapped foxes, they had to gnaw it free. Re-

He has a record of triumphs while Dole is increasingly inept



there for all to view.

Newt Gingrich is now a political albatross and has become more reclusive, but too late — his prior, overbearing image is stamped on the public consciousness. Sen. Dole, also visibly inept and unable to convey statesmanlike leadership, is being urged by supporters to step down as majority leader so that he can repair the damage to his presidential campaign.

A second victory for the President is the acknowledgment in Congress, with the recent passage of the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill, that there is a need for drastic changes in the country's health insurance coverage.

This legislation provides continued coverage for employees who change jobs during the course of a year — and affects an estimated 25-30 million people, many of whom will want to thank Bill Clinton for having raised the issue early

in his term.

He and Hillary failed because they sought to do too much, but managed care and dramatic changes in health care have occurred naturally because of the consciousness raising that took place.

A third Clinton victory is the rescinding of mean-spirited legislation — sponsored by Rep. Robert Dornan (D-Calif.) — which required the discharge of members of the military who have HIV. Under that legislation, over a thousand soldiers who are not yet suffering from AIDS and are capable of performing their duties, would have been forced out of the service.

Those who courageously opposed the Dornan-sponsored legislation included Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman John Shalikashvili, former chairman Colin Powell, Secretary of Defense William Perry and Sens. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.).

A fourth triumph is the increase in the minimum wage that will be voted on soon and is expected to pass. The recalcitrant Republicans were beaten to a pulp — particularly Sen. Dole, who opposed even a vote on the issue, but

will now undoubtedly support the legislation.

And finally, it appears the investigation into Whitewater is going nowhere. Sen. Alfonse D'Amato has done an excellent job and has been a real thorn in the side of the Clinton administration. His near-daily revelations concerning the unbelievable conduct of some of the President's closest aides — actions bordering on obstruction of justice, as well as possible perjury — have been eye-opening.

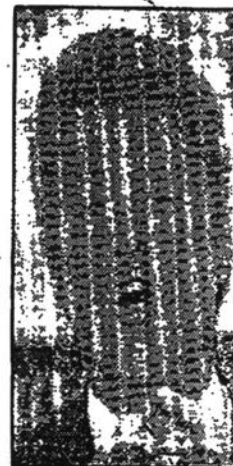
But, thus far, the President and Hillary Clinton have not been seriously damaged; the President not at all. D'Amato's committee is required to end its hearings by June 13th and issue a final report three days later, eliminating the daily barrage of adverse Whitewater headlines as the campaign heats up.

These are real, not Pyrrhic, victories.

Clinton also has every right to crow about the economy, which is growing at a rate of 2.8 percent; unemployment is only 5.8 percent and 8.5 million jobs have been created since 1993.

In addition, the President has been amazingly successful in the international arena. I have criticized his having sent our military to countries like Haiti and Bosnia, where there is no vital U.S. national interest involved.

Indeed, after the President



Associated Press

BILL CLINTON
Pres as James Dean.

signed legislation authorizing sending American troops to Bosnia, I announced that I would not be voting for him, or for anyone who voted for the legislation.

However, the public did not react as I did, perhaps because there have been so few casualties. While I believe the President was wrong in both Haiti and Bosnia, I no longer intend to sit on the sidelines and have the public see me as Johnny One-Note. I am jettisoning my self-imposed litmus test.

Overall, Bill Clinton's substantive positions are far superior to those of Bob Dole. This became even more clear last week when Dole announced that he opposes building any more low-income housing and favors the use of housing vouchers for poor people.

It's obvious he has no conception of the issue. The private sector will not build and operate low-income housing: there is no profit to be made. Offering vouchers under these circumstances is comparable to Maria Anghinotto's response

While I believe the President was wrong in sending troops to Haiti and Bosnia, I no longer intend to sit on the sidelines and have the public see me as Johnny One-Note. I am jettisoning my self-imposed litmus test.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/14/96

SIERRA CLUB



ARKANSAS CHAPTER

*Boisardles
P's River
transmission: RLC
Bois*

TO: Hillary Rodham Clinton
FROM: Rob Leflar *RL*
DATE: May 11, 1996
RE: Buffalo River

The Sierra Club would welcome your directing Agriculture Secretary Dan Glicksman's attention to the importance of preserving the Buffalo National River from pollution caused by logging and roadbuilding activities permitted by the U.S. Forest Service in the Buffalo National River watershed.

The Forest Service still allows intensive logging in the Buffalo River watershed, which has the potential to foul the river. The Arkansas Chapter of the Sierra Club, joined by the Newton County Wildlife Association and the State of Arkansas, has filed an action in federal district court to enjoin the USFS-permitted timber sales until the Forest Service prepares the legally required management plans under the National Wild & Scenic Rivers Act.

We had a half-win, half-loss in Judge Bill Wilson's court in April. Judge Wilson found that the USFS had violated the National Wild & Scenic Rivers Act, but he declined to issue a preliminary injunction against the timber sales. His decision is on appeal to the 8th Circuit. The attached memo from U of A environmental law professor John Harbison sets out the basic issues in the lawsuit for your reference.

Please ask Secretary Glicksman to consider directing the Forest Service voluntarily to suspend the Buffalo River watershed timber sale program until the agency complies with the law. Feel free to contact me, Professor Harbison (501/575-7642), Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund attorney Steve Volker (415/627-6700), or Arkansas assistant attorney general Charlie Moulton (501/682-2007) for further information.



TO: Rob Leflar
FROM: John Harbison
DATE: May 10, 1996
RE: Buffalo Watershed Litigation

Newton County Wildlife Ass'n v. U.S. Forest Service and *Arkansas v. U.S. Forest Service* are consolidated actions to protect the Buffalo River watershed from logging proposed by the U.S. Forest Service. The Buffalo is of incalculable value to the people of Arkansas and the nation. The Buffalo National River was made the nation's first National River by an Act of Congress in 1972 "for the purpose of conserving . . . an area containing unique scenic and scientific features." In 1991, it was designated an Extraordinary Resource Water by the State of Arkansas, the highest ranking of stream quality under Arkansas law. In 1992, Congress included reaches of the Buffalo River and Richland Creek, the Buffalo's largest tributary, in the National Wild and Scenic River System.

The statute required the Forest Service to adopt comprehensive management plans to protect these stream segments by September 30, 1995. To date, USFS has not done so. Instead, the Forest Service has proposed several large timber sales in the Buffalo watershed. These lawsuits seek to enjoin four of these timber sales¹ until the Forest Service prepares the required management plans and remedies other alleged violations of federal and state law, including claims brought under the National Environmental Policy Act, the Clean Water Act, and the National Forest Management Act. In addition to these four sales, there are several others on the planning horizon under the Forest Service's Buffalo Headwaters Project.

The gravamen of the plaintiffs' complaint is that these sales threaten to harm the Buffalo watershed before the required planning takes place. The National Wild and Scenic Rivers Act requires the Forest Service to administer each designated stream segment "in such manner as to protect and enhance the values which caused it to be included" in the Wild and Scenic Rivers System. Instead, the Forest Service seems determined to log as much of the watershed as possible before adopting the required management plan intended by Congress to ensure that these values are protected. The complaint and accompanying affidavits allege that the proposed logging would substantially impair the scenic beauty, high water quality, solitude and other outstanding natural values of the Buffalo watershed.

¹ The Sand Gap timber sale is a proposal to log 418 acres in the Upper Richland Creek watershed adjacent to the Richland Creek Wild and Scenic River and upstream of the Richland Creek Wilderness and Buffalo National River. Similarly, the Round Hill sale would log 282 acres in the Richland Creek watershed; the Sandy Springs sale would log 1,892 acres in the Little and Big Buffalo watersheds, near the Buffalo headwaters; and the Junction sale would log 440 acres in three contiguous drainages in the watershed: Smith, Thomas, and Stepp Creeks.

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(From Newton County Wildlife Association newsletter, May 1996)

BUFFALO NATIONAL RIVER HEADWATERS UNDER ASSAULT

In 1973 the NPS designated the Buffalo River of the Arkansas Ozarks as our nation's first National River (the BNR). Approximately 140 miles of the BNR, from its mouth at the White River up to the BNR headwaters are currently federally protected. Five wilderness areas around the River provide further protection for the corridor. However for the past 10 years the USFS has been actively involved in clearcutting, herbiciding, and roading throughout the entire BNR Headwaters.

Presently, the BNR headwaters are home to thousands of species of plants and animals, old growth forests, springs, and sparkling mountain streams. Rare and endangered plants and animals seek shelter and habitat within the lush headwaters forests, surrounding the highest point in the Ozarks.

Now the USFS is planning more timber sales (around 900 acres), and more roads (around 15 miles), in the BNR headwaters. We do not believe that the USFS has been managing these lands in the best interests of the public, nor in the best interests of these headwaters themselves. Our concerns include:

- Management plans must analyze past activities within the watershed including estimates of accumulated tons of sediments that have run off into the BNR from past roading and timbering activities in the headwaters. (See attached map)
- Biological inventories must be completed prior to any more watershed disturbances. The American people have the right to know, and the USFS has the responsibility to inform us, what the present public resources are before they are irreversibly altered.
- The USFS plans include the 11,000 acre Upper Buffalo Wilderness area as well as ONF lands out of the headwaters watershed as part of the project area study. By including these outside lands, expected impacts are averaged over a larger area and appear to be diminished. *The actual project area is the entire watersheds of the three creeks which come together to form the Buffalo River and consists of no more than 12,000 acres.*
- These proposed USFS plans call for 12.8 miles of road reconstruction and 2.2 miles of new roads in this 12,000 acre study area. The 12.8 miles of road reconstruction is actually about 12.8 miles of new roads, since the USFS claims as roads old overgrown tracks that have not been used for 60 years. USFS regulations allow classification as reconstructed if the new road is anywhere within 1/4 mile of the original roadbed. Management plans must study road density and environmental impacts from such expanded human access and examine alternatives to decrease the actual headwaters road densities.
- Presently there is widespread illegal motorized access, (around the Buffalo Creek Wild and Scenic River corridor), as well as illegal trash disposal, and uncontrolled grazing in the BNR headwaters. Present management plans must viably address these continuing watershed problems.
- Management plans for the BNR headwaters must be compatible with, and add value to, NPS BNR management plans. Present headwaters recreational activities of hiking, backpacking, mountain biking, horseback riding, camping, and hunting should be expanded and must not be compromised.
- Management plans must include old-growth protected habitat in conjunction with buffers and corridors for Interior forest species protection, migration, and expansion.
- An Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) should be conducted examining various management alternatives and their effects and consequences for all USFS activities (cumulative and comprehensive), within the BNR watershed. (The USFS currently manages 28% of the BNR watershed) .

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/14/96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

96 MAY 13 P4:07

May 13, 1996

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT & ANNE WALLEY

SUBJECT: SCHEDULING DECISIONS

CC: EVELYN LIEBERMAN

ACCEPT:

Date of Event:

Description of Event:

5/15/96

Join Mrs. Clinton For a Meeting With Christopher Reeve, Dana Reeve and Possibly Ellen Levine, Editor of *Good Housekeeping*

Christopher Reeve will be in Washington to meet with members of Congress and other groups as part of a *Good Housekeeping* sponsored effort to raise money and awareness for people suffering from spinal cord injuries and to release dollars for spinal cord research.

NOTE: An ABC 20/20 crew will shoot the first five minutes of the meeting.

5/15/96

Interview With White House Correspondent Susan Page and Money Section Reporter Ellen Neuborne of *USA TODAY*

5/15/95 - 5/20/96

Singing Ceremony for the Reauthorized Ryan White CARE Act

We have received the bill at the White House and are currently trying to work out the details for a signing ceremony.

5/20/96	Meeting With Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir
	You will do a pull aside either before or after the Pacific Basin Economic Conference.
5/29/96	Meeting With Governor Gaston Caperton
	This will be a 10 min. meeting following your meeting with the Democratic Governors.
6/3/96	Meeting With Former Polish President Lech Walesa
6/14/96	Meeting With Democratic Senators Up For Re-Election
7/8/96	Meeting With Polish President Kwasniewski

PENDING:

<u>Date of Event:</u>	<u>Description of Event</u>
5/13/96 - 5/29/96	<i>Sup Do</i> ✓ White House Reception With Environmental Supporters
5/15-96 - 6/1/96	Volunteer Appreciation Event at the White House
5/20/96	<i>at least 1 hr</i> <i>Sup Do</i> ✓ Pull Aside With Peruvian President Fujimori During the Pacific Basin Economic Conference
6/3/96 - 6/7/96	Attend the House Democratic Caucus Meeting on Capitol Hill
6/6/96 - 6/7/96	<i>Sup Do</i> ✓ National Homeownership Summit and Town Hall Meeting
	<i>Do?</i> We are considering this event for June 6th. This event is important to Secretary Cisneros.
6/15/96 - 6/18/96	<i>pass?</i> Speech to the National Association of Nurses Annual Convention, Washington, D.C.

6/19/96 - 6/22/96

White House Ceremony to Commemorate the
Peace Corps' 35th Anniversary and to Send Off
46 New Peace Corps Volunteer Trainees to Ghana

6/21/96 6/25/96

NOSS

U.S. Conference of Mayors Summer Meeting,
Cleveland, Ohio

6/24/96

*100 signatures
230*

25th Annual Congressional Members Only
Golf Tournament at Andrews Air Force Base

You are tentatively scheduled to be in Tennessee
at the Vice-President's "Family Conference" and
then in NYC for an evening fundraiser.

6/25/96 - 6/29/96

*also to do
4/25/96*

Meeting With Baltic Presidents

REGRET:

Date of Event:

Description of Event:

5/20/96

Drop By Briefing For Transportation CEOs in
Recognition of National Transportation Week

5/20/96

*Welp
not?*

(World Newspaper Congress and World
Editors Forum, Washington, DC

5/29/96 - 5/30/96

Address the Public Housing Conference

You are already scheduled to do a White
House education event on May 29. You
will be traveling to the Church of God in
Christ Women's Leadership Conference in
New Orleans on May 30. The priority for
Secretary Cisneros is the National Homeownership
Summit and Town Hall Meeting on June 6 or 7.

5/29/96 - 6/10/96

Meet With the Recipients of the 1996 Inc. 500
Awards

6/3/96 - 6/7/96

White House Ceremony For the 50th
Anniversary of the School Lunch Program

We are currently trying to find a surrogate for
this event.

6/20/96 - 6/21/96

White House Ceremony For Presidential Scholars

The Vice-President and Mrs. Clinton will be doing this event this year. The priority from the Dept. of Education for you was the Blue Ribbon Schools event which is scheduled for May 29.

6/24/96

Address the American Association of University Women

You will be traveling outside of Washington, DC on this day.

6/29/96

Annual Meeting of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Louisville, KY

You will be at the G7 during this time.

tbd

Movie Screening For "Once Upon a Time When We Were Colored"

Due to the enormous fundraising demands on your schedule, we were unable to find a free evening to schedule this screening.

*This is real tight
to BRT - we can
find a time - maybe
a weekend - try to find
Be*

To Betty Meyer

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5/14/96

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Be

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FAMOUS

5/14/96



Deborah Mathis

A brutal operation, a mother's life saved

■ WASHINGTON-

Until 1960, all my friends had a mother.

Some were pretty, some plain, some went to jobs every day, some stayed home, most had husbands, some were widowed or divorced. Whatever. Every kid had a mama.

Then Jenny's mother died and the world flipped over.

Jenny's young schoolmates were devastated twice over; once by our friend's ordeal, then again by the shocking realization that any young child's mother could die. Would ours be next?

That was probably about when I started asking God to let me die before either of my parents did. I was completely sincere. The thought of losing them was that unbearable.

Here and there, the old tragedy is repeated. Modern medicine aside, death has not stopped stealing mothers away from their young children.

Occasionally still, it comes as the result of processes designed for giving life, a supreme irony. As in the case of Jenny's mother, pregnancy and childbirth can yet be gravely hazardous for some women.

Such a woman was at the White House, when President Clinton vetoed a bill banning what are commonly referred to as partial birth abortions. The veto had evoked outrage.

For months, the bill's supporters on Capitol Hill and elsewhere had condemned the abortions, whereby a late-term fetus is brought down through the birth canal, then terminated in a grisly procedure.

The sponsors of the bill called the process barbaric. I must agree. What else would you call it when a baby's skull is collapsed and the brain matter suctioned out?

Why in the world, you have to wonder, would anyone resort to such gruesome, brutish means of ending an unborn child's life

when a convicted mass murderer can climb on a gunnery and take an IV drip to exit?

Why in the world, indeed.

There can only be two reasons: Either some physicians are diabolical operators with heinous imaginations or... There's no better way to save the mother.

That was Vicki Stella's case, as she told it at the White House. Her baby girl, whom she had carried for several months and already adored, had a skull full of fluid, but no brain. Given Mrs. Stella's diabetes, it was determined she could not carry the child to term. It could have killed her.

Fate is such a quirky dealer, with strange timing and odd selectivity. Why some women? Why some babies? And why, if it has to happen, can't trouble always come early on when something may save both mother and child or, at least, be concluded less traumatically?

As a mother, I shudder at the thought of having to give up a child—indeed, the thought is too much. If I don't dismiss it immediately, I panic. But I am likewise overwhelmed when I think of the pain and misery to be endured by the loved ones I have, had I ever given my life for an unborn child's.

Women who face that choice—women like Vicki Stella—deserve our utmost sympathy, not rejection or condemnation, for they know a special torture.

There is relief in knowing that late-term abortion is seldom an option. There are about 300 such procedures a year in America.

I doubt that even one mother or doctor is blasé about the procedure. Each instance, I imagine, occasions anguish, regret and grief.

The veto of the bill should not be taken as "unconditional support for abortion under any circumstances," as Catholic Cardinal Bernard Law of Boston protested.

The veto-like the procedure itself—is only justifiable as a last resort to uphold a distressed woman's right to life.

4-23-96

BARBARA HENRY, Publisher and President
DENNIS R. RYERSON, Editor and Vice President

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3/14/96

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THE REGISTER'S EDITORIALS

Too good to be true

**Medical Savings Accounts leave
the sick to insure each other.**

At first glance, Medical Savings Accounts sound great. They reward those with healthy lifestyles, those who do not to run to the doctor with every heartburn, headache and hangnail, and they make consumers more fully aware of the cost of health care.

In the process they could wreck the whole idea of health insurance and leave the country more billions in debt.

The way medical insurance works for most: An employer buys coverage, and employees are stuck with only small co-payments, meaning they may pay a fraction of the cost when they must see a doctor or go to a hospital. Medical Savings Accounts, with variations depending on the plans, work this way: The employer buys a cheap health-insurance plan and puts the difference in cost — say, \$3,000 yearly — into a Medical Savings Account in the employee's name. The cheap plan doesn't pay anything until after the employee has paid the first \$3,000 of health costs in a year.

If the employee spends less than \$3,000 for medical bills, the difference stays in his or her Medical Savings Account, tax-free and drawing interest. Sounds great.

For the young and healthy, it is. In fact, 70 percent of Americans spend no more than \$1,000 yearly on health care. They could opt for an MSA plan, spend \$1,000 on annual health care, keep \$2,000 drawing interest in their tax-free MSA, and in

time create a tidy nest egg. Health insurers would cherry-pick from this healthy group and make a mint.

The less-healthy 30 percent, representing the sick and the aged, whom no insurer wants to mess with, would wind up insuring each other — the poor paying for the

For the young and healthy, it's great. They could opt for an MSA plan and in time create a tidy nest egg. Health insurers would make a mint.

poor. They lose the coverage once provided by health-care premiums paid by all, and the government loses the revenue from the billions shielded from taxes in the MSAs.

John Burry Jr., chairman and CEO of Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Ohio, notes that for the healthy majority, "an annual \$3,000 MSA paid by their employer would amount to a yearly \$2,000 tax-free bonus. For the rest, MSAs would turn the cost of health care and insurance into a living nightmare."

A national health-care policy should reward healthy lifestyles without subverting the intent of spreading the costs. MSAs aren't the answer.

The camera is watching

Video evidence lets people

Des Moines
Register
(IA)

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/14/96

LAST WORDS



Bob Lancaster

A conspirator 'fesses up

■ OK, OK, time to quit stonewalling and 'fess up. The Wall Street Journal is on to us anyhow, needing only to tie up some loose ends, and the fearless House Banking and Senate Whitewater probes are unrelenting, and this special prosecutor isn't going to be denied. And if they can't get the job done, Justice Jim will see to it that somebody does.

So let's go ahead and admit it: Yes, there is a giant Arkansas conspiracy. It started in the '80s, or sometime back there, and continues up to the moment. It involves just about everybody in Arkansas except for a few dozen people who have been tried for years to raise the alarm. Warren Carpenter knew about it but who would listen? Herschel Friday was one of many who had to be killed to insure his silence. And the president's mother's dentist. And Vince Foster—a botched rub that has jeopardized the whole gig.

The Conspiracy was by and for Bill Clinton and his cronies in the great 40-year Democratic Party political machine, and its operation was abetted by the Clinton lackeys in the Arkansas media, which includes all of us except Gene Wirges. It started in rural Polk County, with the CIA drug shipments flown in by Barry Seal and them. These drugs were used to finance the Sandinistas or the Contras, whichever side was raping the nuns and oppressing the peasants, but Clinton, being governor, got a cut of the profits for letting them smuggle the drugs through the Mena airport. This was a courtesy cut for a time, but got larger and larger and eventually the guv was taking not only most of the profits but the drugs, too.

Mr. C. commanded an ever larger payoff because his salary was so low and everybody around him was demanding stuff. His mother, Virginia Kelly, for instance, constantly demanded money to feed her exacta habit at Oaklawn and to pay off the blackmailers who knew the true story of her operating-room foulups. Even Socks came to demand fresh mackerel and Clinton got the CIA to require Seal to stop his cocaine-filled seaplane in the Gulf of Mexico and catch an occasional mess.

Mr. C. gave the little woman \$1,000 to keep her content then had to appoint some son Foods minions to some lucrative state jobs so they'd manipulate the commodities exchange so she could make a killing with her measly grand. She made \$100,000—the result of her own shrewdness, she thought, but the rest of us in the conspiracy chortled behind her back. Even 100 g's didn't pacify her, though, and she retaliated—this was a delayed-action thing—by becoming a bitch and having all those travel-office people

fired. She wrote her phony book just to make herself look good and to throw Whitewater investigators off the track.

A Bugtussle sleuth named Brown wanted to spill the beans about the developing conspiracy, but his supervisor told him to lay off, and then the supervisor was murdered via cancer to shut him up. Other weak links in the conspiratorial chain—squealers, voices in the wilderness, but overwhelmed by the developing juggernaut—were Gennifer Flowers, Col. Holmes, Cliff Jackson, David Hale, Rev. Falwell, Larry Nichols, and those two cops who just hated hustling gubernatorial tail.

The sinister Dr. Malak was a key figure in the conspiracy early on, and he dragged Dr. Elders into it, and she had to be fired later on as surgeon general simply because she knew too much. It had nothing to do with yea or nay on whanging dong. Mr. and Mrs. C. connived with James and Susan McDougal to unload \$40,000 of their excess Mena airport proceeds through the Whitewater real-estate investment, but in spite of such divestitures the Clintons eventually got so rich and corrupt from the conspiracy that he decided to be president and get haircuts that cost \$200 apiece. George Bush couldn't stop him, having himself been involved somehow or other—remember, he was a former CIA director—in the original Mena airport skim scam. Expect the Wall Street Journal to tie Ross Perot to this venture sooner or later, if the American Spectator or Washington Times don't beat them to it.

The great Arkansas conspiracy sloshed out like the Green Slime over the Perryville bank, the Rose Law Firm, the Castle Grande estates—and tendrils of it have been espied in Waco and Oklahoma City, and curling through the White House like kudzu. It has gone worldwide (hey, don't kid yourself about the Ron Brown deal), though retaining its unwashed Arkansas character. Name felons and financiers do its bidding, as do rehabbed bond daddies and poultry apologists, and Hussmanite opiners feigning Republican rectitude. Yes, we're all in it together—well, most of us—rich and poor, black and white, old and young, living and dead—from Liza Ashley to Owney Madden. If Dole loses, you'll learn that he was a part of it, too, all along.

This offers only a scant overview of the conspiracy. It gives little idea how far-flung it is, how deep it runs, how awesome are its parameters. To appreciate how big, monstrous, spooky, tacky, trashy and utterly unlikely it is, you need to keep up with Micah Morrison's dispatches from inside darkest Arkansas in the Wall Street Journal. He's exposing it to an incredulous world—or exposing us, I should say—one lurid article at a time on the editorial page. ▽

1. There have been 22 Olympic Summer Games held in the 25 Olympiads, which constitute the first hundred years of the Modern Olympic Movement. (There should have been 25 Olympic Summer Games held, but two world wars resulted in the cancellation of Berlin 1916, Tokyo 1940 and Helsinki 1944).
2. Only three Olympic Summer Games have been held in the United States: St. Louis 1904, Los Angeles 1932 and Los Angeles 1984, the latter being 12 years ago. After Atlanta 1996, the soonest another Olympic Summer Games might return to the US is 2008. The Games of 2000 have already been decided for Sydney, Australia. No American city is expected to bid for the Games of 2004. IOC insiders predict it could be 16 or more years before another American city hosts an Olympic Summer Games.
3. There were 17 Olympic Winter Games during the first hundred years. Three of these, Lake Placid 1932, Squaw Valley 1960, and Lake Placid 1980 were held in the United States. The next Olympic Winter Games in the US will be Salt Lake City 2002, however, President Clinton's 8-years will have expired by then.
4. Common to all Olympic Summer Games is the Opening Ceremony. Historically, the host nation's head of state has "opened" the Games with the one line speech "I declare the Games of the (number of which ever) Olympiad open," as called for in the protocols of the International Olympic Committee Charter. Then the unfolding of the Games and the struggle of the athletes takes center stage. All the problems and criticisms of the years and months of organizing are quickly forgotten as television coverage allows the global village to become totally focused on the Games. And they do!
5. The history of the first 22 Olympic Summer Games show the head of state and senior administration officials of the host nation (including members of their families) have more often than not involved themselves in the Games, once their ceremonial duty of opening the games is completed. What follows are capsule histories of how host nation heads of state have conducted themselves at the 22 Olympic Summer Games since, and including, Athens 1896.

The I Olympiad

ATHENS 1896: (Also the Capital City of Greece)

Crown Prince Constantine was the President of the Athens Organizing Committee, his three brothers, Prince George, Prince Nicholas and Prince Andrew (later the grandfather of The Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Philip of England), were his Vice Presidents. King George I, with his wife Queen Olga at his side, opened and closed the Games. Queen Olga and her oldest daughter, Princess Marie, age 15, and daughter-in-law, Crown Princess Sofia, attended ceremonies at various times, to christen and open the new velodrome, tennis courts and shooting gallery, built for the Athens 1896 Games. At least one member of the Royal family attended every one of the 64 athletic events which were part of these Games. The brothers served as judges and officials for the track and field, fencing and swimming events. SIDE NOTE: Crown Prince Constantine was also one of the named Honorary Supporters of the Congress for the Re-establishment of the Olympic Games, held 1894 in Paris.

The II Olympiad

PARIS 1900: (Also the Capital City of France).

These Games were held as part of the Paris 1900 Universal Exposition (World's Fair), who had agreed to organize them for the IOC. Emile Loubet the President of France, with his Prime Minister Rene Waldrick Rousseau present, opened the Paris World's Fair. While President Loubet did not attend any of the athletic events held later that summer, he did receive most of the competing, non-French athletes at a government reception for same. He had no other involvement with the competitions.

The III Olympiad

ST. LOUIS 1904: (Washington, DC is the Capital City of the USA).

Because these Games were part of the larger Louisiana Purchase Exposition (St. Louis World's Fair), Mr. David Francis, the President of the L.P.E., opened and closed the two July weeks set aside for the Olympic Summer Games. President Theodore Roosevelt, had come to St. Louis in early May 1904 to open the World's Fair. However, having promised Baron Pierre de Coubertin and Dr. William Milligan Sloane (two IOC Members, the latter from the US) he would do so, President Roosevelt made a special point of inspecting the new Department of Physical Culture building where the Games were to be held, (on the campus of neighboring Washington University) and visited with the Games organizing commission. Unable to return during the July sporting events, President Roosevelt did send two Cabinet Officers to represent him. The two cabinet officers attended over half of the sport events during the two weeks.

--and the--

The Interim Games (Held only once, these midway through the III Olympiad).

ATHENS 1906: (Also the Capital City of Greece).

Once again, Crown Prince Constantine was the President of the Athens Organizing Committee and his three brothers, Prince George, Prince Nicholas and Prince Andrew were Vice Presidents and officials of the sporting events. King George I opened and closed the Games and held a special ceremony for the awarding of prizes. Queen Olga and her daughter-in-law (Crown Princess Sofia), officiated at the velodrome, tennis courts and shooting gallery events. Dividing them up amongst themselves, at least one member of the Royal family attended each of the 96 athletic events. There were two heads of state in attendance. SIDE NOTE: Crown Prince Constantine was one of the named Honorary Supporters of the 1894 Congress of the Sorbonne for the Re-establishment of the Olympic Games.

The IV Olympiad

LONDON 1908: (Also the Capital City of England).

Having attended the Interim Games of Athens 1906 as a visiting head of state, King Edward VII and his wife Queen Alexandra, along with their son Crown Prince George, The Duke of York (later King George V) and the British Prime Minister were more than ready for the opening and proceeding of these Games. The King opened these Games and his wife photographed them. Queen Alexandra was one of the first amateur photographers in Europe. Her collection of photographs of these Games are among the best available. The King and Queen, along with their grandchildren Crown Prince Albert, age 16 (Later King Edward VIII), Prince Edward, age 15, (later King Edward VIII), Princess Alexandra, age 14, and Princess Maud, age 12, divided up the Games and attended at least one event of every venue. SIDE NOTES: Edward, as the Prince of Wales, was also one of the named Honorary Supporters of the 1894 Congress of the Sorbonne for the Re-establishment of the Olympic Games.

The V Olympiad

STOCKHOLM 1912: (Also the Capital City of Sweden).

King Gustav V Adolf opened the Games and with his wife Queen Sofia Marie and son Prince Gustav, age 6, attended a modest number of athletic events. The King on the other hand, entertained the IOC Members regularly throughout. He also officiated at the awards ceremony at the conclusion of the Games. SIDE NOTE: Before becoming King, Prince Gustav was also one of the named Honorary Supporters of the 1894 Congress of the Sorbonne for the Re-establishment of the Olympic Games.

The VI Olympiad

Summer Olympic Games planned as Berlin 1916 - Canceled.

The VII Olympiad

ANTWERP 1920: (Brussels is the Capital City of Belgium).

As WW1 had just concluded, King Albert I and his wife Queen Elizabeth made a point of involving themselves with these Games, as they felt it was important for the world to "look ahead at the potential's for goodness in mankind as seen through our youth." The King opened these Games. With their children Crown Prince Leopold, age 19; Prince Charles, age 17; Princess Stephanie, age 15; and, Princess Clementine, age 13, every athletic event had a Royal visitor. The Prime Minister and his cabinet duplicated the commitment of the Royal Family. SIDE NOTE: Albert's father, Leopold I, was also one of the named Honorary Supporters of the 1894 Congress of the Sorbonne for the Re-establishment of the Olympic Games.

The VIII Olympiad

PARIS 1924: (Also the Capital City of France).

President Gaston Doumergue opened these Games. The President and key members of his government were not unaware that the Olympic Summer Games had grown in importance and he was the first elected official, as versus royalty, to be invited to open an edition. Therefore, he took the business of attending events quite seriously and along with the Prime Minister and various Cabinet Ministers (and their wives), they collectively covered the games. Ms. Doumerge made a point of visiting women athletes who were participating in numerous events, other than those of track and field. The local press agreed at the conclusion, the stature of the President had been enhanced by these Games. At a time when France was going through Presidents like water, President Doumergue stayed in office another 6 years after the Games.

The IX Olympiad

AMSTERDAM 1928 (The Hague is the Capital City of the Netherlands).

His Royal Highness, Prince Hendrick, the husband of Queen Wilhelmina, opened these Games. It was still a man's world in 1928. Aware of the significance that women's track and field would debut at these Games, the Queen held a reception for the women athletes at her private lodging in Amsterdam. All the athletes were invited to visit the Royal Palace in The Hague after the conclusion of the Games. The Queen and her husband the Prince attended numerous sport events, with their only daughter, Princess Juliana, age 19 (Later Queen Juliana).

The X Olympiad

LOS ANGELES 1932: (Washington, DC is the Capital City of the USA).

As the US had just entered the depression, President Herbert Hoover and his advisors were convinced the nation would find it frivolous for him to travel to Los Angeles to "open" some Games. So Hoover sent Vice President Charles Curtis, (without Mrs. Curtis) in his place. Big mistake! Curtis, who clearly did not want the assignment, complained the entire time. The City of Los Angeles, who had struggled with the Depression to put on the Games (there was no Depression when the Games had been awarded to them in 1926), was outraged at Hoover for not coming, and at Curtis for being such a obtrusive ass. In the next election, Southern California and the State, which had always been a Republican stronghold, (Hoover claimed California as his home State), went to the Democrats. There were many reasons for the State's change of party, but the ill will Hoover created by ignoring Los Angeles when it needed him, was a major news factor in the 1932 campaign.

The XI Olympiad

BERLIN 1936: (Also the Capital City of Germany at the time).

Chancellor Adolf Hitler opened these Games. When he came to power in 1934, Hitler was uninterested in the Games, which had been awarded to Berlin by the IOC in 1931. But Joseph Goebbels convinced him otherwise. The Berlin Organizing Committee was suddenly overwhelmed by the Nazis, who saw the Games as a propaganda platform for the party. Hitler, Goebbels, Rudolf Hess and Hermann Goring were everywhere, (although seldom at the competitions) entertaining athletes and reluctant IOC Members at opulent affairs, staged with appalling bad taste.

The XII Olympiad

Summer Olympic Games planned as Tokyo 1940 - Canceled.

The XIII Olympiad

Summer Olympic Games planned as Helsinki 1944 - Canceled.

The XIV Olympiad

LONDON 1948: (Also the Capital City of England).

King George VI opened the first postwar Games. His wife Queen Elizabeth (currently the Queen Mother) and their two daughters, Princess Elizabeth, age 22 and Princess Margaret, age 18, attended numerous athletic events and hosted the IOC and athletes to various

hospitalities. The Prime Minister and his Cabinet were often seen at the less glamorous events, also bringing encouragement to the athletes.

The XV Olympiad

HELSINKI 1952: (Also the Capital City of Finland).

President Juho Paasikivi opened these Games. As Helsinki had been scheduled to host the Games in 1944, the President, his Government (and their wives) were in a celebrating mood and attended every event of the Games -- all 124 of them. These Olympic Summer Games became the first to absorb a large number of visiting heads of state. The Organizing Committee and the Finns found themselves entertaining 15 heads of state (and their delegations), who attended for various reasons, but mostly to cheer on the team's of their country. The number of heads of state has grown progressively ever since.

The XVI Olympiad

Although the Games were scheduled for Melbourne, the Australians would not allow horses into their country for the Games. Therefore, the Olympic equestrian events were held at Stockholm in October, while the rest of the sport venues occurred "down under" in early November. All IOC protocols were observed in Stockholm, to include an opening and closing ceremony.

(Stockholm 1956): (Also the Capital City of Sweden).

King Gustav VI Adolf opened these Games. The King, along with his wife Queen Margaret, the Prime Minister and his wife, and a number of the King's teenage grandchildren, attended all the events held over a five day period. SIDE NOTE: As a 6 year old Prince, King Gustav VI had attended the Stockholm 1912 Games and was present when his father, King Gustav V Adolf opened them.

-- and --

MELBOURNE 1956: (Canberra is the Capital City of Australia).

His Royal Highness, Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh opened these Games. He and his wife, Queen Elizabeth attended at least one event in every venue, (a total of 18 for each) over a two week period. The couple had arrived on the Royal yacht "Britannia," aboard which they hosted numerous receptions for visiting heads-of-state, Australian officials and athletes from around the world. In addition, they attended 18 sport events. The Prime Ministers of Australia and Canada, and a number of Provincial Governors including Commonwealth nation's as diverse as Scotland, Hong Kong and South Africa. Other than Commonwealth countries, 18 heads of state attended these Games. SIDE NOTE: Prince Philip was a descendant of the Greek Royal Family, who had been much involved in the creation of the Olympic Summer Games in 1896.

The XVII Olympiad

ROME 1960: (Also the Capital City of Italy).

President Giovanni Gronchi opened these Games. He and his cabinet members, along with their wives, attended almost all the events of the Games, after which, The President's popularity soared with the Italians. His government stayed in power another 9 years after the Games. The prior government had been in power six months, the one which followed, lasted 8 months. Mrs. Gronchi, hosted an open reception for all the women athletes from Western Europe. There were 32 visiting heads of state in attendance at these Games.

The XXVIII Olympiad

TOKYO 1964: (Also the Capital City of Japan).

Emperor Hirohito opened these Games. He and his Empress attended seven sport events of the Games and despite their great courtesy, gave no indication that would suggest either of them understood what they were watching. It did not matter. The Japanese people were thrilled to have been so honored. The Prime Minister and his cabinet (with their wives) who were well aware these Games had been planned by the organizing committee to be the "Happy Games," happily attended everything in sight, including an insignificant demonstration event called "tilting" put on by the Boy Scouts of Gabon at the International Olympic Camp in neighboring Yokohama. A record 35 heads of state attended these Games.

The XIX Olympiad

MEXICO CITY 1968: (Also the Capital City of Mexico).

President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz opened these Games, the first ever to be held in Latin America. Two weeks before the Games began, the Mexican Army had opened fire on a student demonstration in the Plaza of the Three Cultures, resulting in 46 dead. The incident threatened to scuttle the Games. Thus, the entire Mexican government turned out in full force with wives and children to attend all events. Only 18 heads of state attended these Games.

The XX Olympiad

MUNICH 1972: (Bonn was the Capital City of West Germany at this time).

President Gustave Heinemann opened these Games at what is considered the most beautiful opening ceremony ever produced. It was the plan of the Munich Organizing Committee, in concert with their government, to use the opening ceremony to demonstrate the peace loving qualities of the "new" Germany. President Heinemann set up a presence in Munich for himself and his ministers in a government owned conference center and began attending (and enjoying) numerous sport events.

At the end of the first week, five terrorists from the group Black September broke into the Olympic Village and took 11 members of the Israeli Olympic Team hostage. Within 24-hours, the 11 athletes and three of the terrorists were dead in a foiled attempt by the German government to rescue the Israeli's. The entire West German Government turned out for the memorial service, as did 11 of the 47 heads of state (mostly European) who were already in attendance at the Games. SIDE NOTE: Crown Prince Gustav of Sweden, (currently Carl XVI Gustav), who attended the Games with his father and mother King Gustav VI and Queen and Queen Margaret, met Silvia Renate, a 29 year old Bavarian, who was working as the senior hostess for the Munich Organizing Committee in charge of visiting Heads-of-State. They were married in 1976 and today Miss Renate is Queen Silvia of Sweden.

The XXI Olympiad

MONTREAL 1976: (Ottawa is the Capital City of Canada).

Queen Elizabeth II, opened these Games. She was the first woman to ever do so. She also stayed in Montreal throughout the 18 days, and in addition, made official side visits to Alberta, Ontario, and British Columbia. With the experiences of the London 1948 and Melbourne 1956 Games already behind them, Buckingham Palace established their own separate, self-contained presence in a restored apartment building of their making, for the Queen, members of the Queen's immediate family, high government officials other Royal guests, and, a the Royal staff, all of whom would attend several days of the Games over the 17 day period. For a series of reasons, most of them to do with the desire for privacy, the Palace had decided to avoid the official IOC and Montreal Organizing Committee hotels. With her husband, Prince Philip, the Queen attended all equestrian events, in which her daughter, Princess Anne was competing. Thrown from her horse on the third day of competition, the Princess was hospitalized with a concussion for a week, which altered the Queen's original plans. Other guests of the Queen attended various events over 4 and 5 day periods in coordinated doses, and included the Queen's three sons, Prince's Charles, Andrew and Edward; her sister, Princess Margaret with her teenage children; Lord Montebatten and his family; the British Prime Minister; and, various senior M.P.'s of both parties. There were 38 visiting heads of state at these Games. At the conclusion of the Games, the Royal facility became a fashionable apartment house.

The XXII Olympiad

MOSCOW 1980: (Also the Capital City of the USSR at the time).

President Leonid Brezhnev opened these Games, which the United States and 23 other nation's boycotted. Athletes from 14 of those countries attended the Games and competed anyway. President Brezhnev followed a somewhat "sovietized," or "modified," model of the Royal Palace's Montreal arrangement. A government building in the Arbat close to the Olympic Stadium, was redecorated to "posh" apartment status to accommodate (on an in- and-out basis) the leaders of various satellite countries who would be Mr. Brezhnev's personal representatives/guests at various sport events, with or without Mr. Brezhnev present. Given the nature of the boycott, the USSR Government concentrated on inviting heads of state, particularly those who were friendly with the US, but who had declined to go along with the US inspired boycott. In all, 36 heads of state accept the Soviet's invitation. All but 11 of the visiting heads of state were housed by the Government in the Arbat quarters prepared for that purpose. At the end of the Games, the apartment house became government offices once again.

The XXIII Olympiad

LOS ANGELES 1984: (Washington, DC is the Capital City of the USA).

President Ronald Reagan opened these games. As the President and his wife were residents of Southern California, and he had been a former Governor of the State, they were offered accommodations in a series of Beverly Hills, Pacific Palisades, and Palm Springs estates, to be put at their disposal by a series of local supporters. In addition, a block of rooms were set aside in the Century Plaza Hotel, (owned by another supporter) for various members of the administration to attend pre-selected days and events of the Games. The President stayed in the Los Angeles area (Palm Springs) for eight days of his vacation -- the day before the Games, the day of the Opening Ceremony, and three "scattered" days of competition. In all, Reagan attended (visited is a better word), four athletic events. Vice President Bush and his family came to Los Angeles for two days during the second week of the Games. As a former Nixon Cabinet Member, William Simon was at this time the president of the United States Olympic Committee. Through him, assorted Reagan Cabinet members also attended the Games, ostensibly as Simon's guests. There was at least one Reagan Administration member, most often accompanied by a wife, visibly present at every finals and/or gold medal round throughout the length of the Games. Non-glamour events, and the athletes participating in them, were not included. Only William Simon was present for the Closing Ceremony. A total of 27 heads of state attended these Games, which themselves suffered from a "tit-for-tat" USSR led boycott of 26 Eastern block countries.

The XXIV Olympiad

SEOUL 1988: (Also the Capital City of South Korea).

President Roh Tae-Woo opened these Games. As these were clearly government financed Games, President Roh and his cabinet were very much in evidence at sport events, receptions and visitations throughout the 16 days. Adapting the British Royal Palace's Montreal and Moscow's living plans to their own needs, a new hotel was built by the government to house their guests in rather comfortable style. Anxious to show off South Korea, the government invited numerous heads of state, and world business leaders to attend the Games. A total of 57 heads of state accepted. There is no known count of the world business leaders. At the conclusion of the Games, the government's facility became a regular hotel.

The XXV Olympiad

BARCELONA 1992: (Madrid is the Capital City of Spain).

King Juan Carlos I opened these Games. The King and his wife Queen Sofia, with the assistance of their three children Crown Prince Felipe, age 24; Princess Elena, age 29; and, Princess Cristina, age 27; became the number one fans of the Games and proceeded to be (seemingly), everywhere at once. It was an amazing feat. Every time a Spanish athlete was to perform in an event, at least one member of the Royal Family appeared, usually with a Spanish government official (i.e. President or Cabinet Minister) in tow. The Spanish public loved it, as the Spanish television network covering the Games brought every moment -- the obvious and the subtle -- into every Spanish home. The Royal Family set up a temporary household in Barcelona, and although they "stayed" in Madrid (an hour and three quarters flying time away) they always seemed to be present when something was about to happen. More importantly, the Royal Family and all key members of the government were wired to the progress of the Spanish athletes in the Games. If one of the "fans" was making a luncheon speech in Saville for example, their speech always began with a fresh bit of Olympic intelligence about what a Spanish athlete had just accomplished in competition an hour or so before. Barcelona had the largest number of visiting heads of state, 72 in all.

As Welfare Cases Drop, Politicians Fight for Credit

But Experts Say Reasons For Decline Are Unclear

By Judith Havemann and Barbara Vobejda
Washington Post Staff Writers

The number of Americans on welfare has fallen by nearly 1.3 million over the past three years, touching off a partisan debate over who should get the credit.

The rolls are down in 42 states, in some cases dramatically: 30 percent in Indiana, 29 percent in Massachusetts, and 22 percent in Michigan. Overall, the number of people receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) between 1993 and the beginning of this year has declined 9 percent.

Aware of the election-year implications of the welfare issue, President Clinton and his advisers have argued that the drop demonstrates that his campaign promise to change welfare as we know it has succeeded. Congressional Republicans counter that, if anything, Clinton has stood in the way of their efforts to pass new welfare legislation, and say change has actually occurred at the state level through the efforts of GOP governors such as Michigan's John Engler.

But welfare researchers say any proclamations of success are premature. They attribute the decline to a combination of factors—an improved economy, welfare reform initiatives, and changed attitudes among recipients—and warn that it is too early to say which is the most important.

The experts agree, for example, that a stronger economy undoubtedly has helped drive the numbers down in recent years, but it is not the whole explanation.

Elected leaders point to policy changes adopted in 37 states, forcing welfare recipi-

See WELFARE, A8, Col. 1

■ Maryland is shifting the focus of welfare to those who can be helped easily. Page D1

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN
5/14/96

Rollin

Review
Michele Smith has
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(Believe rolls
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of reform and
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BC

Strong Economy? Strict Rules? Falloff in Welfare Rolls Debated

WELFARE, From A1

ents to work and imposing other new requirements. But many researchers argue that these changes are too new to explain much of the recent decline.

Meanwhile, the politicians and experts agree that attitudes toward welfare are changing among some of the poor. The message has gotten out that the system is getting tougher and as a result, some families aren't bothering to apply for welfare and others are taking marginal jobs on the assumption that they will be forced to work anyway.

"We shouldn't underestimate the change in the atmosphere," said Gary Burtless, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. "That can start to have big effects on the behavior of recipients."

In Massachusetts, for example, the number of welfare recipients plummeted in the first five months after new, get-tough policies pushed by Gov. William F. Weld (R) had been passed by the legislature but before they went into effect.

All the publicity about the impending changes did not get lost on Jeanette O'Neal, who spent four years on welfare with her children, Melody, 14, and Patrick, 15.

"Oh my God, it was all over the news. It was all you ever heard," said O'Neal, 42, of Greenfield, Mass. "It literally had people scared to death."

In her years on welfare, O'Neal, a heavy-set woman who felt her last boss humiliated her because of her size, had become almost afraid to leave her house.

"People kept telling me, you have to find a job or they're going to cut your grant," she said. But each unsuccessful job interview made the next one more of an ordeal.

Propelled by fear, she tried to polish her typing skills and, prodded by job counselors, ventured out to interviews. Finally, she was offered a job and she took it, working nights for a wholesale grocer. She worried about leaving her two teenagers alone, about how to replace her rusty 1981 Mercury with something reliable, about whether she would be up to the job, physically and technically.

"We are not really better off than we were on welfare," she said after eight months at work. "But it was one of the best things I have ever done. It built up my self-respect."

Like O'Neal, Jessica Colon, 17, and her toddler son, Luis Leon, are no longer on the Massachusetts welfare rolls. But unlike O'Neal, Colon was not moved off by fear or moral suasion. Colon, who lives in Lawrence, was cut off because of the state's strict new rules.

Policy changes implemented last year introduced new requirements: Recipients with school-aged children must go to work; mothers must help track down the fathers of their children to help the state collect child support; teenage parents under age 18 cannot receive benefits unless they live with adult relatives or in a group home; parents lose benefits if their babies are not immunized or if their older children quit attending school.

Gerald Whitburn, head of the Massachusetts Office of Health and Human Services, said there is no evidence that these new policies have pushed people off the welfare rolls and left them in desperate situations. He argued that most welfare recipients hate being on aid.

"They're anxious to get this out of

their lives, and policies that nudge them in that direction are welcomed," he said.

More than 95,600 Massachusetts residents have left the welfare rolls since early 1993, a decline of 29 percent. Many have found jobs and begun lives of self-sufficiency and pride. But the state has cut off thousands of others, like Colon.

When the new policies went into effect, Colon was living on welfare with her son in her own apartment. Because of her age, she was told she must move home to continue receiving benefits.

She reluctantly gave up her apartment, took her son and moved back in with her mother, who was also on welfare. But then her mother ran into trouble with the welfare rules.

First, Colon said, her mother lost some of her benefits because the state said she did not provide enough help in tracking down the father of her 15-year-old son, Colon's brother. Then

"People kept telling me, you have to find a job or they're going to cut your grant."

— Jeanette O'Neal

the youth began to get into fights at school and dropped out, causing the whole family to lose more benefits.

Finally, Colon's mother got a temporary job at a machine shop and the welfare office ended benefits for the whole family, including Jessica and Luis.

Her mother could have appealed, Colon said, but "she decided to leave it like that because she didn't want them to bother her any more. . . . So many papers, so many rules. Everything is so strict."

To some, Jessica could be seen as a statistical success story because she's off the rolls and working part time as a grocery store cashier.

But, on Wednesday morning, when she turns 18, Jessica Colon says she will be standing in line at the renovated Victorian mill that serves as the Lawrence welfare office. She plans to reapply for assistance, rent her own apartment and obtain a Medicaid card to pay for medication to treat Luis's kidney disease.

Colon will be back on the rolls. Her life as a single mother, student and grocery store clerk is too hard, she said. "I can't hack it any more."

If new rules in Massachusetts and other states have prodded people into the work force, they have succeeded with the help of a stronger economy. But economists and poverty researchers disagree about how much economic factors affect welfare.

"I do think the answer is the economy," said Douglas Besharov, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative think tank.

He cites a drop in poverty rates from 1993 to 1994, particularly among African Americans, as a sign of lower unemployment and improved earnings among entry-level workers.

"When you see that kind of decline, you should expect welfare use to go down," he said.

Michael Wiseman, professor of public affairs at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, said the role of the economy becomes very clear in state-to-state comparisons.

California and Wisconsin, for example, have histories of aggressive welfare experimentation.

In Wisconsin, which has had a strong economy for several years, the number of recipients is down 24 percent compared with three years ago. In California, which is just coming out of a recession, welfare caseloads are

lower than they were a year ago, but are still 10 percent higher than in 1993.

Even so, the impact of the economy is tempered by the fact that many welfare recipients, especially single parents, have never held a job and are so detached from the labor force that, when jobs are created in a growing economy, only some of them will even go and look for work or be qualified if they do.

When caseloads increased dramatically in the early 1990s, the Congressional Budget Office estimated that only about a quarter of the growth in single-parent welfare families could be attributed to the economic downturn. Half of the increase, the report said, was associated with the increase in single-parent families.

But when it comes to the politics surrounding welfare, Besharov argues, it doesn't matter whether the caseload is down because of a stronger economy or because of policy changes. Clinton changed the debate when he called for welfare reform in the 1992 campaign, Besharov said, and Clinton benefits from an improved economy on his watch.

"The president has got a winning issue either way," he said.

But after Clinton mentioned the dropping caseload in his radio address May 4, Republicans challenged the claim, saying welfare use now may be down from its peak in March 1994 but is still higher than it was in the 1980s.

"Unfortunately for the administration, the facts get in the way of the rhetoric," said Sen. William V. Roth Jr. (R-Del.), who chairs the Finance Committee. "The real story about the welfare rolls which this administration does not want the public to see is how the current welfare rolls compare to previous years and administrations."

The debate underscores the difficulty in measuring success by watching the caseload numbers. With 12.8 million recipients in 1995, the numbers are down compared with 1992, the end of the Bush administration, but they are up compared with the 1980s, in part because of population growth.

Tom Corbett, associate director of the Institute for Research on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin, warned that focusing on caseloads as a measure of whether welfare reforms are working is "always a bit simplistic."

Also, said Corbett, previous experience has shown that welfare usage may decline in a state with a booming economy, then climb back up when the boom turns sour. The challenge, he said, "is sustaining those declines over time."

In Indiana, which has seen its welfare rolls drop more than any other state, officials are convinced that the downturn stems from an ambitious package of reforms put into place last year.

Beginning last June, all AFDC adults were required to sign a "personal responsibility agreement" pledging to look for a job and assure that their children attend school and are immunized. As a way of encouraging work, the state raised the amount of income a welfare recipient can earn without losing benefits. And every caseworker was retrained to focus on helping recipients find a job fast.

"We've tried to change the entire culture to end dependency," said Gov. Evan Bayh (D). "Not only are we saving millions of dollars by making these families become self-sufficient through work, it's a values statement. We're willing to help people, but we want them to be personally responsible."

Since early 1993, the number of recipients in Indiana has declined by 63,582, a 30 percent fall.

"The state has enjoyed a healthy economy, but so have other states without the same decline in welfare use, Bayh points out.

Katie Rumbel, a caseworker in the

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Meets at noon.
Committees: none.

HOUSE

Not in session.
Committees: none.

— LEGISLATE Inc.

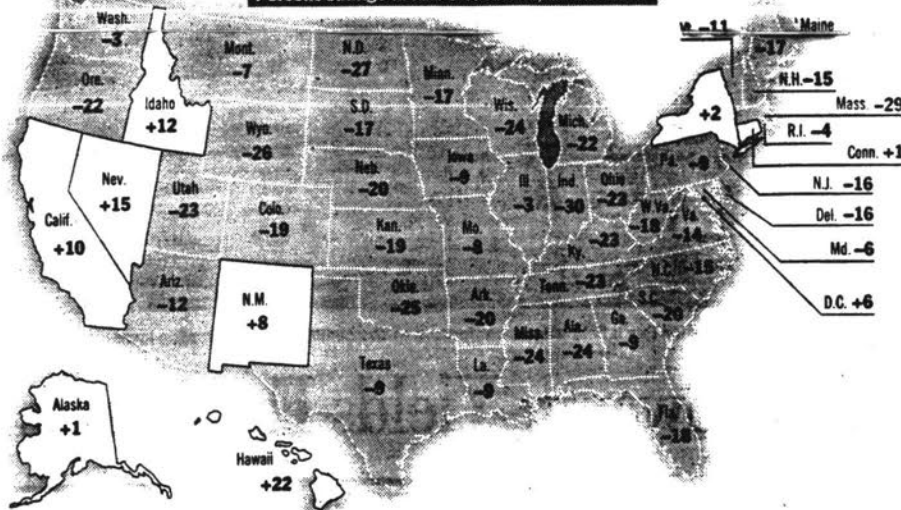
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DAIIC DISCOUNT WINE & LIQUORS

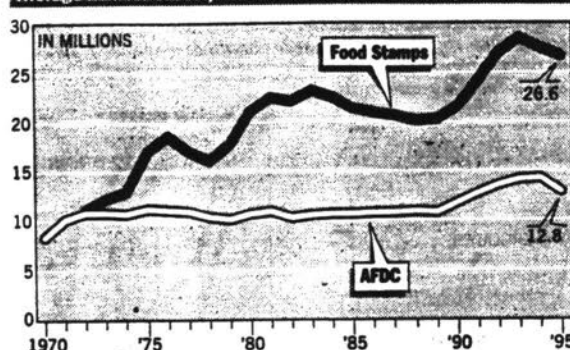
MINUS SIGNS ON THE MARCH

The number of Americans receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the nation's basic cash welfare program, has declined significantly over the past three years. For the nation as a whole, the caseload has fallen from 14.1 million to 12.8 million, a decrease of 9 percent.

Percent change in AFDC caseload, 1993-1996

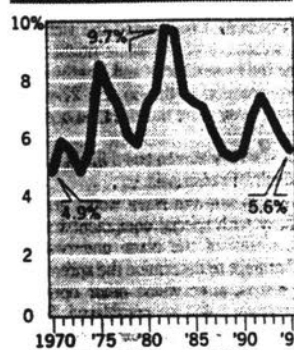


Average number of recipients of AFDC and food stamps, 1970-95



SOURCES: Department of Health and Human Services; Report of the President, 1996.

Unemployment rate, 1970-95



THE WASHINGTON POST



BY CHRISTOPHER FITZGERALD FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Jessica Colon and her son, Luis Leon, at her general equivalency degree class in Lawrence, Mass. Cut from welfare rolls by the state's stricter rules, Colon intends to reapply for assistance on Wednesday, when she becomes 18.

Knox County, Ind., welfare office, said she has witnessed a dramatic change in her five years on the job. In the past, she said, when applicants would come in, she and other caseworkers would sign them up for benefits and suggest that they work on a high school equivalency degree.

"We'd say, 'If it takes two years, that's fine. Employment, well we'll think about that later,'" said Rumbel. "Now, it's work first. We hit them with that when they come in the door. People know this is what's expected of them."

That approach has touched James Norris, who had been unemployed for several years. When Norris, 33,

moved from another part of the state with his wife and three children, he applied for AFDC, and that brought him into the new ethos of the Indiana welfare rules.

First, he attended a class, six hours a day, designed to teach how to write a resume, interviewing skills and other job-hunting tips.

"I came in with a little doubt, but I saw it was going to work," Norris said. He went out on his own and found a job at Burger King, cooking and cleaning for \$4.65 an hour. He was still eligible for welfare and vouchers for gasoline to pay for transportation to and from work. And when the brakes on his car went out, the welfare office

paid for them to be fixed, aware that similar problems often send low-wage employees back into welfare dependency.

Norris said that working six days a week and with a raise to \$5 an hour, he is able to earn enough so that next month he will give up his AFDC benefit. His family will still receive a Supplemental Security Income check, he said, because his 7-year-old son is disabled. And he will continue to receive Medicaid benefits for his family.

"My confidence and self-esteem was really low," Norris said. "If people are out of work for so long, they get to where they just don't want to work. I was starting to slump into that hole."



Office of the President
 William Carey College
 498 Tuscan Avenue
 Hattiesburg, MS 39401-5499
 (601) 582-6495

FAX COVERSHEET

TO: *PKes has not seen*

FAX #

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REMARKS: *The package to your new
 is being Federal Expressed for morning
 delivery tomorrow.*

SENT BY: *Ch*
 TIME: *3:28 p.m.*



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(601) 582-6495

96 MAY 14 P 6:12

May 13, 1996

The Honorable William Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-25-2000

**RE: URGENT REQUEST REGARDING
MOISES V. GUERRA-HERNANDEZ
-- A CUBAN REFUGEE**

Dear Mr. President:

The Honorable William Winter, former Governor of the State of Mississippi, recommended that I write directly to you regarding a potentially life-threatening set of circumstances involving a Cuban refugee named Moises V. Guerra-Hernandez. These circumstances may have significant potential political embarrassment for you and your administration.

Governor Winter has represented William Carey College as legal counsel during the seven year period that I have been President. Our College enrolls approximately 2,200 students in Gulfport, Hattiesburg, and New Orleans and receives significant support from the Mississippi Baptist Convention. We have graduates throughout the world in education and business, medicine and nursing, missions and Biblical studies, public and community service, and the fine arts. During the past year, Moises Guerra-Hernandez was allowed to enroll at our Gulfport campus as an art major at the College as part of a prisoner rehabilitation program with Sheriff Joe Price of Harrison County, Mississippi.

A summary of the factual circumstances as we currently understand them is outlined below.

- (1) **Mr. Guerra-Hernandez believes that he may be boarded on a plane this week -- Thursday, May 16, 1996 -- as part of deportation proceedings to Cuba, said plane which Fidel Castro has purportedly threatened to shoot down.** If such an event occurs, I believe that another international incident related to the deteriorated relationships with Cuba could occur and given many other issues which are involved, that your Presidency and leadership of our nation may be harmed.
- (2) **A total of 18 pages of information related to the file of Guerra-Hernandez is being withheld by Immigration and Naturalization Service personnel, said withholding may be contrary to the Freedom of Information Act.** Mr. Guerra-Hernandez believes that he may be the victim of a coverup delay and efforts by Immigration and Naturalization Service officials. As partial evidence of his concern, I enclose a letter from the INS Regional Director in New Orleans, Mr. John Caplinger, to Catherine Lampard-Naccari who is one of Moises' attorneys. The Guerra-Hernandez file was delayed 80 days before Ms. Lampard-Naccari received anything and then it was not complete per requirements under the Freedom Of Information Act.
- (3) **Mr. Guerra-Hernandez further believes that errors of fact may have been made in 1986 in a Federal deportation appeal proceeding in Atlanta, and that those errors are now being misunderstood and/or covered up.** A review of the transcript of those hearings as compared to the legal records in Florida will reveal that both the Federal hearing judge and attorney were in error on whether Moises had one legal conviction or two. A copy of the hearing transcript is enclosed and shows that the judge and the attorney concluded that Guerra-Hernandez had convictions on both an Accessory After the Fact charge and an Aggravated Battery charge. This material error is cause for legal action which is being initiated. Mr. Caplinger appears to have made the same error in his public statements about the Guerra-Hernandez case.

Page 2 - The Honorable William Clinton - May 13, 1996

4. **Moises Guerra-Hernandez is a model for prison rehabilitation who wants to continue leading others in a ministry of painting and teaching.** As the President of William Carey College, I am strongly supportive of such a Christian ministry and the rehabilitation of prisoners. Moises is a committed Christian who has made a positive impact on the lives of many people. He has led anti-drug programs, improved the environment on the Mississippi Gulf Coast, and touched the lives of thousands of people with his religious paintings.
5. **Moises Guerra-Hernandez is an exceptional artist whose talents were nurtured as part of a rehabilitation program by Sheriff Joe Price of Harrison County, Mississippi.** Some of Moises' works have won acclaim throughout Mississippi. Last month he could not personally accept a major award in statewide competition because he was in jail in New Orleans, Louisiana.
6. **Mr. Guerra-Hernandez believes that his rights to legal counsel are being thwarted by INS officials.** He was recently moved again by INS personnel to Talladega, Alabama where deportation is now purportedly imminent. His legal counsel, Ms. Lampard-Naccari, was not informed of said move and is not able to adequately communicate with Moises at this time of crisis.
7. **Over ten weeks ago, I forwarded a legal request for parole to Attorney General Janet Reno regarding Moises Guerra-Hernandez and I have yet to receive even the courtesy of an acknowledgement that my letter was received.** What I have received through political inquiries including Governor Winter and Senator Trent Lott are a number of letters from INS and Justice Department officials which have been fraught with misstatements, misinformation, and errors of fact based on the very files held in Federal custody related to Guerra-Hernandez.
8. **Over six weeks ago, I wrote to Vice President Gore and I have received the same lack of courtesy and non-response of any type.** With all due respect, the silence is pretty deafening on the Federal end of a government that is supposed to be more efficient in the lives of human beings.

I have never in my life written this type of letter because my style is to work actively but quietly behind the scenes to avoid public embarrassment of others when personal error, mismanagement, and poor judgement have created a human crisis. My professional career includes education, business, and government and spans nearly four decades of service in ten regional and national educational institutions in eight different states in the Midwest, East Coast, Southwest, and Southeast. It has been my privilege to teach several thousand students, provide leadership for institutions which educated tens of thousands, serve in public office and community and state leadership roles, and affirm the personal and spiritual growth of many faculty, staff, and students. Never in all of my years of professional endeavors have I been as disgusted and discouraged about the depth and breadth of apparent incompetency and lack of concern by Federal officials as I have witnessed in the case of Moises Guerra-Hernandez.

I strongly urge you to review the enclosed materials, seek answers to the questions listed on Attachment I, and vigorously pursue the truth about Moises Guerra-Hernandez, which truth now seems to be shielded by inaction and delay, political indecision, and personal vendettas against a young man whose only weapons are paint brushes and friends who believe in his God-given talent and demonstrated commitment to be a productive and responsible human being who is doing good for others. If your administration wants a role model of prison rehabilitation, you won't allow Moises Guerra-Hernandez to be deported.

Sincerely,


James W. Edwards
President and Chief Executive Officer

JE/cl

Enclosures (5 - Caplinger letter; Excerpts from Atlanta hearing; Appeal to Reno; Letter to Gore; Attachment 1)

MAY-14-96 TUE 14:16



FAX NO. 504 862 8753

U.S. Department of Justice

Immigration and Naturalization Service

New Orleans District

P. 02

Rec'd. 5/1/96
CWS

April 15, 1996

P.O. Box 5095

NOL95000118

207 East 5th Avenue

Oakdale, LA 71463-5095

CATHERINE LAMPARD NACCARI

P O BOX 19367

NEW ORLEANS LA 70179-0367

RE: GUERRA-Hernandez, Moises
A022 803 734

Dear Ms. Lampard:

This is in response to your Freedom of Information request received February 26, 1996, wherein you seek documents from the above-named file.

The contents of the file are being released to you with the exception of eight (8) pages being partially denied and ten (10) pages being totally denied pursuant to the following FOIA 5 U.S.C. 552 exemption(s):

- (b)(2) Materials related solely to the internal rules and practices of the INS.
- (b)(7)(C) Investigatory records compiled for law enforcement purposes, the disclosure of which would constitute an unwarranted invasion of the personal privacy of another person.
- (b)(7)(D) Investigatory records compiled for law enforcement purposes, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of a confidential source or reveal confidential information furnished only by the confidential source.

One document originating with another agency has been referred to that agency for processing and direct response to you. If you should wish to contact that agency, you may do so at the following address: Refugee Mental Health Branch, Room 18-49, Parklawn Bldg., 5600 Fishers Lane, Rockville, MD 20857.

In the event you wish to appeal this determination, you may write to the Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Policy, Department of Justice, Flag Building, Suite 670, Washington, DC 20530, within 30 days of receipt of this letter. Both the letter and the envelope should be clearly marked: "Freedom of Information Act Appeal" or "Information Appeal."

Sincerely,

John B. T. Caplinger
John B. T. Caplinger
District Director

Enclosure

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
EXECUTIVE OFFICE FOR IMMIGRATION REVIEW
UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION COURT
Atlanta, Georgia

File No: A 22 803 734

July 10, 1985

In the Matter of
MOSES GUERRA HERNANDEZ
Respondent.)
IN EXCLUSION PROCEEDINGS

CHARGE: 212 (a) (9) Aggravated Battery; 212 (a) (20) No visa
APPLICATIONS: Asylum and Withholding of Deportation and
Admission.

INTERPRETER: C. Velez

APPEARANCES:

ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENT:

Pro se

ON BEHALF OF THE SERVICE:

Charles J. Sanders

ORAL DECISION OF THE IMMIGRATION JUDGE

The Applicant is a male native and citizen of Cuba who was seeking admission into the United States at Key West, Florida as a refugee. [He was subsequently paroled into the United States and settled in Florida where he was convicted of aggravated battery.] Thereafter, his parole was revoked by the District Director and he was detained pursuant to Section 235 (b) of the Act for a hearing to determine whether he was

This is wrong wrong wrong

admissable into the United States or whether he should be excluded and deported. At the hearing afforded the Applicant it was determined that he had come into the United States as an intending immigrant. It was his stated intention that he came to live and work. He did not obtain an immigrant visa or valid entry documents prior to coming to this country. He has not applied for nor received adjustment of status since his arrival and therefore is excludable pursuant to Section 212 (a) (20) of the Act. This hearing has determined that the Applicant was convicted in Florida of aggravated battery and sentenced to prison for a term of two years. Aggravated battery is a crime involving moral turpitude and therefore he is excludable pursuant to Section 212 (a) (9) of the Act. At his hearing, the Applicant renewed his application for Asylum and Withholding of Deportation. Section 243 (h) (2) (b) of the Act mandates that an alien who has been convicted of a particularly serious crime shall not receive withholding of deportation. The Applicant's conviction for aggravated battery is a particularly serious crime and I would find that based upon his criminal history that he would not...that he does pose a danger to the community and therefore he is ineligible for withholding of deportation. Asylum differs from withholding of deportation in that it is discretionary in nature and based upon the Applicant's criminal history. I would find that he does not merit a favorable exercise of the Attorney General's discretion.

ORDER:

IT IS HEREBY ORDERED that the applications for asylum and withholding of deportation be and are hereby denied.

IT IS FURTHER ORDERED:

IT IS FURTHER ORDERED that the Applicant be excluded and deported from the United States.

Charles E. Auslander
Immigration Judge

U.S. Department of Justice
Executive Office for Immigration Review
Office of the Immigration Judge

Matter of

File A 22 803 734

MOSES GUERRA HERNANDEZ

In EXCLUSION Proceedings

Respondent.

Transcript of Hearing

Before CHARLES AUSLANDER, Immigration JudgeDate: JULY 10, 1985 Place: ATLANTA, GATranscribed by C&W ASSOC., INC At NEWPORT NEWS, VAOfficial Interpreter C. VELEZLanguage SPANISH

INS. COPY

Appearances:

For the Immigration and
Naturalization Service:MR. SANDERS*(Trial Attorney)*
General Attorney

For the Respondent:

PRO SE

AC

MAY 14 96 TUE 14:19

FAX NO. 504 862 8753

P.07



U.S. Department of Justice

Executive Office for Immigration Review

Office of the Immigration Judge

RECEIVED
DEC 18 11 12 AM '85
INS-ATLANTA, GA.

Richard B. Russell Federal Building
75 Spring Street, S.W., Room 1354
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

DEC 17 1985

INSTRUCTIONS FOR BRIEFS TO THE BIA

ATTACHED IS A COPY OF THE DECISION OF THE IMMIGRATION JUDGE AND THE TRANSCRIPT OF THE HEARING. IF YOU DESIRE TO FILE A BRIEF, IT MUST BE FILED IN THIS OFFICE WITHIN TEN(10) DAYS OF THE ABOVE DATE. ONLY ONE COPY OF THE BRIEF NEED BE FILED, BUT IT MUST CONTAIN A CERTIFICATION THAT A COPY OF IT HAS BEEN PROVIDED TO THE OPPOSING SIDE.

INS. COPY

1 JUDGE FOR THE RECORD

2 Today is May 23, 1985, File A 22 803 734.

3 JUDGE TO RESPONDENT

4 Q. Sir would you tell me your name please?

5 A. Moses Guerra Hernandez.

6 Q. Mr. Guerra, I'm going to show you a document,
7 Form I-122 and ask you if you received one of these?

8 A. Yes sir, I just received it.

9 Q. All right.

10 JUDGE

11 This will go into the record as Exhibit 1.

12 JUDGE TO MR. GUERRA

13 Q. You have been brought here today for a hearing
14 to determine what your immigration status is in the United
15 States and this document tells what the Immigration Service
16 charges. That you came into this country without first
17 obtaining the proper documents and that after arriving of
18 having been convicted of a serious crime. I should tell you
19 that if these charges are proved to be true that you may be
20 found deportable from the United States, do you understand
21 this?

22 A. Yes sir.

23 Q. Now if you desire you may have an attorney with
24 you during your hearing or any continuation of it but at no
25 expense to the Government. In other words, you may have an
26 attorney with you if you were to hire one to be here or if

1 you qualify for free legal services if you seek and obtain an
2 attorney from one of the free legal services here in Atlanta,
3 or you may speak for yourself. Do you prefer to have an
4 attorney with you or would you prefer to speak for yourself?

5 A. I prefer to have an attorney, Your Honor.

6 Q. All right then. We will give you time to write
7 to an attorney. You've got the names and the addresses.

8 A. I don't have an attorney now.

9 Q. I know. We'll give you time. We'll give you
10 time to write and I don't think you will have access to a
11 telephone so it's necessary for you to write the letter.

12 A. I would like to talk by telephone.

13 Q. Well I don't know if you can but it's...we'll
14 bring you back after awhile to see what progress you've made
15 in obtaining an attorney. If there is nothing further the
16 hearing is adjourned.

17 HEARING ADJOURNED
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1 JUDGE FOR THE RECORD

2 This is July 10. 1985.

3 JUDGE TO MR. GUERRA

4 Q. Mr. Guerra, the last time you were here we
5 continued your case to allow you to find an attorney. What
6 have you done to accomplish this?

7 A. I wasn't able to find one.

8 Q. It's been almost six weeks now so we will
9 proceed and allow you to speak for yourself. In a few
10 moments the attorney for the Immigration Service will begin
11 giving me some of the documents that you see in front of him.
12 Before we place any of those into your file I'll have it
13 explained to you in Spanish what they are and what they say
14 about you and if there are inaccuracies in them, you'll be
15 given the opportunity to tell me. Also you will be given an
16 opportunity to tell your side of the story if you so desire
17 and to place any documents that you may wish to into your
18 file. The law requires that anything you say here today to
19 be under oath so would you raise your right hand, please? Do
20 you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will
21 be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so
22 help you God?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. Now, were you born in Cuba?

25 A. Yes sir.

26 Q. When you came to this country was it your

1 intention to live and work here?

2 A. Yes sir, of course.

3 Q. Before you left Cuba did you obtain any
4 documents from either American officials or Swiss officials
5 in that country which would allow you to come to the United
6 States?

7 A. No sir.

8 Q. After arriving here have you applied or have
9 you received the green card which would give you your
10 permanent residency in this country?

11 A. No sir.

12 JUDGE TO MR. SANDERS

13 Q. Mr. Sanders, do you have a conviction document?

14 A. Yes we do, Your Honor.

15 Q. Place it in front of the Applicant please?

16 JUDGE TO MR. GUERRA

17 Q. Are these your conviction documents, Mr.
18 Guerra?

19 A. Yes sir.

20 JUDGE

21 These will go into the record as Exhibit 2.

22 JUDGE TO MR. GUERRA

23 Q. This one tells me that you were charged with
24 aggravated battery. Apparently you got into a fight at a
25 bar?

26 A. Yes sir, I did.

1 Q. Whatever happened to this case?

2 A. I understand it was dismissed.

3 Q. This other one says that you hid somebody that
4 had been fleeing from a crime and they charged you with
5 accessory after the fact. You helped somebody who was
6 fleeing from a crime and they charged you with being an
7 accessory after the fact?

8 A. Accessory after the fact...

9 Q. Right.

10 A. Yes sir, that is correct. That was the first
11 case and the other one with the battery was the second case.
12 I was on probation at the time and they fined me for violation
13 of probation.

14 Q. All right. They gave you five years probation
15 for this...for the original one and then when they arrested
16 you for the aggravated battery they revoked the probation for
17 the accessory?

18 A. Yes, that's correct. They revoked my parole.
19 Then I was sentenced to five years for the second case.

20 Q. The...are you afraid to go back to Cuba?

21 A. Yes sir, sure.

22 Q. Do you wish to renew your asylum application?

23 A. Yes sir.

24 JUDGE TO MR. SANDERS

25 Q. Mr. Sanders, do you have the I-589?

26 A. Yes we do, Your Honor.

1 JUDGE TO MR. GUERRA

2 Q. Is this your signature on page four of your
3 asylum application, Mr. Guerra?

4 A. Yes sir.

5 Q. Do you swear that the information that is
6 contained in your application is the truth, the whole truth
7 and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

8 A. Yes sir, sure.

9 JUDGE

10 I will place the I-589 along with the State
11 Department opinion letter and a document which is entitled
12 motion to reopen into the record as Exhibit 3. We'll treat
13 the motion to reopen as supplementary information to the
14 application and consider it in making my decision.

15 JUDGE TO MR. GUERRA

16 Q. Tell me exactly why you are afraid of going
17 back to Cuba, Mr. Guerra?

18 A. Because I was one of those who entered the
19 embassy on April 4, 1980.

20 Q. Was that the only reason?

21 A. I was persecuted by the authorities there
22 because they knew I was against the communist system since I
23 made propaganda and I wrote derogatory remarks in many
24 places against the Government.

25 Q. Did they ever catch you and put you in jail for
26 that?

1 A. No, I never got caught for that.

2 Q. Well how do they know that you were doing it?

3 A. Because they know but they don't have no proof.
4 They can't prove it. So what I did was to get into the
5 Embassy to try to get out of there as soon as possible, you
6 know.

7 JUDGE

8 The following will be the oral decision.

9 JUDGE TO MR. GUERRA

10 Q. Was there anything else you wanted to tell me,
11 Mr. Guerra, before I make a decision in your case?

12 A. I would like to clear up those two charges.
13 Was I sentenced for both or just for one?

14 Q. You were sentenced for the one. You had
15 probation on both and they put you in jail for that. It
16 doesn't have any disposition on it. It doesn't, it...well
17 hold on. Let me look back at it again, here. It
18 does...there is an adjudication of guilt here. They do have
19 you guilty of the aggravated battery. They do. They have
20 you guilty of both of them?

21 JUDGE

22 The following will be the oral decision.

23 ORAL DECISION RENDERED

24 JUDGE TO MR. GUERRA

25 Q. Now I found, Mr. Guerra, that you did not have
26 the proper documents when you came here and that you have

1 these two convictions in the State of Florida, do you
2 understand that?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. And I've denied your asylum application, do you
5 understand that?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. And I've ordered you to leave the United States
8 and I presume the Immigration Service will attempt to send
9 you to Cuba, do you understand that?

10 A. Is that a serious crime.

11 Q. Do you understand that I have ordered you to
12 leave the United States?

13 A. I wish to appeal.

14 Q. All right.

15 JUDGE

16 I will note for the record that the Applicant does
17 not have the money to pay the appeal fee so I will waive it.
18 I also direct the Interpreter to assist him in filling out
19 the appeals fee...form. If there is nothing further, the
20 hearing is adjourned. There is something further.

21 JUDGE TO MR. SANDERS

22 Q. Mr. Sanders, does the Government wish to
23 appeal?

24 A. No, Your Honor.

25 Q. All right.

26 JUDGE

1 If there is nothing further now, the hearing is
2 adjourned.

3 HEARING ADJOURNED
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Office of the President
William Carey College
498 Tuscan Avenue
Hattiesburg, MS 39401-5499
(601) 582-6495

April 3, 1996

The Honorable Vice President Albert Gore
Office of the Vice President
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Vice President Gore:

This letter is written to thank you for your help in a prior action several years ago in Tennessee and to request your current assistance related to a similar circumstance in Mississippi.

In the early 1990s, a Yugoslavian foreign exchange student named Boris Zakic was about to be returned to his home country from Tennessee. Because of a then desperate situation in Yugoslavia, you graciously determined that Boris would be allowed to remain in the United States and to enroll at Union University. Your action was taken at the request of Ted Rose, an outstanding regional artist, who was at that time Chairman of the Art Department at Union.

Approximately a year after your help with Boris Zakic, I encouraged Ted Rose to come to William Carey College to join me in providing leadership for the art program on our campus in Gulfport, Mississippi. Prior to coming to William Carey College in 1989, I had previously served as Academic Vice President at Union University. That service was followed by some business and educational consulting endeavors on my part in Nashville and Franklin, Tennessee.

Boris Zakic subsequently enrolled under Ted Rose's mentorship at William Carey College. As a student at William Carey, Boris has distinguished himself by winning numerous awards throughout his college career. He is currently completing a one man show at the Meridian Museum of Art in Meridian, Mississippi. After graduating this year, Boris plans to attend graduate school at Tulane University. We believe he will bring national artistic acclaim to the United States and to the states of Tennessee and Mississippi where he was allowed and encouraged to develop his God-given talents.

Your help with Boris greatly fostered this young artist's career and possibly saved a life from the brutality that had ravaged his mother country. Ted Rose has told me and many other people in the Mid-South region of your assistance to Boris Zakic.

I am writing to again request your help for another exceptionally talented artist who is about to be deported and whom Ted Rose helped to enroll and pursue an art career at William Carey College.

Moises Guerra-Hernandez is a Cuban immigrant who arrived in the U.S. in 1980 as part of the Marial boatlift during the Carter administration. Moises, unfortunately, like many young Cubans at that time, and because of the pressures on and intricacies of the Immigration Service, was never granted his United States citizenship. To complicate the situation, Moises was later charged and involved in some legal problems. All but one of those charges were ultimately dismissed. He served time in Florida and Georgia for one conviction, which involved driving another person away from the scene of a crime (an action that Moises has consistently stated that he did unknowingly).

Because of a legal circumstance in Mississippi, during the past four years Moises Guerra-Hernandez has turned his life around through the development of his artistic talents. While being held in the Harrison County Detention Center, he was allowed to attend classes at William Carey College.

The decision by me as President to allow Moises to enroll was part of an ongoing and systematic rehabilitation program by Sheriff Joe Price and his wife, Wanda Price. Mrs. Price personally brought Moises to classes and picked him up to return to the Detention Center. Sheriff and Mrs. Price are community leaders, devoted Baptists, and committed to a strong law enforcement program and a strong rehabilitation program for inmates.

Moises Guerra-Hernandez has produced exceptional artwork and maintained a 4.0 average under the direction of Ted Rose. He has completed many works related to the Gulf Coast region, including community murals focusing on our history and environment in Biloxi and Long Beach. Many of his works are strongly spiritual in nature and were painted in the Harrison County Detention Center. He is a role model for rehabilitation in our criminal justice system.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service has determined it is necessary to deport Moises within the near future. This decision primarily goes back to circumstances that occurred over a decade ago.

As you can see from the enclosed materials, I have requested that Attorney General Janet Reno use her legal authority to re-parole Moises Guerra. I and many of this area's citizens are committed to his efforts to help others through a ministry of painting, teaching, and community service. My request to the Attorney General has been guided by the Honorable William Winter, former governor of Mississippi who has been working with Frank Hunger in the U.S. Department of Justice in Washington, D.C.

In closing, I would like to encourage you to review pages 54 and 55 of the reparole request and to share a recent testimony from one of the female inmates in the Detention Center. While we were discussing the Easter Seals award winning painting on pages 54 and 55 by Moises, she stated:

- **"If you put Moises in a gymnasium with 100 members of a youth gang from South Mississippi and gave him some paint and brushes they would not paint graffiti! They would paint something honorable and uplifting - he would lead them to do that. That is the talent God has given him to rehabilitate other people who need to be productive citizens of America."**

I beseech you to intervene on behalf of Moises because of his rehabilitation and his demonstrated desire to contribute to our society. I am fearful of his deportation because of the possible harm that may come to him. Given the current relations and international environment with Cuba, it is hard to imagine otherwise. Mr. Guerra has served his time, he has been rehabilitated and become an asset to our society. It would be a tremendous loss if his deportation were allowed to occur.

I would greatly appreciate your help on my reparole request to General Reno and in determining the future of the life of Moises Guerra-Hernandez.

Thank you for your fine leadership, your vision for our future, and your lifetime of service to our nation and the world.

Sincerely,



Jim Edwards
President and Chief Executive Officer

JE/cl

cc: The Honorable William Winter
The Honorable Joe Price
Chairman Ted Rose

ATTACHMENT I

**QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW ON MOISES GUERRA-HERNANDEZ
MAY 13, 1996**

Question #1: Why are 18 pages of the INS files on Moises Guerra-Hernandez being withheld from the Freedom of Information Act request by his attorney and why did it take 80 days for INS officials to respond to this request?

For Answers Call - John Caplinger, Regional Director of INS in
New Orleans, Louisiana
504/589-6533

Question #2: Why have INS and Department of Justice officials frequently stated that Moises Guerra-Hernandez has multiple criminal convictions when their own records and the NCIC computer system have consistently shown only one conviction which was on an Accessory After the Fact charge for driving a friend away from the scene of a knifing incident in 1981?

For Answers Call - John Caplinger, Regional Director of INS in
New Orleans, Louisiana
504/589-6533
and
Janet Reno, Attorney General of the United States
202/514-2000

Question #3: Could the answer to question #2 be related to the INS' withholding of 18 pages of Moises Guerra-Hernandez' file, which pages might show that errors may have been made in the legal proceedings which denied his requests for asylum and a deportation stay in 1985 and 1986?

For Answers Call - John Caplinger, Regional Director of INS in
New Orleans, Louisiana
504/589-6533
and
Janet Reno, Attorney General of the United States
202/514-2000

Question #4: What specific documented evidence does INS officials have which supports their frequent assertions that Moises Guerra-Hernandez has been convicted of charges of Aggravated Assault and Possession of Cocaine?

For Answers Call - John Caplinger, Regional Director of INS in
New Orleans, Louisiana
504/589-6533
and
Janet Reno, Attorney General of the United States
202/514-2000

Question #5: Why have INS border patrol officers been quoted as telling Harrison County Sheriff personnel that "We are going to get that S.O.B. Cuban away from you even if we have to come after him with guns in the middle of the night?"

For Answers Call - John Vanek in Gulfport, Mississippi
601/863-3582
and
Sheriff Joe Price
601/896-0605

Question #6: What is the legal status of various appeals on behalf of Moises Guerra-Hernandez and what rights, if any, have been violated by INS officials?

For Answers Call - Catherine Lampard-Naccari, Attorney-at-Law and
Professor at Tulane University - New Orleans, Louisiana
504/486-0220 or 504/888-8144

Question #7: Why is Moises Guerra-Hernandez a role model for prisoner rehabilitation?

For Answers Call - Sheriff Joe Price, Harrison County Detention Center
Gulfport, Mississippi
601/865-7060 or 896-0605

Question #8: Why was Moises Guerra-Hernandez encouraged and allowed to enroll as a student at William Carey College on the Coast?

For Answers Call - Chairman Ted Rose of the Art Department or
Dr. William Payne, Vice President of the Coast Campus -
Gulfport, Mississippi
601/865-1500

Question #9: Other than the brush which he uses to complete paintings of the miracles of the birth, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, what makes Moises Guerra-Hernandez so dangerous that he was secretly moved in Mississippi by four armed border patrolmen who were using two INS government-owned vehicles, had telephone calls for help blocked from Louisiana to Mississippi, and is currently being held in 23-hour lockdown in an Alabama jail?

For Answers Call - John Caplinger, Regional Director of INS in
New Orleans, Louisiana
504/589-6533
and
John Vanek in Gulfport, Mississippi
601/863-3582

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

MAY 14, 1996

**GUERRA FUND RAISER PLANNED FOR JUNE 8TH
18-PAGE GAP IN INS FILE ON REFUGEE**

A group of Gulf Coast leaders met today to plan the first of several fund raising events to establish the Moises Guerra Legal Defense Fund to help the Mississippi artist in his fight to avoid deportation to Cuba. Guerra has stated recently by telephone that he may be forced to board a flight that is headed for Cuba as early as Thursday, May 16th, despite the fact that Fidel Castro has purportedly threatened to shoot down any further planes which are returning refugees who fled from his Communist dictatorship during the 1980's.

Lee Hood, Executive Director, and Linda Hinton, President of the Board of the Gulf Coast Arts Council, are among the leaders of the group who are planning a June 8th event at Rice Pavilion in Gulfport.

"We believe that Moises Guerra is one of the most gifted artists in decades on the Mississippi Gulf Coast--especially in religious and portrait paintings," stated Hood who says that prints and T-shirts representing Moises' work will be sold to help defray legal costs.

"His work titled "God's Gift to the World" has been enjoyed by thousands of people through its' distribution to help raise money for the Mississippi Easter Seals Society", Hood concluded.

Page 2-Guerra Fund Raiser Planned For June 8th
May 14, 1996

Sheriff Joe Price explained that supporters are also concerned about an 18-page gap in the Immigration and Naturalization Service file on Guerra which was recently released under the Freedom of Information Act to Moises' immigration attorney, Catherine Lampard-Naccari of New Orleans.

"Supporters have waited 80 days to receive a file that supposedly would show that INS knew everything about Moises' legal background. Now it appears that there may have been some errors in earlier Justice Department proceedings in denying Moises immigration status and political asylum. Given all the delays that have been encountered while waiting for his entire file, you have to wonder if the INS isn't deliberately hiding something by withholding 18 pages from Moises' attorney in Louisiana."

Others who are lending support to the effort to keep Guerra as a productive American citizen and a role model for prisoner rehabilitation include: Shirley Phipps of Biloxi, Sheriff Joe Price and Wanda Price of Gulfport, Diane and Mercer Miller of Gulfport, Geo Balsly, John McDonald, and numerous art dealers and businesses from Pascagoula to Waveland, Pamela Ulrich, Jenell Tompkins, Larry Benefield, Nicky Creel, Gaston Hewes, Jr., all of Harrison County, The Rt. Rev. Jackson C. Biggers, formerly rector of the Episcopal Church of the Redeemer, Cynthia Saucier of Central Baptist Church, Alicia R. Ellis of Mississippi Coast Crime Commission Director, Dr. David Spencer, Pastor Of First Baptist Church in Long Beach, Ted Rose, Art Department Chairman at William Carey College on the Coast, and Dr. Jim Edwards, President of the College which has its main campus in Hattiesburg.

Page 3-Guerra Fund Raiser Planned For June 8th
May 14, 1996

According to Naccari and Edwards, a formal request for re-parole of Guerra is still pending with Attorney General Janet Reno in Washington, D.C.

"The request is based on the complete rehabilitation that Guerra has demonstrated under the guidance of Sheriff Joe Price and his wife Wanda. Despite some confusion and perception to the contrary, Moises is a dedicated Christian who has touched thousands of lives with his religious paintings, led other prisoners and young people on the Coast in anti-drug programs, cleaned up graffiti and the environment with his public paintings, and given away most of his works to help other people and community groups."

"Moises has committed his life to a ministry of painting and teaching. That's what the Great Commission of Jesus Christ is all about," Edwards concluded.

Sheriff Joe Price stated that despite the frustrations of delays and political indecision on the Guerra case, he and others won't stop fighting even if Moises is deported.

"This issue has gotten a lot bigger than Moises Guerra. We want to see some accountability in the justice system. Both the bureaucrats and the politicians keep avoiding the fact that errors may have been made in dealing with Moises' legal problems over the years. A lot of people are wondering what is so dangerous about a man with a paint brush who the INS keeps moving around and trying to get rid of, when literally thousands of violently criminal immigrants are still in jails that are being built and operated with our tax money."