

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6.3.96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

96 MAY 31 P6:33

Copy sent to
Leon Panetta

May 31, 1996

MEMORANDUM TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF
FROM RAHM EMANUEL R.E.
SUBJECT WEEKLY REPORT

*Very good on Curfew
Weekend coverage re:
curfew announcement
must get on this*

CRIME/DRUGS: The President's endorsement of curfews was on all three networks and received very positive coverage. The New York Times and Washington Post contrasted our curfew announcement against Senator Dole's domestic violence event.

I am working with the New York Times on a larger follow-up for this weekend on curfews. Fox Butterfield, New York Times reporter who covers the crime beat, is interested in the study and the President's remarks. I am trying to fold the curfew announcement into the President's larger juvenile agenda.

We have to decide if the letter to mayors and police chiefs concerning the Justice report should come from Janet Reno or the President.

The next two announcements that concern teens are the truancy guidelines and the juvenile handgun tracking program. The Department of Education has prepared their first draft of the truancy guidelines which I will review this weekend. ATF has made agreements with 20 cities to track guns used by juveniles and use the information to crack down on the sellers of the weapons as well as the juveniles. I think this announcement could be very powerful.

Bruce and I were discussing ways to expand the community school program that keeps schools open after hours. One idea was to look into the possibility of signing a directive to the Secretary requiring a portion of Title I be spent on keeping schools open after hours.

The Southwest border conference will be held July 11th in El Paso. The question is whether we still want to travel to Texas on July 11th not June 11th.

As it pertains to the constitutional Amendment on Victims Rights, I think the President should call Laurence Tribe from Harvard. Dr. Tribe supports a victims amendment and could add intellectual

cover to our coming out and supporting the amendment.

WELFARE: We had a meeting on Thursday with HHS staff to review the child support and paternity identification announcements. They will be ready to announce within the next two weeks.

I am very concerned with HHS's progress on the Wisconsin waiver. I do not think they are on track to have this completed in thirty days. They also do not see this as their obligation.

In addition to Wisconsin, HHS is working on 27 other waivers, some date as far back as 200 days. Just when we are beginning to get credit for the state welfare reform experiment program, the 27 pending waivers could undercut our agenda.

In addition to the above waivers, not a single letter has been sent from HHS to the Governors of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Massachusetts, California, and New Hampshire. You should know that three weeks ago, in your office, HHS agreed to sending these letters.

This will only get more complicated as the House begins to pass legislation requiring us to approve the state requests. The Wisconsin waiver request will be taken up as legislation on Thursday.

In short, the old timeline HHS operated on no longer works and I do not think they fully appreciate that fact.

IMMIGRATION: On Tuesday Doris and US Attorney Alan Bersin announced 170 new agents for San Diego, two helicopters, and new FBI agents to combat the smuggling business. The announcement was covered extensively in San Diego and Los Angeles.

On Wednesday the Attorney General and Governor Chiles announced the Florida immigration policy. The state plan relies heavily on the deportation and worksite agenda.

The Los Angeles Times is working on a story which compares Senator Doles campaign rhetoric with his voting record. The record and rhetoric do not match.

The Senate Immigration conferees continue to receive police letters and editorials opposed to the education amendment.

In the coming weeks we will sign a M.O.U. with Disney in Florida to participate in the computer verification program.

RESEARCH: Attached is the DNC press kit that summarizes how the Senator spent the week "explaining why he had voted against programs he was now champions".

cc: Marilyn Jackson
MS

I showed you
an autog picture
to Terrell's Great
table - of the girl
in the picture -

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/3/96

HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 3, 1996

James K. McAtee
A.G. Edwards & Sons, Inc.
12977 North Outer 40 Drive
St. Louis, Missouri 63141

Dear Jim:

Thanks for your letter of May 21 and for
sending the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* from my
visit last month. It was great seeing you
again, and I really enjoyed the entire trip.

Though we have a long way to go before we can
begin plans for the reunion, I appreciate your
advice about the fight song. It should provide
some real inspiration in the coming months.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton
Maurice

cc: Maurice Lewis
for reply

May 21, 1996

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Bill,

I really enjoyed seeing you last week in Webster Groves, the town in which I grew up. You did a great job, and really wowed them in a traditional Republican district.

As you can see from the enclosed newspaper articles, the kids loved the whole event, especially young Jocelyn Grant, who is a very good role model, as you remarked. My daughter was her counselor in day camp several years ago.

It has been a long time since our Georgetown days, but in many ways it seems like just yesterday. Our Reunion in 1993 was really a catalyst that helped keep those great memories alive. Again, I thank you for your hospitality which enabled that spectacular evening to occur. I look forward to something similar in 1998.

Good luck in the next several months. If you need any inspiration, a few bars of the Georgetown fight song ought to do the trick.

Faithfully,

Jim

James K. McAtee C'68

A.G. Edwards & Sons, Inc.
INVESTMENTS SINCE 1887
Members New York Stock Exchange, Inc.



JAMES K. MCATEE
SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT - INVESTMENTS
BRANCH MANAGER

TOLL FREE: 800-866-2801
BUSINESS: 314-878-2800
FAX: 314-878-5096

12977 NORTH OUTER 40 DRIVE
ST. LOUIS, MO 63141

Law: Die, its Fly

Legislature Gives Businesses Boost Final Flurry

Ferry Ganey, Virginia Young
Kim Bell

Dispatch Jefferson City Bureau

JEFFERSON CITY — A package of tax credits for businesses flew through the Legislature on its last Friday while tax cuts for individuals died in a squabble over who would benefit from them.

Lawmakers voted to put limits on abortion providers, curtail teen-age smoking and driving and require school districts to make their classrooms safer. They also outlawed marriages by people of the same sex and prohibited the filing of bogus liens to intimidate public officials.

to
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Lobby reform failed, as no attempt was made in either the House or the Senate to pass bills that would limit or reduce what lobbyists spent

A Chat With The President



Scott Dine/Post-Dispatch

Webster Groves High School senior Jocelyn Grant talks it over with President Bill Clinton before she introduced him Friday for his speech in the school's gymnasium. "I'll remember his kindness the most," Grant said.

...I Have In Visit Here

DALE BUMPERS
ARKANSAS

E. Schuler
COMMITTEES
APPROPRIATIONS
ENERGY AND
NATURAL RESOURCES
SMALL BUSINESS

96 JUN **United States Senate**
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0401

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6-1-96

May 30, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

On Monday, June 24, 1996, we will unveil a portrait of former Arkansas Senator Hattie Caraway, who in 1932 became the first woman ever elected to a full six-year term in the U.S. Senate.

The Senate Commission on Art joins us in inviting you to a brief ceremony at 6 p.m. that evening for the formal presentation of this portrait into the permanent Senate art collection. The ceremony will be held in the second floor hallway outside the Senate Chamber. A reception will follow in the Manfield Room (S-207).

Please advise Henry Woods (224-4735) if your schedule will permit you to attend.

We hope you can join us for this great occasion.

Sincerely,

Dale
Dale Bumpers

David
David Pryor

To Scheduling

yes ☒

no ☐

FAX

from _____

Senator Dale Bumpers

Phone (202) 224-4843 229 Dirksen Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20510
FAX (202) 224-6435

DATE: 5-30-96

TO: Nancy Herrick

FAX NUMBER TO: 456-6703

FROM: Denny Woods

PHONE: 224-4735

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES, 2 INCLUDING COVER PAGE.

COMMENTS: We've also sent this
to Patti Solis in the First
Lady's Ofc

Scheduling

96 JUN 1

P 3 24



College Democrats
OF AMERICA

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6-1-96

May 28, 1996

To Scheduling
yes ✓
no _____

President William Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave, NW
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Mr. President:

As Chairman of the Board of the College Democrats of America, and on behalf of our 1,000 campuses and tens of thousands of members, I would like to invite you to address the **1996 College Democrats of America National Convention in Washington, DC at Georgetown University**. The convention will be held from **June 21st through June 25th, 1996**.

In this most important election year, the College Democrats are managing a campaign plan, in conjunction with your campaign staff, that will register 1 million new Clinton/Gore voters and turn out 6 million Clinton/Gore and Democratic voters on election day - all between the ages of 18 and 24. We will accomplish this by using 50,000 student volunteers working in targeted states. I am personally prepared to dedicate a substantial portion of my time during the campaign to visit the targeted states and to pro-actively make sure we achieve our goals.

Your presence at our national convention will be vital as we kick off our national training and recruiting drive to accomplish our goal of helping to assure your re-election. An event at the White House or on the steps of the Old Executive Office Building (similar to the photo-op you did in 1993) would send a wave of enthusiasm throughout our national ranks.

As you know, our organization played a major role in helping you get elected in 1992. We plan on making an even more important contribution by delivering a vast majority of the 18-24 year old constituency in 1996.

Your attendance and comments at the convention will mean a great deal to the future leaders of the Democratic Party and will help to guarantee the success of our important and ambitious program. At this year's convention, we expect 700 attendees from over 150 campuses.

I would greatly appreciate your acceptance of this invitation. It would punctuate your commitment to and recognition of the importance of the youth of America.

If someone from your office would contact our Executive Director, Susan Blad, at (202) 479-5179, we can provide whatever additional information you require and accommodate whatever your schedule needs.

Thank you for your serious consideration of this request. I send my warmest personal regards!

Sincerely,

Howard M. Glicken
Chairman of the Board

College Democrats of America



1996 National Convention

Where:

Georgetown University
Washington, DC

When:

June 21 -25
1996

Why:

Last year's featured speakers included Vice-President Gore, George Stephanopoulos, and Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin. This year's guests promise to be just as exciting!

You know what the stakes are this year and they're too high to stay home. The 1996 campaign is the most important one yet. This year we're fighting for our student loans, the environment, AmeriCorps, and the President's vision for the 21st century! Inaction means that Bob Dole and his antiquated world view will lead this country into the year 2000.

Take a look at the enclosed info packet and return the registration form ASAP to secure your spot and housing -- we'll even give you a discount for early registration!! If you have any questions, please call the CDA office at (202) 479-5189.

We Look Forward to Seeing You in June!

Mat Milliken

96 MAY 31 P6:01

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: May 3, 1996

Date of Request: 5/3/96
Request for: POTUS
Type of Request: Honorary Co-Chair
Requestor Name: Ms. Frances Kidd
Title:
Organization: Rock the Vote
Suite 200
1460 Fourth Street
Santa Monica, California 90401
Contact Tel. #: 310/559-6370
Event Date: 5/30/96
Event Description: Rock the Vote Washington Event

Notes: As you know, Ricki Seidman is the Executive Director of Rock the Vote. The group would also like the Vice President to serve as an Honorary Co-Chair. Bob Dole, Tom Daschle, Dick Gephardt, Newt Gingrich, Joe Galli, and Kevin Geary have already agreed to be Honorary Co-Chairs. Doug Sosnik supports this request. The group is waiting to go to print. They would like to use the President's name on their letterhead for a special mailing as well as on the invitation.

Recommendations:

TS DK EL only w/
hul

24:24 9 MAY 96

Please return to Room 457

I want POTUS to be Honorary Chair + all the others co-chairs.
VP doesn't need to do also. Why pressure us on Fri for a Non response?

Would get better responses from us if this was not always

**ROCK
THE
VOTE**

674853

rec'd 5/3/96 JRA

March 2, 1996

MEMORANDUM

TO: Margo Spiritus

FROM: Frances Kidd

RE: Rock the Vote Capitol City Brewing Company Event

Margo, thanks again for your help.

I have attached a fact sheet with all the information about this great event. We are excited about doing this, because Rock the Vote hasn't done any kind of large event in Washington in the last few years.

As you'll see, we have the Republican and Democratic leadership listed as Honorary Co-Chairs -- being able to list the President and Vice President as part of that group will make this an incredible list of support. We would like to list them on the letterhead for a special mailing to about 100 people asking for sponsorship as well as on the actual invitation for the event.

Please call me if you have any questions. I can be reached at 310/559-9334 during regular business hours and at 310/559-6370 before 9:30 am our time.

Thanks again.

1460 4TH STREET
SUITE 200
SANTA MONICA
CA 90401
310 656-2464
fax 656-2474
www.rockthevote.org
e.mail rockthevote@aol.com



ROCK THE VOTE WASHINGTON EVENT

Hosted by the Capitol City Brewing Company

WHEN: Thursday, May 30, 1996
6:00 - 9:00 pm

WHERE: The new Capitol City Brewing Company
Postal Square
2 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E.
Washington, DC

WHO'S INVOLVED:

HONORARY CO-CHAIRS

- Hon. Bob Dole
- Hon. Tom Daschle
- Hon. Dick Gephardt
- Hon. Newt Gingrich
- Joe Galli, Chairman, College Republicans
- Kevin Geary, President, College Democrats

CORPORATE SPONSORS

- Capitol City Brewing Company
- Coca-Cola Company
- ElectionLine-Politics USA
- MTV Networks
- washingtonpost.com

TICKET PRICES:

- Corporate Sponsorships from \$1,000 to \$5,000
- Individuals: \$19.96 in advance
- \$25.00 at the door

We're anticipating that about 1000 people will attend. There will be a program with speakers including Ricki Seidman (Executive Director of Rock the Vote) and Rock the Vote board member Hilary Rosen or Jon Rubin, 2 politicians (1 Republican and 1 Democrat), and a Rock The Vote celebrity. There is a possibility that we will also have some live entertainment.

1460 4TH STREET
SUITE 200
SANTA MONICA
CA 90401
310 656-2464
fax 656-2474
www.rockthevote.org
e.mail: rockthevote@aol.com

6-3-96

about Peres being a little like Moses, unable to cross with his people into the promised land, and about your stand in the Israeli elections, which he enthusiastically salutes.

(E)

Lake/Hilley memo on Congress and U.S. assistance to Haiti. There are no current Congressional holds on U.S. assistance programs for Haiti. Of the \$117M in projected FY96 aid, \$80M has moved or is moving. Of the remaining \$37M, the Administration is holding \$18M pending assessment of the investigation into politically related murders. The other \$19M will be released contingent upon Haiti reaching agreement with the IMF on issues including expenditure controls, duties and tax adjustments and the Haitian budget. When these issues are resolved, release of the \$19M will require Congressional notification, and this will prompt an active debate on the Hill over complicity by former GOH officials in the murders.

(F)

Panetta memo responding to questions on Cabinet Report. 1) You noted concern last week about the pending expiration of several Florida HMOs' Medicaid exemptions. HHS has resolved the issue to Florida's satisfaction, extending the exemptions through use of the Department's existing research and development authority. 2) You asked whether energy-efficient lighting was being used in the WH and elsewhere in the Federal government. Jodie Torkelson reports that virtually all lighting fixtures in EOP facilities have been fitted with such lighting and similar efforts are ongoing on a government-wide basis.

(G)

Ickes/Shea memo on Mashantucket Pequot tribal land. You recently discussed this with Skip Hayward. The tribe wanted Interior to transfer 250 acres into trust to use as parking lot next to their casino. Several local towns opposed this because they would lose property tax revenue and control over future use of the land. After extensive mediation, Interior announced its *intent* to proceed with the transfer (rather than making the transfer directly), thus giving the towns opportunity to take legal action. They did and secured a restraining order. Hayward is upset because the tribe did not realize that the towns would be given opportunity to intervene in court. But Sens. Dodd and Lieberman lobbied for such an opportunity. And subsequent Eighth Circuit decision has now made clear that had Interior made a direct transfer without allowing for judicial intervention, the transfer would have been constitutionally suspect.

(H)

Follow-up with veterans. Last week after the flare-up over the Bennett brief, Public Liaison telephoned VFW, American Legion, Vietnam Vets, Paralyzed Vets and DAV.

(I)

"A Dissent on Starbucks" by comedian Jackie Mason. Via Harold "for your amusement." From last week's *Weekly Standard*.

(J)

Note from Deputy AG Jamie Gorelick. "Your remarks at Mike Boorda's funeral moved us all, especially [her] former colleagues at DOD. Your leadership is marked by an extraordinary empathy for those who have lost loved ones -- Brown family, Boorda family, Meissner family, OKC victims. Your ability to help heal is a precious gift."

Hayward
needs
to
understand
this

6.3.96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

96 MAY 31 P6:03

May 30, 1996

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:  HAROLD ICKES, Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff
 TOM SHEA, Special Assistant to the Deputy Chief of Staff

RE: Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Council - Transfer of Land into Trust

Following is some background information on the situation you recently discussed with Skip Hayward regarding the transfer of Mashantucket Pequot tribal land into trust by the Department of the Interior:

The Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Council was seeking to transfer approximately 250 acres of land into trust for use as a parking lot next to its casino. This move was opposed by several area municipalities on the grounds that it would result in the inability to collect local property taxes on this land, or control its future use. According to representatives of the Tribe, Interior Solicitor John Leshy informed the Tribal Council last year that, notwithstanding this opposition, the Department would honor the Tribe's request and transfer the land into trust.

After extensive efforts to mediate the dispute between the towns and the tribes, the Department announced its intent to take the land into trust, giving those opposed to the move an opportunity to seek a restraining order against the transfer, which was subsequently granted. Hayward is upset because the Tribal Council was unaware until very late in the process that the towns would be given an opportunity to seek judicial intervention against the transfer. It should be noted, however, that Senators Dodd and Lieberman both lobbied the Department to pursue a solution that would accommodate the concerns of the municipalities opposed to the transfer, at least with respect to reserving an opportunity for judicial review.

The Interior Department has since adopted regulations which support its handling of the Pequot transaction. The adoption of these regulations was instigated by an Eighth Circuit decision which held that since the Congress delegated the authority to transfer land into trust to the Interior Department without prescribing specific standards for such transfers, allowing an opportunity for judicial intervention was essential to avoiding unconstitutional delegation problems. Thus, while the Department's actions were not required by regulation at the time they were taken, it appears, as a result of the Eighth Circuit decision, that the direct transfer sought by Hayward et al would have resulted in a judicial reversal of the action as a violation of the non-delegation doctrine.

6-3-96

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 1, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *DS*
PHIL CAPLAN

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

- Can we get
Salem show
7 on UP dates
y. 4. 2. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

May 30 , 1996 96 MAY 30 P 6 : 26

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

CC: HAROLD ICKES
FROM: KATIE MCGINTY *Km*
RE: BUFFALO RIVER / TIMBER SALES

Summary

You recently reviewed and forwarded to me a memo from the Arkansas Chapter of the Sierra Club, outlining concerns related to proposed U.S. Forest Service timber sales in the Buffalo National River watershed in the Ozark and St. Francis National Forests. You asked me to call you to discuss. I am forwarding this background memo, and am, now, of course, available to discuss this further with you at your convenience.

The sales at issue are in litigation, and the State of Arkansas, along with the Sierra Club, the Newton County Wildlife Association and others, are plaintiffs. Judge Bill Wilson of the Eastern District of Arkansas found that the Forest Service had violated the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, but declined to issue a preliminary injunction. The Sierra Club asked that you ask Secretary Glickman to direct the Forest Service to suspend voluntarily the sales until further environmental analysis has been performed.

Background

There are eight sales involved in litigation, involving about 6.2 million board feet. Additional sales are being proposed in the headwaters area of the Buffalo River that will involve approximately 1,169 acres and about 20 miles of new or reconstructed roads. None of the sales come under the "timber rider" to the rescission bill. They are all "green" sales and none involve clearcutting.

In the litigation, claims are raised pertaining to the National Forest Management Act, the National Environmental Policy Act, the Clean Water Act, the Migratory Bird Treaty Act, the Wilderness Act, the Endangered Species Act, and the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act. Plaintiffs asked for a preliminary injunction based on an allegation that the Forest Service has failed to adopt a comprehensive management plan for the wild and scenic rivers. They have appealed the denial to the Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit.

The response we have had to date from USDA indicates that none of the sales in litigation are in the wild and scenic river corridors, although one is within the watershed of Richland

Creek, which is a wild and scenic river, and the Ozark Highland Trail passes through two of the sales. There are 198 foot buffers on each side of the trail that will be protected in sale preparation. USDA also indicates that there has been extensive public involvement and disclosure through the NEPA process. We are told that the new sales being proposed are not in wild and scenic river corridors either, although they are in the vicinity of the Buffalo River and part of one of the sales would drain into the Buffalo River about four miles outside the national forest boundary. In sum, the response from the Forest Service through USDA appears to be that they are satisfied they have gone through the legal hoops necessary to go forward with these sales, and will continue defending them in court.

The picture painted by local environmentalists is quite different. It is a picture of an area in transition from economic dependency on timber to significantly increasing recreation activity. The area in question is quite scenic and serves as the confluence between northern and southern forests and contains rare plants and important migratory bird habitat. The local environmentalists complain that the environmental impact statement for the Ozark National Forest is ten years old and needs to be supplemented or redone entirely (the Forest Service apparently agrees and will probably start the process of updating them within the next six to seven months). They complain that the timber sales are being analyzed without adequate analysis of the cumulative effects of sales throughout the Buffalo River watershed, and that sustainable development of this region calls for eliminating many of the planned timber sales that would take otherwise important recreational areas and log them for chip mills. While they acknowledge that the Forest Service has avoided certain protected areas, they maintain that the cumulative effects of the sales are changing the regional environment in general and micro-environment in particular. They acknowledge that local logging interests are very upset about their litigation and overall posture, and they believe the Forest Service is afraid of the pressure and fears interactive public involvement.

You were contacted during your last term as Governor by some of the same local environmentalists about their concerns with timber sales in this area. Apparently you did not intervene at that time or, if you did, the Forest Service declined to change its position. Note however, as mentioned above, the State has joined environmental interest in this suit opposing the Forest Service action. My sense from our contacts to date on this matter is that the Forest Service probably has not done anything extraordinarily "bad" or "good" here. I expect that they are operating in accord with their standards and guidelines. However, given that these standards and guidelines are a decade old, I suspect that if even remotely new thinking were brought to bear, we would not proceed with these sales. I also suspect that in accord with old operating procedures, the Forest Service has been fairly inattentive to State government and citizen concerns.

I'm available to discuss this issue with you or take further action at your direction.



THE CHAIRMAN

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-3-96

96 MAY 29 P 2 : 37

May 24, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOSEPH E. STIGLITZ *JS*

SUBJECT: Comments on Weekly Economic Briefing

I respond below to your request for additional information concerning trade and investment in developing economies. A list of the 93 countries classified as developing economies is attached.

Growth of trade. Over the past 10 years, developing countries as a whole have kept pace with the worldwide rate of trade integration, which is measured by the ratio of trade to GDP. However, three-quarters of the increase was accounted for by only 10 of the 93 developing economies:

*Turkey
China
Chad
Paki
Tanzania
Rwanda*

- ✓ China
- ✓ Korea
- Thailand
- Malaysia
- ✓ Mexico
- Saudi Arabia
- ✓ Argentina
- ✓ Brazil
- ✓ India
- Philippines

Growth of investment. Over the past ten years, eight countries have received two-thirds of foreign direct investments in developing economies (which are equity investments that give the investor at least a 10-percent interest in the business):

- China
- Mexico
- Malaysia
- Argentina
- Thailand
- Portugal
- Indonesia
- Hungary

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CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515-1802

May 30, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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WHIP AT-LARGE

The Honorable William Clinton
President, The United States
of America
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I must ask your personal attention to improving our government's relations with Nigeria and to put us on a course better calculated to assist the people of Nigeria in achieving a stable democracy and in the short term.

Traditionally, our relations with Nigeria have been friendly. Recently, Nigeria has assisted, at our request, operations supported by us in Rwanda, Somalia, the former Yugoslavia, and presently in Liberia. But now, Nigerians, both military leaders and ordinary people, sense an open hostility on our part and imagine every conceivable reason for the hostility. Most of our, State Department officials, White House staff, diplomatic corp officials, and other leaders in your Administration with responsibility for African matters, are openly demonizing Nigeria's leaders and supporting a U.S. policy toward Nigeria of maintaining present sanctions and entreating our allies to join us in imposing additional sanctions against Nigeria because of Nigeria's human rights violations and its slow and uncertain pace toward democratization. The result is severe misunderstandings on both sides, that are now turning into hard lines of contention that portend long lasting scars.

That human rights violations are occurring in Nigeria is well documented. And it is also true that some of Nigeria's leaders are responsible for taking harsh actions against their people. But our efforts should be directed toward assisting the people of Nigeria in achieving democracy, as we do with other nations whose leaders exhibit disrespect for human rights.

On the human rights issues, however, it should be noted that, in response to a U.N. Mission to Nigeria report, Nigeria has agreed to take a number of important corrective actions. These include an agreement to repeal the civil disturbance decree under which Ken Saro Wiwa and eight other minority rights leaders were tried and executed last year; to exclude members of the military from special trial tribunals and to permit appeal rights in cases of conviction; to immediately review the cases of all persons detained under certain special decrees and to release them based on a case by case review, among other actions.

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These case reviews are already underway and it is very timely for your Administration to initiate a different course with Nigeria based in part on Nigeria's response to the U. N. Commission report.

As one who has certain, yet undeterminable, ancestral roots in West Africa, I have decided to continuously devote a large part of my time to helping the people of Nigeria develop a strong stable democracy and a strong economy. Further, the achievement of these goals and that of a good relationship with Nigeria is in our national interest. As the principal power in Black Africa, we need Nigeria to be a geo-political partner there. Nigeria has the allegiance and support of virtually every nation in Africa, particularly West Africa, most of which nations are economically, politically, or militarily dependent on Nigeria. Thus, our relationship with Nigeria, it is fair to say, affects our relationships with the other nations of Africa as well.

In my opinion, your Administration needs a crowning achievement in Africa, which it does not now have. An infantile African trade and development policy was recently released by the White House. It, however, has been criticized, I believe appropriately, by the Congressional Research Service as containing little new trade and investment initiatives for Africa and is largely a compendium of existing programs. Nonetheless, I welcome it at least as evidence that the Administration is now taking seriously the core issue of African public and private sector economic development, which I count as a good starting point. But, I firmly believe that a meaningful U.S. assist to the democratization of Nigeria could be your Administration's legacy to Africa. Nigeria is not just another African nation, after all. One in every four black Africans is Nigerian, and one in every five black persons alive today is Nigerian. For this, and for the reasons already cited, much more than in the case of South Africa, Nigeria's achievement of a stable democracy would lead the way for the sustenance of democratic institutions throughout Africa.

Nigeria poses no threat to our national security or to a vital U.S. interest. Absent such, the insistence upon a sanctions policy, which hopes to influence Nigeria to a faster pace toward democracy or towards greater observance of human rights cannot be justified at the risk or expense of ruining relations in the short term with the Nigerian government, and in the long term with the Nigerian people.

In all my conversations with Nigerian leaders in the U.S. and in Africa, I am convinced that Nigeria craves good relations with the U. S. Yet, our present posture toward them is driving them to make linkages with countries whose interest may not be aligned with ours -- like China and Iran -- as they seek ways to buttress our anticipated heavy blows. For instance, our policy of not providing military training for the Nigerians has led to their having the Chinese help to train their military. Doubtless, this will result

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in a Nigerian military with less respect for civil authority than if it were trained by U. S. military. This choice of military partners is not good for long range prospects for democracy in Nigeria nor for long range U. S. relations with Nigeria. We must redirect our policy toward Nigeria. Because we are far down the road in the wrong direction, this redirection can only happen through your personal leadership and direction. This needs to happen soon.

That the Nigerian government has put forth a three year plan to transit to a democratic government would ordinarily be warmly greeted by us, but our present stance toward Nigeria virtually treats this plan as irrelevant. It is important to note, however, that in spite of our cool reception to the transition plan and its implementation, the U. N. Commission has said that Nigeria's transition program "seems genuine" and that Nigeria's head of state was "sincere in his commitment to restore civil democratic rule by October 1, 1998." I believe our position to date can be explained on a number of grounds, but the following ones appear to be the main reasons, which I have listed as premises below.

Premise No. 1

We simply do not believe that the present military government would carry out its announced transition plan to bring democratic governance to Nigeria.

- a. A military government cannot be trusted.

It is rightly not in our national culture to ever imagine a justification for a military government in any country. I strongly agree. But I also know that we make a mistake in believing that this is as unthinkable in some other culture, particularly that of Nigeria. I have been shocked at the level of debate that can be generated among Nigerians over the question, for example, of whether a military or a civilian government can be more effective or even more accountable. And, all of the creditable evidence of which I am aware shows, I am afraid, that the present Abacha military government was actually asked to take power, not by the nation's military, but by civilians, including Mr. Abiola.

Thus, as we assess the process for democratization by the military in Nigeria, as alien and unpalatable as the thought is to us, we must at least hold open to the view that most Nigerians probably do not believe that the military cannot usher in a democratic government, and we, therefore, must move past our culture shock on this question to the matter of the details of the transition plan itself.

- b. This particular military government cannot be trusted to complete a

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transition to democracy.

The present military government took power after a long history of false, deceptive, aborted plans to democratize by its predecessor military government that spanned nearly ten years and which culminated with the annulment of the June 12, 1993 Abiola elections and the subsequent installation of a puppet civilian government. Against this backdrop, it is natural, even reasonable, for us to be highly suspicious of the intentions of the current military regime. Further, the deplorable human rights record of the present government appears altogether inconsistent with its stated purpose of a democratic government affording due process.

While these are substantial impediments to accepting the messenger of Nigeria's three year democratic transition program as creditable, it is our duty to treat the plan as a good faith one until such time as the Nigerians by their demonstrated actions prove otherwise. The recent overwhelming turnout in Nigeria's local elections tell us a great deal about the confidence with which the Nigerian people have greeted this transition plan, even though their faith has doubtless been shaken over the years by the sorry history of democratic elections in Nigeria. The existence of an overall military decree by which the military can void the election of any local official is the government's way of making sure these officials do not commit to over spending and other excesses while the transition is ongoing to us is troubling. But, there is widespread support for this restraint, which, again, is alien to our political culture, but which does not destroy the Nigerian's confidence in the transition program. Can we not, still with our eyes wide open, make this small leap of faith with them? I have met repeatedly with Nigeria's military, civilian, business, labor and religious leaders. While I know that a danger exists that the plan will not work, I am hopeful, with them, that this process will result in a democratic Nigeria. We take little national risk in cautiously giving this process a chance. A diplomatically, well expressed skepticism on the part of the United States, followed up by a strong push of the plan is probably our most helpful course. By investing in the transition plan, we might both improve it and help to ensure its success.

If democracy in Nigeria is our goal, it is incumbent upon us as leader of the free world, to engage this present government, albeit military, and help it to live up to its pronouncements on democracy.

Premise No. 2

The transition program is too long and too uncertain of achievement:

therefore, sanctions should be imposed to bring about a swifter, more certain transition.

Prior to the Nigerian government's announcement of a three-year transition plan, it invited U. S. diplomatic and other leadership to a meeting in Geneva, Switzerland to discuss its transition proposals. At that meeting, Nigeria proposed a four-year timetable. The U. S. countered with a suggestion of a two-year plan. Later, the Nigerians formally announced the adoption of a three-year plan. Our government then strongly criticized this plan as far too long. This reaction perplexed, disappointed, and in the case of some, angered, Nigeria's leaders. They had wrongly supposed that three years was an acceptable compromise. They also were shocked that virtually no credit was given by the U. S. for what they thought was an ambitious, forward looking transition plan. On the contrary, the U. S. reaction was to call for the immediate unconditional release of all political prisoners, to announce that it would keep its current sanctions in place, and that it would review additional sanctions based on the announced plan.

- a. Sanctions will not ensure a shorter transition time.

If three years is too long to transit to democracy, how long will a program of sanctions take? There is no timetable with respect to sanctions. From the ancient example of Fidel Castro to the recent one of Saddam Hussein, it is obvious that sanctions alone do not bring down ruthless leaders. There is no evidence that sanctions inspire anger amongst a given national populace against a given dictator to overthrow his rule. There is some evidence to the opposite effect -- that sanctions create sympathy for the dictatorial leader and national anger toward the imposer of the sanctions. In any event, Cuba and Iraq posed direct threats to our military and economic security, in addition to offending our national sensibilities on human rights, not the latter alone. Still, Castro is around after 30 years, and Hussein, after five years. Against these experiences, and particularly in the case of Iraq, where severe multi-lateral sanctions are imposed, a three-year timetable begins to look better and to offer a lot more certainty than sanctions. To the Nigerians, this question resonates: Why is the U. S. at verbal war with Nigeria and requesting harsh, multi-lateral sanctions, putting at risk U. S. leadership in Africa, over a difference of one year in a transition timetable?

- b. The Nigerian people have a thirst for democracy, but do not support sanctions.

We have every evidence that the Nigerian people are strongly working for

democracy, including, as I have mentioned, their level of participation in recent elections. And, it must also be clear to us that the reason for the transition plan in the first place is not because the U. S. or any other nation wanted it (although I believe Nigeria wants to please the U. S. on this point), but rather because the military leaders know that the people of Nigeria want democracy. We must help them to achieve it in ways that they find acceptable. I know of no popular support of Nigerians for sanctions against their country as a means of pushing for democracy. There are some calls from some opposition leaders and dissidents from within and without the country for sanctions, but these can hardly be said to represent popular support. It does not appear to me reasonable for us to ask the people of Nigeria to accept the hardship of sanctions to achieve democracy when they obviously believe it can be achieved and want us to help them achieve it in another way. Nothing gives us as a nation the right to ask them to do otherwise.

Premise No. 3

Systemic, egregious human rights violations and atrocities continue in Nigeria and our national human rights traditions compel us to impose sanctions against Nigeria, and to forego normal diplomatic and commercial engagement, as an expression of our national disgust, whether or not a popularly supportive movement exists in Nigeria that is asking for sanctions.

- a. This argument borders on the hypocritical, and the Nigerians know it.

We have significant, on-going trade and diplomatic relations with China, Korea, Kuwait, Egypt, and even Mexico -- nations with heavily documented, obvious and egregious human rights practices. We do not ignore these shortcomings with these, our partners. We openly criticize them over these misdeeds, and we press through diplomatic channels for change, at least in most of the cases I've mentioned. But we do not attempt to isolate and to economically and otherwise sanction them for their human rights problems.

Thus, the duplicity of our position on Nigeria in this regard is obvious to all -- and particularly to Nigeria -- to which the sting of discrimination administered by the international community of nations is not uncommon. We must deal with our revulsion to Nigeria's human rights violations as we do those of other nations of the world.

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b. We have already made our point respecting our disagreement with Nigeria's human rights policies by imposing sanctions. Now it is time to move on.

The Nigerians understand our disappointment, our disagreement, even our disgust, given our traditions, with their human rights policies. As we did with China, in the case of its Tianamen Square atrocities, we, and the rest of the world made our feelings known, imposed restrictive measures temporarily, then moved on to more normal relations, even de-linking human rights issues from other important issues.

Yet, China, a communist country, has made no start toward democracy, and none is in the offing. Nigeria, at least, shows some life on this issue of democracy, and we should nurse it along and encourage the Nigerian people to succeed. For those who feel that we must do something to express our national outrage, then it must be said to them that we already have.

The best way to ultimately guarantee human rights in Nigeria is to help usher in a peaceful transition to democracy which will put the people in charge of their own human rights and allow them to forge democratic institutions affording due process. We have already sanctioned Nigeria, so let's move on.

Premise No. 4

The only effective way for the U. S. to help to achieve democracy in Nigeria is through sanctions; after all that is what brought about democracy in South Africa.

a. The U. N. Commission disagrees with this premise and opposes sanctions.

The referenced Commission warned the world community against imposing sanctions against Nigeria. It stated that sanctions would only hurt ordinary people and have a negative impact not only on Nigerian society, but on the whole West African region. I agree.

b. Multi-lateral sanctions will cripple the undiversified Nigerian economy, but whether this would lead to a democratic government is completely unpredictable.

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In many ways, the issue of multi-lateral sanctions, beyond the present limited ones, is moot. The available evidence is, that apart from a few small Scandinavian countries, no important Western allies nor any African states will go along with the program of strong economic or other sanctions against Nigeria. Thus, the effort by the U. S. for strong multi-lateral sanctions should be abandoned, because it can only have the effect of chaffing Nigeria and dividing Nigeria and the U. S. more deeply.

Beyond this, as you know, the National Security Council, would likely have to approve multi-lateral sanctions because a predicate showing of Nigeria's threat to the security of the international community would have to be made to justify such action. This demonstration cannot be made under any standing precedent since Nigeria is manifesting internal human rights violations only, posing no discernable threat to the world community. In fact, it appears a cooperative member of the world community, working cordially with most U. N. interests.

But even if the situation turned, and some agreement on multi-lateral sanctions were adopted, the only thing of which we could be sure is that the Nigerian economy would be severely crippled, devastating its poor and that its West African neighbors would also suffer economically and in other important ways. Since neither of these outcomes, the only certain ones, is really the object of the sanctions effort, it would appear logical that in the place of adopting an over broad, totally unpredictable sanctions policy, that we should instead target our effort more narrowly, both to predictably help to achieve democracy and to prevent the adverse over kill of sanctions to ordinary Nigerians and to the people of West Africa.

c. Sanctions alone did not account for the democratization of South Africa.

To be sure, sanctions played a part in South Africa's march to democracy, but observers will tell you that the principal reasons were the violent opposition to the South African government from within; a popularly supported, well-organized group within the country to forge the people's action; the wide-spread isolation of South Africa by its neighboring states; the staging of anti-government actions from these neighboring states; and the presence of the personage of Nelson Mandella. No similar conditions exist in Nigeria today.

Premise No. 5

Democracy can take hold in Nigeria easily; so obviously the military could leave immediately or at least over the next year.

This is a naive premise. In a country that has failed to achieve a lasting democracy after 30 years and which consists of over 100 million people, 400 different languages, and over 250 ethnic groups, it would be a remarkable achievement if they were successful in installing democracy on its three year timetable.

Couple this with the traditional fear of ethnic dominance and discrimination in Nigeria, and it is plain that this cannot be done over night. If the military left immediately, it would only be replaced by another military regime since there is no civil authority or organization to step in and take control.

Thus, if we are to truly help the Nigerian people in restoring democracy, it must be through our support of a form of democracy of the Nigerian people's choosing and that takes into account their peculiar ethnic and cultural complexities and that affords a sufficient timetable to work through them.

What the U. S. Should Do Immediately

Ultimately, the U. S. should support Nigeria's transition effort and remove all existing sanctions. But as immediate small steps, to signal to the people of Nigeria that we are interested in helping with their democracy program, and not in increasing their suffering and that the U. S. is evenhanded when it comes to Nigeria, the U. S. should do the following:

1. Immediately communicate to Nigeria that the U. S. will no longer seek additional sanctions against it.
2. Agree to the removal of all visa restrictions imposed on Nigeria's government leaders since June 12, 1993.
3. Immediately restore our relationship with Nigeria under which we provide military training for its armed forces; and
4. Immediately restore our military relationship with Nigeria under which Nigeria is able to access spare parts for military equipment it needs to carry out its responsibilities in West Africa, particularly Liberia.

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5. That we promptly invite a delegation of Nigerian officials to Washington to meet with high ranking U. S. officials to further a dialogue with Nigeria and to begin to address and resolve differences between Nigeria and the U. S., and to work on new cooperative endeavors, including, among other issues: (a) the Nigerian airport and direct flights; (b) drug trafficking; (c) political detainees; (d) trade and investment; and (5) other human rights issues.

This start will put us back in the leadership on Nigerian questions and permit us to have real influence in its future course. In the event that justification beyond those that I have stated heretofore are needed, these immediate actions may be justified on the basis of the U. N. Commission report on human rights in Nigeria and Nigeria's response thereto.

I look forward to your attention to this most important matter.

Very truly yours,


William J. Jefferson
Member of Congress

RTw 5/24/96 2:10 PM

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By Anthony Goodman

UNITED NATIONS, May 24 (Reuter) - Nigeria has told the United Nations it will amend legislation under which writer Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other activists on behalf of the Ogoni people were convicted and hanged last November, it was disclosed on Friday.

It has also agreed immediately to review all cases of detention without trial under a 1984 decree and to examine whether ecological and environmental problems affect the Ogoni area, an oil-producing region of southeastern Nigeria.

Nigeria's consent to these and some other recommendations of a recent U.N. fact-finding mission was contained in a letter to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali from Auwalu Hamisu Yadudu, special adviser on legal matters to Nigerian Head of State Gen. Sani Abacha.

The letter was an interim response to the U.N. mission's report, given to Abacha earlier this month by U.N. emissary Lakhdar Brahimi.

Both documents, obtained by Reuters, have been sent to the president of the General Assembly, which last December overwhelmingly condemned Nigeria's "arbitrary execution, after a flawed judicial process," of Saro-Wiwa and his colleagues for involvement in the 1994 murder of four pro-government tribal chiefs.

The executions led to Nigeria's suspension from the Commonwealth, which groups Britain and former colonies, and to arms embargoes and other punitive measures by the European Union and the United States.

But the U.N. fact-finding mission, which also looked into the Nigerian military government's promise to restore democratic rule, recommended against U.N. sanctions, saying that "at this stage (they) may prove unhelpful and retard the progress towards positive improvement."

Yadudu's letter said: "The Civil Disturbances Act under which Mr Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight others were tried and convicted will be amended: a. to exclude members of the armed forces from serving on the tribunal and b. its verdict and sentence shall be subject to judicial review at appellate level before confirmation by the confirming authority."

The U.N. inquiry panel had recommended either that the Act should be repealed and offences tried by ordinary criminal courts, or that it be amended in a number of ways, including those agreed to by Nigeria.

The Nigerian letter said nothing about a recommendation that the government consider setting up a panel of jurists to look into "financial relief...to the dependents of the families of the deceased" in the case of Saro-Wiwa and his colleagues.

Nigeria said its head of state had called for an "immediate review of the cases of all persons currently being detained without trial under Decree No. 2 of 1984, as amended. Very shortly, such persons will be released based on an assessment of the individual merits of each case."

The same Decree would be amended to allow for the periodic amendment of each case by a body comprising the chief of general staff, the inspector general of police and the attorney general.

Nigeria also said its Oil and Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission would be told to look into "whether there are peculiar ecological and environmental problems in the Ogoni area with a view to ameliorating them."

RTW 5/25/96 7:47 AM

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By James Jukwey

LAGOS, May 25 (Reuters) - Prospects that Nigeria's military government will free political detainees have risen following its response to United Nations recommendations, civil rights activists and diplomats said on Saturday.

Nigeria told the world body on Friday that military ruler General Sani Abacha had ordered the review of the cases of all detainees with a view to freeing them.

"This raises real hope that political detainees will be freed soon," Ollsa Agbakoba, until recently the president of the Civil Liberties organisation, which has campaigned vigorously for the release of political detainees, told Reuters.

Many people are in detention or imprisoned including former military ruler General Olusegun Obasanjo, who was jailed along with 40 others last year for an alleged plot to topple Abacha.

Others include millionaire Moshood Abiola, the undeclared winner of the annulled 1993 presidential poll, while dozens of political opponents have fled abroad to escape arrest.

Many detainees like Abiola have been held for nearly two years.

Local and foreign appeals to Abacha to free detainees and end the crisis triggered by the annulment of the election by Abacha's military predecessor have long gone unheeded.

In April, a U.N. fact-finding mission visited Nigeria at Abacha's request for an on-the-spot assessment and followed up with several recommendations which were given to the Nigerian ruler in the capital Abuja two weeks ago.

African diplomats said Abacha's positive response to the recommendations suggested the politically troubled West African nation had reached a decisive point.

"This is a very interesting development because it seems that he definitely wants to end the crisis by seizing on the U.N. initiative," said one.

In its response to the U.N., Nigeria also told Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali it would reform the decree under which writer and minority rights campaigner Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight kinsmen were convicted and hanged last November for the murder of four prominent Ogoni chiefs.

Their execution triggered widespread condemnation of Nigeria, including its suspension from the Commonwealth which groups Britain and its former colonies.

Nigeria said the reform would stop military officers serving on the tribunal and allow for appeals against its verdict.

Diplomats said trial of 19 Ogoni youths held for the same murders was now likely to be delayed until after the reforms.

Nigeria's key Western trade partners including the European Union and the United States which buys half Nigeria's crude oil exports have threatened to impose sanctions if there was no respect for human rights and a definite return to democracy.

A senior government official in Abuja told Reuters the government wanted to end the crisis in the country.

"These are confidence building measures to implement the transition," said the official, who asked not to be named.

In the letter to the U.N., Abacha's special adviser on legal matters, Auwalu Yadudu said the military ruler had ordered an "immediate review of the cases of all persons currently being

Boutros-Ghali's spokeswoman said he was "encouraged both by the cooperation that his special envoy...received from the Nigerian government and by the government's interim response," which he believed provided a good basis for him to pursue his good offices.
REUTER

Nigeria-United Nations Nigeria Responds To United ...

OTC 5/25/96 2:17 PM

NEW YORK, (PANA, 05/25/96) - Nigeria is to amend the controversial civil disturbances (special tribunal) decree, under which author Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other minority rights leaders were tried and executed last year.

The amendment will exclude members of the armed forces from serving on the tribunal and ensure that its verdicts are subject to judicial review at appellate level before confirmation.

A United Nations spokesperson Sylvana Foa said in New York Saturday the decision to amend the law was part of Nigeria's interim response to the recommendations of a UN fact-finding mission, which visited the country from March 29 to April 13.

She said the response was conveyed to the UN secretary-general in a letter signed by Auwalu Yadudu, legal adviser to military ruler Gen. Sani Abacha.

The four-member UN mission to Nigeria submitted its report to the secretary-general on April 23.

The mission, headed by a Togolese jurist, justice Atsu-Koffi Amega, was mandated to address the trial and execution of Saro-Wiwa and others, and assess the Abacha regime's transition programme to democracy.

The November hanging of saro-wiwa and the other Ogoni minority leaders from southeastern Nigeria over a 1994 murder, provoked international condemnation and sanctions against Nigeria. The commonwealth suspended Nigeria from its fold over the November executions.

Other measures contained in the Nigerian response include the immediate review of the cases of persons currently being detained without trial under decree two of 1984, and the amendment of the decree to allow for the periodic review of the cases of persons detained under it.

Also, decree 14 of 1994, which ousts the jurisdiction of courts to issue the writ of habeas corpus to persons detained under decree two, is to be repealed.

The Nigerian government, through the Oil and Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission (OMPADEC), has also decided to look into the environmental problems in the Ogoni area and assist in efforts to reconcile all parties in the area.

The UN official quoted Yadudu as saying that other aspects of the report were being considered and that the government would soon convey its decision on them.

"The secretary-general was encouraged by the response (and) believes it provides a good basis for him to pursue his good offices as requested by the general assembly," she said.

Foa said that the secretary-general telephoned President Nelson Mandela of South Africa Friday to convey to him the progress of the mission, as well as on efforts to resolve the Bakassi territorial dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon.

"President Mandela said that he was very encouraged," she said, adding that the report had also been forwarded to the president of the UN general assembly and the secretary-general of the commonwealth.

The South African president has been among the most vocal critics of the Nigerian military regime for its alleged human rights abuses.

By Segun Adeyemi, Pana Correspondent

OTC 5/27/96 11:18 AM

NEW YORK, United Nations (PANA, 05/27/96) - The United Nations recent fact-finding mission to Nigeria has said the country's transition programme to democracy "seems genuine" and warned against any attempt to interrupt or reverse the momentum.

In a 24-page report, submitted to U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the four-member mission also warned against the imposition of sanctions on the country "at this stage."

Nigeria has been under international pressure over the 1995 executions for murder of nine minority rights leaders, including author Ken Saro-Wiwa.

The U.N. mission, which visited Nigeria at the invitation of the military government from March 29 to April 12, said imposition of sanctions could retard the progress toward positive improvement.

The mission, headed by a Togolese jurist, Atsu-Koffi Amega, said there was a general opposition to any sanctions against Nigeria.

"It was pointed out that sanctions would hurt only ordinary people and have a negative impact not only on the Nigerian society but also on the whole west African region," it said.

The report said "our meetings and discussions with Gen. Sani Abacha and others have given us the impression that the head of state is sincere in his commitment to restore civil democratic rule by Oct. 1 1998."

"While at the moment the opponents of the regime refuse to cooperate with or participate in the election process, the mission feels that this rigid posture would soften if confidence-building measures are taken by the government, the report added.

The mission's recommendations included strengthening the committees and commissions established to usher in democratic rule, inviting international observers to monitor the process and releasing all persons detained under Decree 2 of 1984.

The removal of restrictions on political and professional associations, freedom of the press, and ensuring respect for judgments of the courts, are some of the other measures.

On the trial and execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight others, the mission recommended the repeal or amendment of the civil disturbance act under which the men were tried.

The mission also recommended that the government should consider establishing a panel of eminent jurists to look into financial relief for the dependents of the deceased, as well as how to improve the socio-economic conditions of the Ogonis.

The mission's report was sent to Gen. Sani Abacha through a U.N. special envoy, Lakhdar Brahimi, who visited Nigeria May 10-14.

The Abacha government has already conveyed to the U.N. secretary-general its willingness to implement a significant part of the recommendations, and has indicated that it was considering other aspects of the report.

In a letter to the secretary-general, Abuja said it would amend the civil disturbances act (special tribunal) to exclude members of the military from serving on it and allow for appeals against its verdict.

By Segun Adeyemi, PANA Correspondent

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This transcript has not yet been checked against videotape and cannot, for that reason, be guaranteed as to accuracy of speakers and spelling of names. (CW)

CHARLIE ROSE Transcript #1650

May 30, 1996

CHARLIE ROSE, Host: Welcome to the broadcast. Tonight, *New York Times* columnist Tom Friedman on the election results in Israel.

TOM FRIEDMAN, "New York Times" Columnist: This peace process is a living reality. It can be frozen, OK? It can be derailed, but I don't think it can be reversed except at costs that are totally unacceptable to the Israeli public and the Palestinian public.

CHARLIE ROSE: And our conversation with *Nightline's* Ted Koppel.

TED KOPPEL, "Nightline" Host: It's too easy now for a 25-year-old or a 27-year-old to become an anchor at a local station because they look right, they sound right, and, you know, they can read without stumbling. That's not journalism.

CHARLIE ROSE: Friedman and Koppel when we continue.

Netanyahu, Middle East Peace, and the Future

CHARLIE ROSE: Last night on this broadcast, based on early Israeli exit polls, we anticipated that Shimon Peres may very well win the Israeli prime minister election. Now, however, with 99.9 percent of the vote counted, it appears that Benjamin Netanyahu will likely be the winner. Joining me from Washington is Tom Friedman. His column in the *New York Times* is called "Foreign Affairs." He's also the author of a book about the Middle East called *From Beirut to Jerusalem*, which many people have read and which many people consider one of the best books about that area, and I am pleased to have him on this broadcast.

Tom, thank you for coming.

TOM FRIEDMAN: Thank you, Charlie.

CHARLIE ROSE: Let me just read to you from a column written by Tom Friedman.

"If the Likud win they will have two choices. They can use their symbols, rhetoric, and nostalgia for the past as political pacifiers to sooth the public's pain as they keep moving forward along the general lines of their new revolution but at just a slower pace, or they could use their nostalgia and rhetoric not as pacifiers to ease their nations into the future, but as actual blueprints to revive the past. If that happens, if Netanyahu starts to believe his own rhetoric and tries to literally translate it into political action, he will crash on the rocks of reality. The only question will be how much pain would inflict on their countries [speaking of Zyuganov as well as

Netanyahu] in discovering that truth."

CHARLIE ROSE: What now do you think Netanyahu will do as he assumes this new power?

TOM FRIEDMAN: I think the first thing he's going to do, Charlie, is stand in awe. And what I mean by that is that I think he is, assuming he wins, going to come into the prime minister's office and Shimon Peres is going to give him a little tour, and he's going to say "Bibi, this is the world you're inheriting. This is your inheritance — two peace agreements with the Palestinians and the pathway to a third one for a final settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; a full peace treaty with Egypt, a full peace treaty with Jordan, diplomatic relations with Oman, Morocco, Tunisia, and Qatar; thriving business between Israel and the Arab world." He's going to show him a living organism that is the legacy of the last four years of the peace process, and he's going to say, "Bibi, this is your inheritance and you will be judged by what you do with it." And I believe that his initial reaction is going to be awe, because no Likud prime minister has ever inherited such a thing. And I think at first he's just going to have to contemplate that and try to sort out his own ideology, his own blueprint, his own party platform that he ran on, and try to figure out how he can reconcile the two. And I would tell you, Charlie, there is no way he can reconcile the two without making some hard choices and some divisive choices. That's what Yitzhak Rabin stood for, that's what Shimon Peres stood for, and sooner or later — I think it will be sooner rather than later — Bibi will face that choice. I can't tell you what decision he'll make. I'm sure initially he'll try to delay it, opt for some third way or whatever, but ultimately he will face that choice.

CHARLIE ROSE: Do you know enough about him to get any sense of how he is likely to react to that argument, or how he's likely to react to the argument presented to him by people like General Sharon [?].

TOM FRIEDMAN: My sense of Bibi is, that while I don't think he's a particularly deep person and we only know him more as a media spokesman and certainly he has no record of statesmanship or of holding elected office, but my sense of him is that he is also nobody's fool and that he is a sophisticated enough person to know that he has a chance to leave a real historical record here. But that record will require some real, hard choices. Otherwise, he's going to drive the car of Israel right into a ditch, and I don't think he wants to do that. But I don't think he has a clue, a clue of how he's going to reconcile all that he inherits with his own party's platform. He has run on a pain-free, cost-free campaign. "I can bring you peace and security, a chicken in every pot."

CHARLIE ROSE: You can have it both ways.

TOM FRIEDMAN: "You can have it both ways with Bibi," and you can't have it both ways. We know that, a right? We know it from Rabin, we know it from Peres, we know it from the history of this region, so you can only have it one way and we're now going to find out in the coming months which way it is.

CHARLIE ROSE: Tell me how you feel about Shimon Peres tonight?

TOM FRIEDMAN: I feel enormously sad for Shimon Peres. I believe, you know, he feels enormously sad. There must be part of Shimon Peres right now that feels that he let down Yitzhak Rabin. I don't feel that and I certainly don't judge him in that way, but I'm just trying to think how Peres must feel and look at the world, and there must also be part of him that feels almost Moses-like — that he led his people to the borders of the Promised Land, to the edge of an end to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and he couldn't quite cross the Jordan and basically join them, you know, at the end of the road.

CHARLIE ROSE: Is it a failure of Shimon Peres that he couldn't, or is it a reality of forces beyond his control?

TOM FRIEDMAN: I honestly believe it was forces beyond his control. He had—

CHARLIE ROSE: Destiny was not in his hands?

TOM FRIEDMAN: Yes. I ultimately believe yes, there were different choices he could have taken at the margins, Charlie. You know, there's no question about that, but look at the hand he was dealt. What American president could survive five Oklahoma Citys in one week and not have his popularity ratings effected. This man had to deal with suicide bombings that fundamentally changed the daily life of every one of his citizens, that made every one of his citizens afraid to walk down the street, to get on a bus, to be caught at a bus stop, to be caught in traffic next to a bus. There was such a poisonous atmosphere there, I would tell you it's amazing that 49.9999999 percent of Israelis still, despite all of that, were ready to take the leap and vote for him and vote to move on in this peace process despite the violence and despite the uncertainty.

CHARLIE ROSE: I heard you tell a story to Don Imus [?] this morning on the radio that you, normally staying at the King David Hotel, stayed outside of Jerusalem and therefore had to use a taxi, and as taxis got near buses even you, a long-time visitor and journalist in Israel, felt a pang, a moment of fear.

TOM FRIEDMAN: No question.

CHARLIE ROSE: And if the fear is in your heart, how must it be for people who live there every day?

TOM FRIEDMAN: Exactly. And that's why— that's what Peres was up against. But I just want to go back to your earlier question, Charlie, because I think Shimon Peres is a great man. I think he was a great leader of Israel and the Jewish people. His place in history, I think, is secure, but it will not be like so many other great leaders before him, it will not be fully appreciated, I believe, until years from now.

CHARLIE ROSE: Why is that?

TOM FRIEDMAN: Well, because it's the nature of these huge, historical shifts of the type that Israel is now going through, that when you suddenly turn a ship 180 degrees and you turn a country from a life-long conflict with another people into a process of reconciliation, it's the nature of that kind of shift that you pay all the costs up front, or you pay almost all the costs up front, and you only tend to get the benefits down the road when the process is fully completed and consolidated. Peres and Rabin will be remembered for having made the hard choices and having gone to

the Israeli people for the cost up front, but they will not enjoy the benefits, I'm afraid.

CHARLIE ROSE: Who might be rejoicing in this change in Israel, outside of Israel?

TOM FRIEDMAN: Outside of Israel? Well, I think there is— rejoicing I'm not sure is quite the right word, Charlie— but maybe quietly—

CHARLIE ROSE: Seeing advantage?

TOM FRIEDMAN: Or relief. You know, I think if you're Hafez al-Assad and you're sitting in Syria and you know that had Shimon Peres been elected that Secretary of State Christopher probably would have soon been on a plane coming to Damascus trying to work a deal between Israel and Syria — a deal the Hafez al-Assad was very ambivalent about because to strike that deal he might have to give up his privileged position in Lebanon — Hafez al-Assad can now sit back and say, "Geez, Mr. Secretary. You know, I was just ready. I was, I had just made up my mind to do a deal with Shimon Peres and lo and behold, you know that guy's out of office. You know, what a tragedy. What a tragedy."

CHARLIE ROSE: But why wouldn't he, why wouldn't— you know, you've characterized al-Assad better in *From Beirut to Jerusalem* than just about anybody. I remember the line in which you said that "Hafez al-Assad got up every morning and the one man he feared as General Sharon."

TOM FRIEDMAN: I said that "He and Sharon knew each other — they saw each other in the mirror every morning when they shaved."

CHARLIE ROSE: Because they were both what? What was the term you used?

TOM FRIEDMAN: Well, they were both — I'm not sure exactly the term I used — maybe tribal chieftains was the most appropriate one, but they both played for keeps and they both—

CHARLIE ROSE: But why wouldn't al-Assad, if he had a chance of getting back the Golan with Peres, be looking at today's results — and it's certainly unlikely for a while that Likud is going to be prepared and Netanyahu's going to be prepared to give up the Golan?

TOM FRIEDMAN: Because the price of giving up— getting the Golan back for al-Assad, Charlie, is that he would have to probably relinquish his position in Lebanon. He could no longer justify his presence in Lebanon and he would have to reduce the size of his army which he needs to protect him from his own people. So there are costs for him of getting the Golan back, and I'm not sure they're costs he wanted to pay. They're personal and ideological costs for him as well — the idea that he would have to embrace Israel, to recognize the Jewish state, to have Israeli tourists and businessmen in Damascus. I'm not sure he was ready for that.

CHARLIE ROSE: Can we say also about this election that this shows you the power of terrorism in politics?

TOM FRIEDMAN: Absolutely. I mean—

CHARLIE ROSE: That a few men and a few women, you know, can, with the power of a bomb, change the course of history?

TOM FRIEDMAN: It worked. They did. There is no question about it, that the terrorists here shaped the environment of this election.

CHARLIE ROSE: What else do you see in terms of the election to the Knesset that might say something about the future?

TOM FRIEDMAN: Well, this election was unique because for the first time Israelis cast two ballots, one for prime minister and the other for their particular party that they wanted. It's kind of a cock-a-mamie system. It was designed to reduce the fragmentation of Israeli politics, to develop a strong prime ministership, but in the end all it did result in was fragmenting Israeli politics even more because what it allowed Israelis to do—see, in the old days, if I wanted to see Shimon Peres as prime minister I had to vote for Labor because the person who was chosen to be prime minister came from the biggest party. Now, I could vote for Shimon Peres as prime minister but say, "You know, I'm not really a Labor kind of guy. I'm actually to the far-left of Labor," and then vote for one of the little far-left parties to the left of Labor. Well, that's what happened, so everyone split up their ticket. On the right they voted for Netanyahu and then they voted for a whole range of little parties. That's why both Labor and Likud took a beating in this election.

CHARLIE ROSE: Did the president's obvious preference for Peres — our president — make a difference at all? Does it have any impact on how Israelis think about what they should do in their own politics?

TOM FRIEDMAN: I think what made a difference, Charlie, was the fact that Bill Clinton came to Israel right after the suicide bombings, at Peres' truly low point, and lifted him off the mat and put an arm around his shoulder and truly buoyed him. Clinton's last-minute, basically, endorsement — highly unusual endorsement of Peres for the prime ministership — probably didn't make much difference except at the margins. But I will say this, "Hat's off to President Clinton." He's invested an enormous amount in this peace process and he basically said, "You know what? I'm going to go down swinging. There is a difference between these two guys. One stands for the values and the objectives of the United States government and one doesn't, and you know what? I don't care if it's in politics, if it's hoof-in-mouth disease, I'm going to endorse this guy and I'm either going to go down with the ship or rise with him." So I say, "Hat's off. Good move."

CHARLIE ROSE: What about Yasir Arafat tonight?

TOM FRIEDMAN: Yasir Arafat is having a bad hair day, I'll tell you. And he's going to have a lot more, because, you see, Arafat and Peres were working together and what they had done in working together was a deal, basically here, where Arafat basically agreed to eat an enormous amount and a very painful amount of security measures that Peres needed to impose in order to keep the environment quiet before the election. Closure of the border. Palestinians not being able to work in Israel. Delay of the Israeli withdrawal from Hebron. Arafat ate all of those things on the bet, on the hope, on the wing and the prayer, that Peres would win. And now that he has not won,

Arafat is badly exposed out there on a limb and the only one who can get him off is Bibi Netanyahu, whom he's never even met, let alone have a relationship with.

CHARLIE ROSE: And who castigated him throughout that campaign.

TOM FRIEDMAN: Absolutely. Who, you know—

CHARLIE ROSE: Both on his television commercials and in his statements.

TOM FRIEDMAN: Sure. Netanyahu, one of their favorite pictures was Peres and Arafat walking hand in hand, or arm in arm.

CHARLIE ROSE: Do you find any reason because this is simply a moment in time and a change in party to be not too doomsday in your own feeling about this? Some sense to say, "Wait a minute. You know, this is a long time. This place goes back a long time and yes, it may seem an interruption to the peace process but—

TOM FRIEDMAN: I do, Charlie. I'll tell you. I'll tell you why I'm basically— I have an underlying optimism, and that's for two reasons. One, I believe that there is a silent majority in Israel, and in the Arab world, and among the Palestinians for this process. That silent majority has been there from the beginning, it has been what has sustained this process despite all the violence, it's what got us here today, and if you take that 50 percent of Israel that voted for Shimon Peres and add to it all those who voted for Netanyahu — not because they wanted the peace process to end, but because they wanted simply a more tough-minded, a slower, more cautious peace process — you still have a solid majority for him. That's my first source of optimism. My second source of optimism is the fact that we are a long way down the road. This peace process is a living reality. It can be frozen, OK? It can be derailed, but I don't think it can be reversed at costs that are totally unacceptable to the Israeli public and to the Palestinian public. So we may be in for a period of paralysis here for a while, some ups and downs, but it is real. It is a hard substance at the core of this thing, and I don't think it's easily reversible.

CHARLIE ROSE: A period where they cast anchor for a while?

TOM FRIEDMAN: Yes.

CHARLIE ROSE: Tom, it's always a pleasure to have you in the broadcast. I look forward to seeing you for an hour conversation that will take place in Washington very soon. Thank you for joining us this evening.

TOM FRIEDMAN: Thanks for having me, Charlie.

CHARLIE ROSE: Tom Friedman. We'll be right back. Ted Koppel is here. We'll talk about his career and his book about *Nightline* as we continue. Stay with us.

Ted Koppel - Sixteen Years of "Nightline"

CHARLIE ROSE: In 1979, the country was captivated by the Iran hostage crisis. It was then that ABC News made the bold decision to add a news program against the king of late-night television, Johnny Carson.

In over 16 years and 4,000 broadcasts, the program has



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

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6.3.96

May 31, 1996

96 MAY 31 PG: 12

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KATHLEEN A. MCGINTY *Kathleen McGinty*

CC: LEON PANETTA

RE: CEQ WEEKLY REPORT

POLICY TRIP TO CALIFORNIA

I have attached a copy of my memo which summarizes my trip to California last week.

BUDGET

Republicans in Congress are generally in retreat on environment issues in the budget because of the beating they took as part of the fiscal year 1996 battle. As a result, the House allocated more funds to the VA-HUD appropriations bill, which includes funding for EPA, and the Appropriations subcommittee kept the bill relatively clean of anti-environmental riders.

However, there are still legitimate opportunities to deliver a message about shortcomings in the Republican budget for the environment. In the House for example: the EPA bill is still ~~\$600 million below the Administration's request; DOE renewables and energy efficiency programs (that reduce greenhouse gases and other air pollution) face serious cuts; and the allocation of money to the Agriculture appropriations bill could significantly constrain funding for very popular conservation programs. The subcommittee also zeroed out the DOJ's Superfund enforcement budget (which is funded through EPA's appropriation). The Administration's request is \$30.5 million for fiscal year 1997.~~

In addition, the House VA-HUD Appropriations subcommittee this week appropriated \$2.25 million for CEQ. Although this is \$186,000 less than your budget request, we are optimistic we can get full funding later.

SAFE DRINKING WATER

Our differences with the Republicans may be narrowing in negotiations on the House Safe Drinking Water Act bill, although a markup scheduled for this week was postponed. (The Administration-supported Senate bill passed 99-0 in November.) We are awaiting a new counterproposal from the House Republicans that EPA and House Democrats expect to be close to acceptable. The Republican proposal may even include reasonable provisions on

such controversial public health issues as screening for "endocrine disrupter" chemicals -- which were the subject of the recent book *Our Stolen Future* (which has a preface by the Vice President). The bill is reasonable enough, however, that objections from the extreme right of the Republican caucus may kill House Commerce Committee Chairman Tom Bliley's effort to move the bill.

NAVY ENVIRONMENTAL LAWSUIT

In an earlier note, you asked us for the details about a lawsuit that the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund and other groups have threatened in a letter to the Navy alleging numerous violations of the Clean Water Act and the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA).

The threatened lawsuit concerns contamination of soil, groundwater, and river sediments due to past industrial activity at two Navy sites on the Anacostia River (Washington Navy Yard and Southeast Federal Center). While the environmental groups allege an imminent or substantial endangerment to human health and the environment from this contamination, the threatened suit is about historical contamination from past Navy operations at these facilities that the Navy already has been investigating in consultation with EPA's Superfund program. Both the Department of Justice and the Navy expect to defend the lawsuit successfully if it is filed.

ENVIRONMENTAL CRIMES



As a possible follow-up to recent meetings that you and the Vice President have had with local District Attorney associations, we have been working with DOJ and EPA on an environmental crimes bill that could be announced at a conference of DAs in late June in Monterey, California, and simultaneously introduced in Congress. Among other elements, the bill would: 1) provide additional resources to state and local police and environmental enforcement agencies (through more flexible use of penalties, rather than new appropriations); 2) enhance penalties for environmental crimes that endanger police and other enforcement officials (a New York trooper recently died after looking into a drum of toxic material being transported by a "midnight dumper" in the trunk of a car); and 3) reinforce some of the Reinventing Government reforms that you and the Vice President rolled out eighteen months ago.

This bill should prove to be a good policy step; an apt vehicle to highlight Republican hypocrisy on crime, the environment, and the budget; and an opportunity to contrast our reasonable REGO reforms with pending Republican bills to give blanket immunity to environmental lawbreakers.

NEW YORK -NEW JERSEY DREDGING

CEQ and DPC have submitted a decision memorandum to Harold Ickes proposing an initiative to help resolve the gridlock that has hampered dredging in the Port of New York and New Jersey and threatens the loss of 180,000 union port jobs if, as threatened, companies relocate operations or divert more cargo to the deepwater port in Halifax, Nova Scotia.



The purpose of the five point plan presented in our "Healthy Port Initiative," which we would expect to announce with Representatives Robert Torricelli (D-NJ) and Robert Menendez (D-NJ), is to provide a visible, credible signal that the Administration is ready to get dredging moving as soon as the states do their part. We also must disarm possible criticism on environmental issues surrounding the disposal of contaminated sediment off the New Jersey coast. In a sense, the initiative is largely preemptive: we are increasing pressure on Governors Christine Whitman (R-NJ) and George Pataki (R-NY) to make tough decisions about local disposal options while protecting the Administration from blame either for imminent job losses or for potential harm to the oceans. At the same time, we must take care not to suggest too much Federal "ownership" of a problem that inherently must stay on the governors' doorsteps.

Our outreach to date indicates that there will be strong support for our approach from unions, port companies, and a few mainstream environmental groups. We will work with the DPC and the agencies to gather the endorsements of these groups and refine the specifics of the proposal once we have the Deputy Chief of Staff's input.

OZONE DEPLETION

The quantity of ozone destroying chemicals in the atmosphere is declining for the first time, according to an article published this week by National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration scientists. The study's findings indicate that the 1987 Montreal Protocol is beginning to have an effect and, according to the study's authors, mark "the first step toward the closing of the ozone hole." The story was reported in the New York Times, in the Washington Post, and on the front page of USA Today.

MOUNT GRAHAM RIDER

You will recall that the one anti-environmental rider remaining in the Omnibus Appropriations bill that you criticized in your signing statement waived environmental laws for a proposed telescope on Mount Graham, Arizona. Mt. Graham is the sole habitat of the endangered Mt. Graham red squirrel; it is also considered to be a sacred site for Apache Indians.

Since the bill became law, a major fire burned a portion of the squirrel's critical habitat. Also last week you signed an Executive Order on Indian Sacred Sites. Meanwhile, the University of Arizona, the telescope proponent, has gone to court and won an order lifting a previous injunction and allowing them to commence immediate construction. The court then stayed the order for 10 days to permit an appeal to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Both environmentalists and Indians are asking that we use whatever discretionary authority we have under the rider to prevent construction until the effects of the fire on the squirrel's habitat can be assessed and until further consultation can take place with the Apaches under the Executive Order. We will be working with the involved agencies during this 10 day period to assess the possibilities.

SPOTTED OWL PROTECTION

The State of Washington issued a new rule last week which reduces protection areas for the spotted owl. The rule takes effect in July and reduces the zone of protection from 500 acres to 70 acres on most state and private timberland. The State Forest Practices Board wrote the rule to complement federal protection in the large blocks of habitat and clusters of owl found on 7.9 million acres of federal forests in the state.

NORTHWEST FOREST PLAN

On Wednesday, May 22, U.S. District Judge Thomas Penfield Jackson dismissed the final three timber industry suits against the Northwest Forest Plan. The suits accused the Administration of illegally adopting a plan that reduced logging on national forests in the Northwest to about one-fourth the level in the 1980s. Previously, U.S. District Judge William Dwyer of Seattle upheld the Northwest Forest Plan in December 1994, and last month the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed his ruling.



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6-3-96

May 31, 1996

MEMO FOR LEON PANETTA
HAROLD ICKES

CC: DOUG SOSNIK
JOHN EMERSON
RON KLAIN
KAREN SKELTON
JOHN ANGELL
MARTHA FOLEY

FROM: KATHLEEN A. MCGINTY *KAM*

RE: RECENT CALIFORNIA TRIP

On Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of last week I travelled to San Francisco and Los Angeles, California to visit with constituencies concerned about environmental issues and to amplify the President's environmental message through print, radio, and television media. Overall the trip went very well and was effective in underscoring, the President's many accomplishments on the environment; the significant threat to the environment posed by the Republican legislative and budgetary efforts; and the President's commitment to continued environmental progress. The timber issue, however, remains very controversial, and growing concern was expressed that the Administration has given agricultural water uses priority over environmental uses. These issues and other matters of particular importance are discussed below.

Recommendations:

First, I recommend that the President meet personally with some of the California environmental leadership. On June 6th, our Environmental Day, some of these leaders will be at the White House. I strongly suggest we find ten or fifteen minutes in the President's schedule for a private clutch with a select group. Additionally, we should include either an environmental meeting or event in the President's upcoming California trip. Second, I strongly urge that we, once again, push the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) to move boldly on the timber issue. And finally, on water issues, my office will begin to work very closely with the Department of the Interior (DOI) to monitor decision-making on that front.

[Handwritten signature]

Timber:

Many concerns were expressed about Forest Service mismanagement of the timber program. While we have been focussing on the "318" old growth sales in Oregon and Washington, recall that the salvage provisions of the Rescissions bill apply nationwide. In nearly every group I met with and in every interview with reporters, I was pressed about planned timber sales in California. Reportedly, the Forest Service plans some 230-260 sales in the very near future. I was warned that there would be significant public protests ("wars") against these sales. I've alerted the Secretary's office to this while my office continues to push the USDA (to no avail, to date) to produce a salvage strategy to allay public concerns. I will meet with Greg Frazier, USDA Chief of Staff, on this on Monday.

Water:

As you might know, we recently were very successful in warding off an aggressive move by Representative John Doolittle (R-CA) to un-do the Central Valley Project Improvement Act (CVPIA). The CVPIA is a cornerstone of our Bay-Delta water accord -- our settlement of the water battle waged by agriculture, environmental, and urban interests in California. Given that this battle had been on-going for more than two decades, the accord is very significant and represents a tremendous achievement for the President.

Our success in backing Representative Doolittle down has a downside however: All eyes are now focussed on our efforts to implement the CVPIA and the accord. To date, two significant water allocation decisions have been made by DOI. Environmental interests have read both of these decisions as very "pro-agriculture" and, consequently, very "anti-environment". They believe we are jeopardizing the very delicate balance we struck in the Bay-Delta accord. My own assessment is that they are correct on one count; probably exaggerating the picture on the second count.

I think Deputy Secretary John Garamendi, who is heading this effort for DOI, is doing a good job in tough circumstances. We need to maintain the integrity of the process he is trying to run. However, sufficient nervousness has now been generated that I believe we will need to bolster his efforts. While coordinating with him closely, my office will work to try to dispel fears and further ensure the varied interests that all views are fairly being considered. We will need to watch this closely. We can not allow the CVPIA or the accord to fall apart.

Norman Lear, Ed Begley, Jr., etc:

Norman Lear hosted a dinner for me at his home. It was well attended by many leaders in the Hollywood environmental community. I believe I made a lot of progress with them; not surprisingly, while certain of their "disappointments", they needed to be reminded of our many accomplishments in the environment and they were quite moved and impressed when I layed out the President's record and vision in full.

Once again, however -- timber, timber, timber is a huge issue for them. Moreover, many of them were also angered by our recent decision to open up Conservation Reserve acreage to cattle grazing. On timber, see previous discussion of timber issue. On grazing, I believe legitimate environmental concerns have now been remedied by USDA, but the initial adverse stories have not been effectively countered.

I also want to report that Norman Lear expressed very significant dismay at our announcement that the President intends to sign the Defense of Marriage Act.

6.3.96

standard of review to a district court's determinations of probable cause and reasonable suspicion. The Court's opinion added that court of appeals should also give due weight to inferences drawn from those facts by resident judges and local law enforcement officers.

- **Attorney General's Schedule:** On June 4, the Attorney General will address Minnesota Women's Lawyers in Minneapolis, MN. On June 6, she will address the Health Care Fraud Conference at the World Trade Center in Boston, MA and attend the Hartford Renaissance Awards Dinner in CT.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

- **Domestic Violence Hotline:** Liz Claiborne, Inc. has arranged for the national domestic violence hotline number to be posted on the electronic message system on its new billboard in New York City's Times Square. The message, which will appear on a rotating basis, reads "Get the facts...Get involved...End family violence...To help or get help call 1-800-799-SAFE." This message will be seen by an estimated 1.5 million people who pass through Times Square each day.
- **Maine Welfare Proposal:** In the coming weeks, HHS JIM DORSKIND: Please coordinate the reply.
for welfare waivers. The proposal called the Welfare t proposal that would require caretaker relatives to sign work and personal responsibility, addressing participation enforcement, parenting classes and health related activities time voucher payment in lieu of AFDC for the purpose employment; require minor parents to live in an adult-s vendor payments to cover their rent and utilities; limit JOBS exemptions; and expand eligibility for Transitional Medicaid and Child Care. Maine would become the 39th state to receive one of the Administration's 62 welfare waiver approvals.
- **Child Welfare Waiver:** Secretary Shalala may approve a child welfare waiver for Delaware by mid-June, making Delaware the first state to receive such a waiver based on legislative authority that HHS received late in 1994. The State has proposed a waiver of child welfare laws that would permit: a substance abuse treatment project for parents, to reduce the need for foster care or the length of time children must spend in care, and a new subsidized guardianship arrangement to provide permanent homes for children who cannot be adopted or reunited with their parents. The proposal is in the final stage of Departmental review and may be approved in the next few weeks.
- **SAMHSA Budget Reduction:** On May 31, the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) began notifying grantees beginning, regarding implementation of FY 96 budget reduction. Due to budget cuts, 129 grants overall will be discontinued and others will receive reductions in funding, especially in the

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of this letter
& Jose's note were
transmitted earlier today.

Hope all is well
with you & Ashley.

Brooke

6-3

To Doriskind for Reply

Yes ☒

No ☐

Jim - This one is important -
Brooke Shearer

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 29, 1996

98 JUN 3 48:40

Dear Mr. President,

Come mid-June, following selection of the next class of White House Fellows, I intend to step down from the directorship of the fellowship program. This decision wasn't easy for me. Managing the fellowship has been a wonderful assignment, and I am deeply grateful that you and Hillary have enabled me to serve the first term of your administration from this special perch.

Thanks in no small measure to the attention and seriousness with which you and your cabinet have treated the program, the fellowship has flourished in many ways over the past three and half years. More agency and EXOP department heads want to place fellows on their staff than we have fellows available. Applications have increased in number and diversity.

Until your administration, someone looking at the fellows could have confused them for the youth committee at Burning Tree. Close to 80% of fellowship classes were comprised of white males, bright and energetic though they may have been. Even during the eighties this was true, with women typically accounting for just 16% of each class, minorities for 20%. Since 1992 however, with greater emphasis on outreach, the averages have more than doubled--to 35% and 42% respectively. White House Fellows now look much more like America, and equally important, are as likely to come to Washington from the pulpit or their local police force as from the Kennedy School of Government.

Additionally, your administration has invested the program with new importance by giving Fellows serious work assignments. They have been put to real, substantive use by your senior staff and cabinet officers. Laura Tyson, John Deutch, Dan Goldin, Richard Clarke, Donna Shalala--to name just a few--pay the program the ultimate compliment. They take it seriously. So on behalf of the past three fellowship classes, as well as the one in the making, thanks for incorporating the talents of these men and women into the work of your administration.

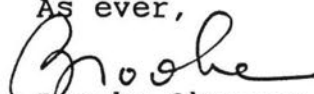
Now to the matter of my successor. I hope you won't consider it inappropriate for me to offer a suggestion or two. In the interest of continuity, I hope you might consider naming as director or interim director someone who is familiar with the workings of the program and knows well the personalities and goals of your administration. One person whom I think would be a great fit is Jean Nelson, an attorney from Nashville. Jean traveled with

us on the 1992 campaign bus tour, which is how I first got to know her. She is organized, diligent, articulate and skillful at dealing with high-powered, hard-driving personalities, types all too common among White House Fellows, past and present. As you may know, Jean has worked both at EPA and with Skila Harris in Mrs. Gore's office. Should you give this suggestion your blessing, the timing would enable me to acquaint her with her fellowship responsibilities and the members of the Commission before they select the new class in early June. Having my successor on board before June would go a long way towards assuring a smooth transition and maintaining the progress that has been achieved to date.

Looking even further forward, permit me to offer another thought about the staff of the fellowship. After the 1996 election when it comes time to review anew the full slate of presidential appointments, I hope you might give serious consideration to Anne Roosevelt. I have worked with her on the Chicago regional selection panel two years running and been impressed by her insightful questioning of fellowship applicants. Moreover, the diversity of her professional background would serve her well in this job and vice versa. Her career has included work in the non-profit sector (she directed Museums in the Park), politics (she managed Paul Simon's 1990 Senate campaign) and city government (she currently directs Mayor Daly's Office of Program Development). On a more personal note: her daughter will finish high school next June. So come spring 1997, she would be in a position to consider moving from Chicago. She and Jean Nelson would make a great team.

Thanks once again for your generosity, patience and support during my tenure with the fellowship. The attentions that you and Hillary have shown us have enhanced the program more than you can imagine and will be a cherished part of its legacy--and my memory.

As ever,



Brooke Shearer