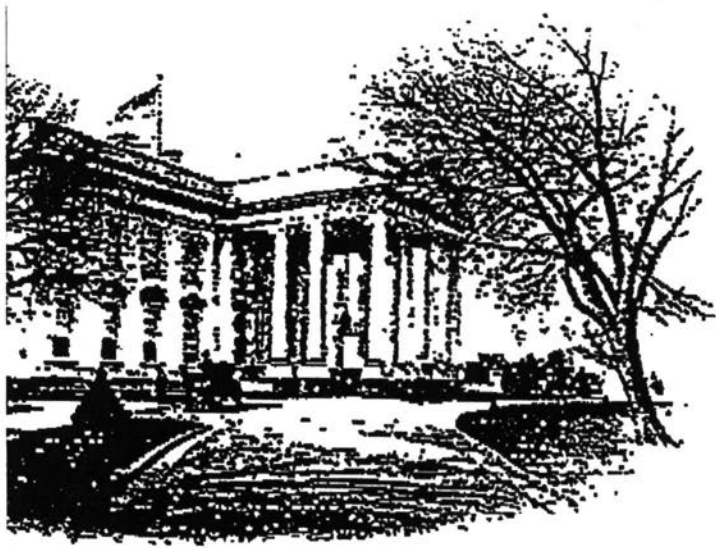


Chron
—

98 AUG 5 7:22

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

REB sent
to
DOR/KMP



FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

Number of pages including cover 3

Date 8/6/96

To Todd

FAX Number 6-2215

Comments Bingyan letter - as discussed. Clerk

Should see tomorrow. Post note - long in last line

of 1st ~~line~~ ^{did come} from Clerk in view of vague re: date

in incoming.

From Jim

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
Presidential Correspondence
The White House
Washington, DC 20500
Phone: 202-456-7610
Fax: 202-456-2993

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 6, 1996

The Honorable Anne K. Bingaman
Assistant Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Anne:

I have received your letter of August 1, 1996, and it is with deep regret that I accept your resignation as Assistant Attorney General for Antitrust, effective as tendered.

I want to thank you for your ~~tireless~~ ^{dedicated} efforts at the Justice Department. You have fulfilled your duties there with skill and energy, and the Antitrust Division's ~~unparalleled~~ record of achievement is due in no small part to your vision and leadership. You can be especially proud of your success in maintaining the integrity of the Nasdaq stock market. I am proud to have had you on my team and, on behalf of the American people, thank you for a job well done.

Hillary and I are grateful for your friendship, and we wish you and Jeff the best for every future success and happiness.

Sincerely,

[P]lease
define "tireless"
P. has
no idea if
whether efforts
were "tireless"
or it sounds,
almost
always,
insincere.
game speaking's
efforts are
tireless.
Few others
are.
Dedicated
yes;
tireless,
NA.]

Seems weird to
mention just
one case -- ~~that~~
can't we ~~have~~ ^{get} 2 or 3
examples?



Todd

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Antitrust Division

Jim Dorskind
8/2/96

ANNE K. BINGAMAN
Assistant Attorney General

98 AUG 11 10:19

**CONFIRMATION
COPY**

Main Justice Building
10th & Constitution Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20530
(202) 514-2401 / (202) 616-2645 (f)
antitrust@justice.usdoj.gov (internet)
<http://www.usdoj.gov> (World Wide Web)

August 1, 1996

JIM DORSKIND:
Please coordinate
the reply.

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

I want you to know that, for purely personal reasons, I have decided that I will resign as Assistant Attorney General for Antitrust. I expect to leave no later than November 15, 1996.

I can never fully express to you how grateful I am for the privilege of serving in your Administration. This job has been the high point of my life, and I hope that I have given back even a small fraction of what I have taken from it. I hope the public learns someday what I know from over three years of constant experience -- what a principled, dedicated and honest job your Administration has done in the administration of justice. It has been a joy to watch, and to live with, and you, the First Lady and the Attorney General have set the tone and the standards for that. It is a real honor to have been a small part of it.

Your re-election will be a great gift to the country.

cc: Exec Clerk

Sincerely,

Anne K. Bingaman

I am writing the First Lady separately to thank her for her great support and friendship —

9/6 Aug 5 1:25p

July 31, 1996

MEMORANDUM

TO: The President
FROM: Nancy Hernreich
Mildred C. Alston
RE: Recent Correspondence

to reply

Swanee Hunt writes that the event in Tuzla on July 11 for survivors of Srebrenica was heart-rending, gratifying, and received with great appreciation. Financial help was warmly received. Coming together -- women to women -- there was trust hard to achieve at the purely political level. Women like those are the main hope of Bosnia's future and could be powerful force for reconciliation. They must be equipped with basic infrastructure. She is beside you and Hillary every step of the way.

through
SLO
Zed

Sent to NSC



Office of
The Ambassador

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Vienna, Austria

1. cc
Zaykake
Muller
2. cc
through
3. seen
Sof

July 18, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President,

In Lyon, I mentioned to you that we were working on an event with the survivors of Srebrenica. That gathering occurred in Tuzla on July 11th. I read a letter from you, which was received by 6,000 Bosnian women with great appreciation.

The event in Tuzla was both heart-rending and gratifying. The distillation of sorrow in that sports hall -- mourning 8,000 sons, brothers, husbands, father, lovers -- had an intensity of collective grief I have never before witnessed.

As difficult and even dangerous as the gathering was, it seemed to me necessary that the United States be visibly present with these women as they mourned. We were there not simply to commiserate over the past, but to point to a new future. The concrete help we brought (several million dollars worth) was very warmly received. But more important, coming as we did -- women to women -- there was a trust that's hard to achieve at the purely political level.

Press coverage was extensive, with media from CNN, BBC, NBC, ABC, AP, Reuters, and a score of other national and international entities. It was important that the day not be described only in terms of the exhumation of mass graves, or even a warrant from the Hague, but also the faces of real people wondering how they will ever put their lives back together. We were able to create that visual picture that could tell the story.

Queen Noor and EU Commissioner Emma Bonino were a joy to work with, contributing their reputations and expertise while our people did most of the leg work. Together, we garnered over 300 signatures of international women leaders on an open letter of support for the Dayton accords, which ran as a full-page ad in several papers, including the *International Herald Tribune*. We are continuing to organize international support -- from corporations, governments, and individuals -- funneled through both international and local Bosnian NGOs.

I believe women like those in Tuzla are the main hope of Bosnia's future. Representing 70% of the electorate, they could be a powerful force for reconciliation. It's vital that they be immediately equipped for that purpose with basic infrastructure -- faxes, vehicles, computers, etc. -- so they can continue connecting to women across ethnic lines. I am working toward that end.

Although Ambassador John Menzies is stretched very, very thin, he and the U.S. Embassy in Sarajevo have been close to this work with Bosnian women. The Austrians are totally supportive of my involvement; this was, after all, part of their empire, and they have consistently advocated intervention to stabilize the former Yugoslavia.

Finally, the U.S. Military and IFOR have been extremely helpful, providing security and other logistical support. General Joulwan and Major General Nash have understood the importance of this mission and done everything they could to support us. And the presence of 130 IFOR women, in uniform, comforting the mourners two weeks ago, created a remarkably sympathetic portrait of IFOR for the world to see.

Mr. President, I hope I'm able to carry some of the load over here, while you concentrate on the campaign. I wish I could physically be two places at once. Fortunately, my spirit has learned to bi-locate, and I am beside you and Hillary every step of the way.

Fondly,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jane". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned below the word "Fondly,".

96 Aug 5
1:20 p

July 30, 1996

MEMORANDUM

TO: The President
FROM: Nancy Hernreich
Mildred C. Alston
RE: Recent Correspondence

George McGovern encloses copy of Middle East Policy Council's 15th anniversary issue of "Highlights." The Council has established successful programs because they focus on quality. Each program has earned reputation of being thoughtful, informative and objective.

Handwritten notes:
Wisc
Guy
Gibb

Handwritten notes:
PB TSC
for draft
reply for her



MIDDLE EAST POLICY COUNCIL

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Hon. George McGovern
President
Middle East Policy Council

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1730 M STREET, N.W.
SUITE 512
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20036-4505
TEL: (202) 296-6767
FAX: (202) 296-5791
mepc@capcon.net
www.mepc.org

July 8, 1996

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

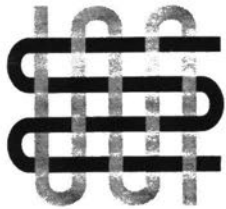
I am pleased to enclose a copy of the Council's January-June 1996 'Highlights.' You won't be able to miss the big "15th Anniversary" headline. I believe the Council has been able to establish a number of successful programs over the years because we focus on quality. Each of our major programs - *Middle East Policy* journal, Teacher Workshops, Capitol Hill Conference Series - has been developed step by step and they have earned reputations for being thoughtful, informative and objective.

Today, the Council's challenge is to meet the growing demand for our programs and publications without sacrificing content. Our Board of Directors, National Advisory Committee, staff and local sponsors of Teacher Workshops bring considerable skills to the table. If we can stay in the black financially, the Council will continue to make a substantial and positive contribution to U.S. understanding and dialogue about Middle East issues.

Sincerely,

George McGovern
President

enc.: a/s



MIDDLE EAST POLICY COUNCIL HIGHLIGHTS

January - June 1996

1981 ★ 15th Anniversary ★ 1996

COUNCIL MARKS 15TH YEAR

In 1996 The Middle East Policy Council marks its 15th year of contributing to the public dialogue on issues affecting U.S. interests in the Middle East. It has been a productive decade and a half, and we have created a number of valuable programs and publications. We greatly appreciate your support and interest over the years and hope we will share many more anniversaries with you.

In recent months we have received a number of complimentary letters. Here are excerpts from some of our favorites.

"We at the Carter Center find your journal to be helpful in that it's one of the few sources of balanced views about the more controversial issues."

- **JIMMY CARTER, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES**

"Mobil holds in high regard the Council's programs to contribute to a better understanding of the Middle East. ...The Council's ability to attract high-ranking government officials, diplomats, and an excellent cross-section of academics, analysts and business executives to [its] seminars generates a broad range of viewpoints that our people find interesting and beneficial."

- **L.A. NOTO, CHAIRMAN AND C.E.O., MOBIL CORPORATION**

"Over the past decade and a half, diplomats and U.S. policy makers have relied on *Middle East Policy* for timely and thoughtful analysis of events and trends in the region by a wide range of the most important opinion leaders.... The panels on which I have had the

privilege of participating were enlightening experiences.... Both were enjoyable and educational examples of the fora you have established to address the major developments in this important region and to help define the way ahead.... Again, congratulations on 15 years of major service to the cause of peace and education in the Middle East. I look forward to continuing my close relationship with you in the years to come."

- **ROBERT H. PELLETREAU, U.S. ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE**

Middle East Policy is one of the few journals that I read consistently. I run an electronic library about Middle East issues on the Internet, which involves surveying a vast amount of information on a daily basis. As a result I consider myself moderately well-informed, and policy-oriented journals tend to freeze the past, rather than enlighten the future. *Middle East Policy* consistently identifies important subjects, enlists interesting observers and practitioners, and offers both the space and the encouragement to be provocative and original."

- **GARY SICK, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY**

I have been an avid reader of [*Middle East Policy*] for many years and have found it to be an informative and thought-provoking journal. In Cairo, as at previous posts, pieces in MEP are often photocopied (sorry) and passed among American and Egyptian staff for information and discussion. I have recommended your journal to Egyptian contacts as well, as an objective and informative magazine on Middle East affairs.

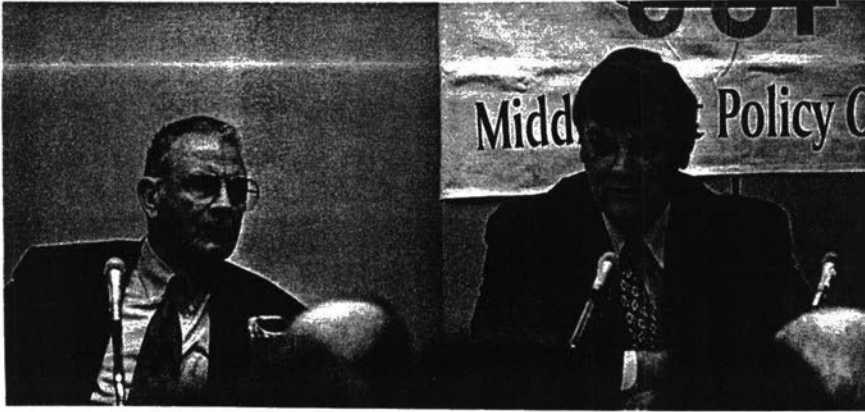
- **EDWARD S. WALKER, U.S. AMBASSADOR TO EGYPT**

WORLD-WIDE-WEB

LOOK FOR THE COUNCIL ON THE INTERNET

The Middle East Policy Council has a site on the World-Wide-Web! Come by and explore at <http://www.mepc.org/>. The Council plans to use the extraordinary reach of the World-Wide-Web to increase awareness of our programs and publications as well as policy issues. The Web site will be a valuable resource for researchers, students, teachers, academics, members of the media and the general reader. In fact, even before the site was completed it was receiving over 100 visits per day. There is something for everyone:

- ★ Find out where and when Teacher Workshops are being held.
- ★ Read articles from the latest issues of *Middle East Policy* or research a topic in the journal's 1982-1996 cumulative index. Then order the Journal issue, all on-line!
- ★ See your invitation to the next Capitol Hill Conference or review a summary of the most recent conference.
- ★ Subscribe to *Middle East Policy* or get on the Council mailing list for conferences or workshops.
- ★ Review Council involvement with issues affecting American business in the Middle East.
- ★ Learn more about the Council's President, former Sen. George McGovern, and the Council's Board of Directors.



Cong. Lee Hamilton looks on as Brian Atwood speaks at February 27 Conference

Is there something you'd like to see on the Council web site? Please send an e-mail and let us know.

★★ www.mepc.org ★★
e-mail - mepc@capcon.net



CONFERENCES

REP. LEE HAMILTON HEADS PANEL EXAMINING "U.S. DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE TO THE MIDDLE EAST"

The Council convened its tenth Capitol Hill Conference at the Rayburn House Office Building on February 27, 1996. It was entitled, "U.S. Development Assistance to the Middle East: Critical Perspectives," and the room was overflowing. Over 110 attended—Hill staffers, media, clergy, business executives, and foreign-policy specialists. Council President George McGovern moderated the panel, which included Congressman Lee Hamilton, U.S. AID Administrator Brian Atwood, ANERA President Peter Gubser, and Harvard scholar Sara Roy. The proceedings, as always, will be published in *Middle East Policy*.

Congressman Hamilton expressed the need for an integrated foreign policy and deplored the lack of interest in the subject on the part of any but those with a political agenda. He warned in particular of a move to prevent U.S. troops from being allowed to serve as part of a peacemaking team on the Golan Heights, should the eventuality of an Israeli-Syrian peace agreement occur. Congress should not stand in

the way by refusing to let U.S. troops serve on the Golan, no matter what powerful political forces are working against it. Congressman Hamilton reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to bringing more openness and accountability to the governments in the developing Middle East.

Brian Atwood advised taking the long view regarding the road to development in the Middle East. There has been more continuity in U.S. policy toward that region than toward any other area of the world, particularly with regard to the peace process. Commitment of resources is key. Egypt has benefited tremendously from the investment of U.S. aid in peace and development. Family planning alone has saved billions of dollars in social services.

In the West Bank and Gaza, peace is bringing benefits that have changed the political climate. Specifically, AID is working with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) on democratization and waste-water facilities as well as jobs. Industrial zones are being discussed, but Palestinian workers still must have access to employment in Israel. Investment will be needed, and the U.S. should encourage integration of the Middle East economy—open markets, etc. Jordan, Israel and Egypt are becoming more amenable to integration. It will happen with the Palestinians too and eventually with the Syrians and Lebanese.

Peter Gubser dealt with the role of civil society and non-governmental organizations, emphasizing that peace is made between peoples and among people. It involves confidence building, sustainable development and open political systems, and regional coopera-

tion and integration. He made suggestions for what might be done: 1) dialogue between peace, human-rights, labor, professional and religious groups; 2) sustainable development initiatives on education, health, food, water and sanitation. By means of grassroots problem solving, NGOs are "incubating" democracy. Palestine is a special case and has more opportunity because it is an open, relatively tolerant and incipiently democratic society. 3) Regional economic integration is needed, as conflict has eaten up resources, imposed restrictions, and prevented economic development. 4) Regional trading and labor-exchange blocs might help, as in the Benelux model. NGOs can educate people to accept these changes. 5) Natural resources need protection.

Sara Roy concentrated on Gaza's economic and social conditions and how U.S. AID deals with them, and then suggested priorities for Palestinian development. The main threats to stability and peace are unemployment, poverty, hunger, illness and illiteracy. There are 10,000 new workers added to the labor force every year, posing the single most dire problem in the region. The closure of the border by Israel is hurting tens of thousands of innocent people. Gaza has lost more in wages than it has been promised by donors through the Oslo process. Poverty has increased since September 1993. Food prices have risen sharply, and 90% of food imports come from Israel. The population is traumatized by violence and hunger. Palestinian prisoners in the Negev desert have been smuggling food out to their relatives in Gaza.

U.S. AID programs are aimed at short-term, visible results. Water management and productivity of small businesses are very important, but more attention should be paid to developing human resources. Employment is key and Israel's policy of sealing the border is the biggest obstacle to U.S. AID's assistance to the Palestinians.

Ms. Roy suggested priority adjustments for AID that would help people more than the infrastructure projects now being focused on: 1) education, (skills training), 2) mental-health rehabilitation, and 3) poverty reduction.

Strengthening of NGOs is important, as they are the backbone of economic development and the provider of social services, particularly education and health. Finally, AID should try to reduce poverty through services to the unemployable and needy, and through employment creation. Essential to the effort is an end to closure and the establishment by the Palestine Authority of a regulatory framework to encourage and support private-sector development and foreign investment.

STRONG TURNOUT FOR UNUSUAL CONFERENCE ON POLITICAL ISLAM

The Council held the eleventh in its Capitol Hill Conference Series on May 14 in the Dirksen Senate Office Building: "Political Islam: Can It Become the Loyal Opposition?" The speakers were Professors Mumtaz Ahmad of Hampton University and I. William Zartman of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. Dr. Kenneth Pollack, a director for Middle East Affairs at the National Security Council, was to have joined the panel, but an emergency meeting early that morning prevented him from appearing.

Dr. Ahmad surveyed the Muslim world generally and the cases of Turkey, Malaysia and Pakistan particularly; Dr. Zartman assessed the Islamist movements in the Maghreb and Sudan. The audience of approximately 100 people were impressed with both the content of the presentations and the fact that the subject was being discussed at all. This topic is not overexposed in the congressional forum, where terrorism is the usual context for discussion of Islam.

The speakers concurred that the term "loyal opposition" implies democracy, a rarity in Muslim societies. Some of the questioners challenged the speakers, particularly Professor Ahmad, on the question of whether a government could risk the possibility of a one-man, one-vote, one-time election. Professor Ahmad suggested that a decentralized system of shared power where there are many winners—at the local, state, and federal levels, for instance—is preferable to a winner-take-all system. He

also stressed the point that democracy is the only system that allows for turnover of power on a regular basis, permitting opposition groups to have a voice in government. It follows, therefore, that Islamists would want to preserve democracy.

In South Asia a liberal and modernist Islam is emerging to challenge the mainstream. There is also a Sufi (mystical Islam) revival in Turkey,



William Zartman at May 14 Capitol Hill Conference

Central Asia, North Africa, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Southeast Asia. Moderate movements are already operating as the loyal opposition in Jordan, Turkey, Pakistan and Malaysia. These groups are having to compromise in order to compete in the democratic political arena.

Dr. Zartman questioned whether Islamist parties can accept the judgment of the population rather than that of divine inspiration and whether they can compromise with secular groups. The Islamist movements in North Africa offer contrasting case histories. In Morocco there is a decentralized system because of its numerous cities, while in Tunisia one very large city dominates political life. In Algeria and Tunisia the mosques were the only places dissent could be expressed during the regimes that came to power after the French colonial period. In Tunisia the Islamists were rejected for their excesses in the late 1980s. A similar reaction has been expressed in civil-war-torn Algeria recently, where a relatively free multicandidate presidential election resulted in victory for the incumbent, Liamine Zeroual.

The example of Sudan, where an Islamic party is in charge of the government, is not edifying. Opposition parties are banned and a long-running civil war against the non-Muslim south has crippled the country.

Islamic groups have their own inherent political legitimacy. In addition, Islamism is a socioeconomic as well as a political movement, a response to a lack of jobs and avenues of dissent. In order to coopt the movement, Dr. Zartman advised governments to provide more economic growth and free expression. Finally, the state must be held by an accountable force committed to the rules of the democratic game, be it king, army or judiciary.



TEACHER WORKSHOPS

WORKSHOP PROGRAM SETS NEW RECORD

The Middle East Policy Council Teacher Workshop Program expects to hit an all time high of 27 workshops in 1996.

... "both agree that it was the BEST workshop we have ever had in 27 years of teaching. The woman was fantastic, the food was fantastic and the entire day was spent without once looking at the clock waiting for it to end."

*- Workshop attendee
St. Louis, Missouri*

All 27 were confirmed by the end of April, another record! Three workshops are already confirmed for 1997. This is evidence of both the great interest in these programs and the need for more funding so the Council can say "Yes!" to more requests. One of the 1997 workshops will be a return engagement to Miami-Dade Community College in Florida, where we held a very successful workshop for 60 teachers in 1994.

It seems that word about the workshop got around, and a return visit is needed for other interested teachers in south Florida. Anyone wanting to schedule a workshop in 1997 should call as soon as possible and reserve a date.

On June 19, the Council held a workshop at the "Global Institute" at Ohio Dominican College for teachers from all over Ohio. One hundred teachers came for this hugely successful workshop organized by Lynn Fiala. This is Ms. Fiala's third consecutive year as local sponsor for Council workshops. The Council and the teachers of Ohio are lucky to have her. The May 11 workshop in St. Louis, Missouri, drew a crowd of 75 teachers from five area schools. The district obviously wanted to make "Islam and the Arab World" an educational priority. Two participants wrote to their principal to say that they "both agree that it was the BEST workshop we have ever had in 27 years of teaching. The woman was fantastic, the food was fantastic and the entire day was spent without once looking at the clock waiting for it to end." These types of comments, which are received so often, serve to remind us how valuable the workshops are.

Unfortunately, the Teacher Workshop program recently suffered a significant setback. The International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), which has generously provided Arab World Notebooks, Qurans and other books to the Council free of charge since 1994, can no longer give us Arab World Notebooks. This reference guide is the core of materials given to teachers. The Council is scrambling to tap remaining stores and must also consider a special print run. Coincidentally, this loss is

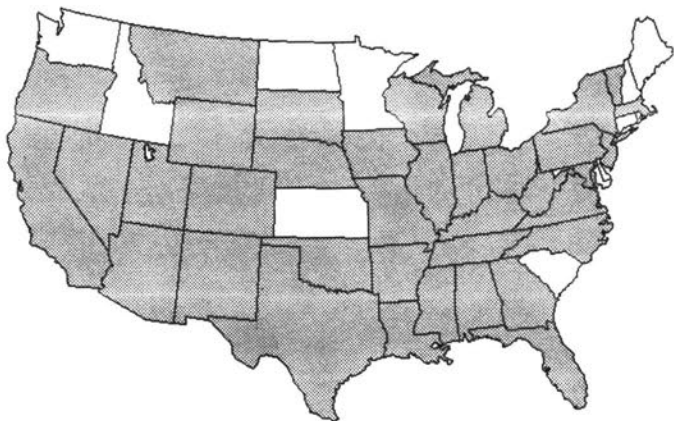
compounded by the fact that the second edition of the Arab World — Notebook is expected to be completed in late 1996. It is essential to publish this new edition but printing sufficient copies for 1997-99 is estimated to cost about \$60,000. If you would like to make a donation to support this printing effort, please contact the Program Director.

1996 VENUES

January 11	Los Angeles, CA
February 6	Starkville, MS
February 10	Milwaukee, WI
February 12	Milwaukee, WI
February 14	Milwaukee, WI
February 19	Louisville, KY
February 24	Imperial Beach, CA
March 2	Denver, CO
March 6	Long Beach, CA
March 1	Orlando, FL
March 15	New Orleans, LA
April 13	Oklahoma City, OK
May 4	Stockton, CA
May 11	St. Louis, MO
May 21	Brooklyn, NY
June 19	Columbus, OH
July 16	Pasadena, CA
July 24	Corpus Christi, TX
July 26	Fullerton, CA
August 7	Elkhart, IN
August 23	Helena, MT
October 5	Dover, DE
October 16	Dayton, OH
October 24	Clinton, MI
October 26	Tyler, TX
November 23	Washington, DC

1997 VENUES

February 8	Miami, FL
March 1	Bridgewater, MA
March 15	Allendale, MI



Middle East Policy Council Teacher Workshops have been held in 37 states

THE COUNCIL INTRODUCES THE



24, 25, 24, 27...

This is how our recent mailing announcing the Council's *Mentor Club* began. The numbers represent how many "Teacher Workshops About the Arab World and Islam" the Council conducted in 1993, 1994, 1995 and 1996 (scheduled). These are impressive numbers. But, our strong desire is that, when we look back four years from now, these numbers read more like 48, 49, 51, 52. Certainly, the demand for this many workshops exists. Unfortunately, as you know from earlier reports, the financial means do not.

So, we are asking prospective corporate and individual members to imagine that the Council had the means to conduct 50 workshops each year. That amounts to 2,000 educators annually, 2,000 more teachers each year who would be infinitely better prepared and motivated to teach their students about the Arab world and Islam. Think of the ripple effect this would have. Add this number to the 5,000 educators who have already attended a Council workshop and you begin to see why this program can make such a difference.

The *Mentor Club* is based on a simple relationship. Every member equals one workshop. A member commits to provide \$3,000 on an annual basis. This is the average cost of a workshop. If we have 45 members we can offer 45 workshops.

The *Mentor Club* is brand new, but we have had some encouraging early responses. Archer Daniels Midland, the National U.S.-Arab Chamber of Commerce and the Embassy of Kuwait have all joined the club. If you have any questions or need more information, please contact the Council.



TRAVEL

MIDDLE EAST VISIT APRIL 4-15

Sen. McGovern and Richard Wilson, Executive Director, made an informative tour of Abu Dhabi, Muscat, Doha and Dhahran April 4-15. As with each of the Council's visits to the region, this trip included meetings with government officials, private businessmen, members of the American business community, U.S. diplomats, academics and journalists.

A number of topics seemed to emerge during the many meetings. There was guarded anticipation of the results of the May 29 elections in Israel (Israel's bombing campaign in Lebanon had not yet begun). However, because of disappointment with steps taken by Labor in recent months, strong preferences for a winner were usually not expressed.

The preeminent issues, however, were economic. In Abu Dhabi, there is growing concern about how to manage development effectively during the current boom. Increased power, telecommunication and transportation demands as well as the ramifications of GATT and WTO membership were some of the issues most discussed. Also during this visit, the Minister of Higher Education, Sheikh Nahyan Bin Mubarak Al-Nahyan, addressed the American community and others on the need for increased U.S.-U.A.E. cooperation on developing higher education in the U.A.E.

Not surprisingly, in Qatar the development of LNG resources topped the list. There is also interest in plans for expanded oil production. The American business presence in Doha continues to grow at a rapid pace. On the political front relations with the GCC were perceived to be on the upturn following confirmation of the new GCC Secretary General and a Saudi-Qatar agreement to appoint a commission on their border dispute.

In Oman, LNG projects were also at the forefront since a major contract with a South Korean purchaser was close to being confirmed. In addition, the U.S. firm Sea-Land Service's plans to develop a new container port at Salalah was in the news. The United

States is not the only country trying to balance its budget. Oman is hewing closely to the spending guidelines called for in its 5-year development plan announced in January.

In Saudi Arabia's Eastern Province, concerns about an uneven economy were brightened somewhat by announcement of another government bond issue for major contractors. Unexpectedly strong oil prices for the first quarter created some optimism, especially in regard to reducing the government deficit. However, this is considered a short-term windfall and companies remain cautious.

With regard to the American business community the trip began in Abu Dhabi with a breakfast at the home of John Jackson, General Manager for Westinghouse Gulf. John, his family, and a overflow crowd of American businessmen and U.A.E. nationals made the morning very enjoyable. Meetings with the ABC-Qatar, ABC-Oman and the ABA-Eastern Province were also very productive. Special thanks to Cynthia Albano and Roger Shafer in Oman, Ron Billings in Qatar and John McNamara and Howard Campbell in the Eastern Province for their efforts in arranging these meetings.



MIDDLE EAST POLICY

Vol. IV, No. 3

The fifty-third issue of the journal was particularly comprehensive. It included articles on a wide range of issues affecting U.S. policy, from an assessment of Gulf security five years after Desert Storm and a reassessment of dual containment, to Turkey-Russia relations, to the deeper meaning of the Rabin assassination, to the PLO-Hamas rivalry, to a philosophical analysis of the death of secularism in the Arab world.

The proceedings of the Council's conference on the Sultanate of Oman were published in this issue, including the remarks of Assistant Secretary of State Robert H. Pelletreau, syndicated columnist Georgie Anne Geyer, senior

World Bank economist John Page, RAND analyst Joseph A. Kechichian, defense specialist Michael Collins Dunn, and anthropologist Christine Eickelman. Other essays on Gulf topics complementing this centerpiece suggested the need for a more nuanced U.S. policy toward Iran, in the interest of eventual collective security.

With the memory of the Rabin assassination still fresh, Marc Ellis wrote of the need for Palestinians and Israelis to reflect on the path ahead. The cycle of violence is hard to break, as was well demonstrated in the run-up to the elections, when Shimon Peres seemed to campaign for peace by bombing Lebanon. Ellis argues, as always, for a humane and generous compromise over the land, rather than trying to get the sharpest possible deal. Just as Jews sought and won equality in the West after the Holocaust, the Palestinians should be granted similar treatment in Israel/Palestine.

Egyptian scholar and former Parliamentarian Mona Makram-Ebeid analyzed the Egyptian elections, giving a historical overview and arguing for a power-sharing model that might lead to orderly liberalization of the political system. She acknowledges, however, the difficulty of enlarging the circle of inclusion at a time when stability is viewed by the regime as its primary need. As Mahmood Monshipouri points out in his analysis of the PLO-Hamas relationship, incorporating competing secular and Islamic visions into one political framework is a challenge few societies have been able to meet.

The current rise of religious fervor in the Arab world has been made possible, according to Paul Salem, by a disillusionment with secularism. The exhaustion of Arab nationalism, the class conflict, the emotional aridity of Western modernism, and a shift of power to the pro-Western Gulf states and away from the secular pro-Soviet power centers all played a role. Salem predicts that because many of the problems of the region are intractable, there will be an oscillation back to secularism—over time, all ideologies lose their ability to charm.

In addition to publishing in the Documentation section a summary of the Oslo II agreement, the journal

obtained approval from Edward P. Djerejian to reprint his Baker Institute Study, "United States Policy toward Islam and the Arc of Crisis." Ambassador Djerejian's thesis is that the United States needs a coherent geopolitical vision embracing the newly independent Muslim states of Central Asia as well as the Gulf, the Levant and North Africa. The U.S. obsession with the peripheral issue of terrorism makes little sense in light of the religious conservatism that is affecting governments throughout the area and beyond.

U.S. BUSINESS ISSUES

BUDGET WARS

In addition to meetings with American business groups during Sen. McGovern's and Richard Wilson's April visit to the Middle East, the Council was also active stateside on issues affecting U.S. business in the region. As a member of the Board of Directors of The Section 911 Coalition, the Council was called on to help respond to the "Budget Wars." Because it is poorly understood, the foreign-earned-income tax exclusion (Section 911) was marked for elimination in several of the proposed budgets circulating in Washington earlier this year. Sen. McGovern

was quick to remind a number of congressmen of the competitive benefits of Section 911, even calling one proposal's co-author, Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle at home for a Saturday morning discussion.

The foreign-earned-income tax exclusion was also the primary issue for the American Business Council of the Gulf Countries' (ABCGC) 'mini-Doorknock' campaign in late April-early May. Sen. McGovern arranged and participated in several meetings with key lawmakers. He also hosted ABCGC Chairman Howard Campbell and other members of the Doorknock campaign at the Senate Dining Room. This was a perfect opportunity to meet and greet senators in a relaxed atmosphere. Sens. Ted Kennedy, Allan Simpson and Chuck Robb were among those who stopped for a chat.

A final note with regard to Section 911: The Council's home page on the World Wide Web (www.mepc.org) includes a section on U.S. business interests in the Middle East. Browsers in that area will be able to click on a "Section 911" Coalition button that will take them directly to the Coalition's home page.

A delegation from the American Chamber of Commerce in Egypt

(AmCham Egypt) came to Washington in March following stops in New York, Houston and elsewhere. New Minister of Economy, H.E. Nawal El-Tatawy, led a high-powered group interested in bringing attention to Egypt's ongoing privatization effort. They were seeking to emphasize the need for American support of and participation in this critical process. On behalf of that effort, Sen. McGovern was very pleased to host AmCham Egypt President, Shafik Gabr and several others at the Senate Dining Room. Again, this was an effective way to establish contact and communicate the group's message to a number of lawmakers.

APRIL BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

The Board of Directors met on April 25, 1996, at the Council offices in Washington, D.C. Seven members were present: George McGovern (chair), Frank Carlucci, Yankel Ginzburg, Dale Nitzschke, Fuad Rihani, Witold Suliminski, and Jack Wilkinson. Reports were presented on the Teacher Workshop program, Capitol Hill Conference Series and *Middle East Policy*. As always, fundraising was a priority topic and a number of proposed ideas were discussed.

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Middle East Policy Council 1981-1996

PURPOSE

The Middle East Policy Council was founded in 1981 to expand public discussion and understanding of issues affecting U.S. policy in the Middle East. The Council is a nonprofit, tax-exempt 501(c)3 educational organization whose programs and publications extend throughout the United States. In addition to the general American audience, Council activities seek to inform opinion leaders in:

- ◆ U.S. government
- ◆ media
- ◆ education (especially secondary level)
- ◆ business
- ◆ academia
- ◆ clergy

TEACHER WORKSHOPS

The Middle East Policy Council's "Teaching About the Arab World and Islam" workshop program is the most extensive effort of its kind in the United States and has gained a national reputation for quality and objectivity.

Since conducting its first Teacher Workshop in 1985 over 120 workshops have been held in 37 states. More than 5,000 U.S. teachers have attended these workshops.

"Teaching About the Arab World and Islam" workshops are one-day programs for 30-80 secondary-level educators. They are conducted in association with universities, national and regional social studies associations, local departments of public instruction and other public/private educational organizations.

Their purpose is to:

- ◆ Demonstrate techniques and provide information that enables secondary-level educators to teach more effectively about the Arab world, Islam and the Middle East.
- ◆ Assist the development of study programs on the Arab world and Islam.
- ◆ Provide reference guides and extensive reading materials for schools and classrooms.
- ◆ Encourage engagement with school districts in further informational programming.

Audrey Shabbas is the primary workshop leader and is nationally recognized as one of the preeminent instructors in the U.S. on the Arab world and the Middle East. She has thirty years of teaching experience and is listed in "Who's Who of American Teachers."



"Middle East Policy quarterly has played a lively part in the search for a path toward peace in the Middle East."

- RONALD REAGAN
Former President of
the United States

MIDDLE EAST POLICY QUARTERLY JOURNAL

Middle East Policy is a key source for analysis of political, economic and cultural issues affecting U.S. policy in the Middle East. The journal also includes timely book reviews and pertinent documents.

Content: Particular focus is given to the Arabian Gulf, Arab-Israeli issues and Israeli-Palestinian issues. Articles are submitted by a wide variety of American, Arab and Israeli scholars, diplomats, business executives and others.

Distribution and Retrieval: *Middle East Policy* is available in over 2,600 university and public libraries in the U.S. It is also available by subscription and in selected bookstores across the United States. It is reproduced on microfilm and in bound volumes and is listed in all relevant political-science indexes and data bases. The journal's 14-year cumulative index and selected journal articles can also be found on the Council world-wide-web site at www.mepc.org. The Council is currently considering making the entire text of each journal available on the web site.

Reprints: Permission to reprint over 75,000 copies of articles from the journal has been granted to colleges and universities during the past fourteen years.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

The Gulf, Cooperation and the Council: An American Perspective (1993), By Joseph Wright Twinam

Achieving Peace: Recommendations for U.S. Policy (1993), by Thomas R. Mattair

Selected Documentation Pertaining to U.S.-Arab Relations (1992), historical and current documents on the Palestine conflict, the status of Jerusalem and the Arabian Gulf.

The Saudi-Egyptian Conflict over North Yemen, 1962-1970 (1987), by Saeed M. Badeeb

CAPITOL HILL CONFERENCE SERIES

The Council established this successful forum in 1993 in order to directly target the lawmakers and opinion leaders in Washington, D.C. who affect U.S. policy in the Middle East and the Arab world. The conference series complements and enhances the policy analysis available in *Middle East Policy*. Proceedings from the 11 Capitol Hill Conferences to date have been published in the Council's quarterly journal.

Capitol Hill Conferences identify critical issues that will benefit from timely, balanced examination. Top officials such as The Hon. William Perry, U.S. Secretary of Defense, are invited to elaborate on U.S. policy and interact with scholars, business leaders and other experts.

In a town that has so much going on, there has been extensive interest in and steady attendance at these forums. They have played an important role in the policy community, not only in bringing attention to specific subjects but also in helping to critique and refine existing U.S. policy.

SOME PAST CONFERENCE TITLES:

- ◆ Persian/Arabian Gulf Security and U.S. Policy; address by U.S. Secretary of Defense William J. Perry
- ◆ Resurgent Islam in the Middle East
- ◆ Where To Go From Here: Practical Steps to Ensure Success in Israeli-Palestinian Peacemaking
- ◆ Dual Containment: U.S. Policy Toward Iraq and Iran
- ◆ The Middle East: What is Our Long-Term Vision?



"Middle East Policy promotes understanding ... while giving a fair and unbiased interpretation of current events that affect those relations."

- JIMMY CARTER
Former President of the United States

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- ◆ **Subscribe:** *Middle East Policy* is a unique, well-respected source for current analysis of Middle East political, economic and cultural issues. \$35 a year in the U.S. and Canada, \$55 elsewhere.
- ◆ **Contribute:** The Council depends on the support of individuals, corporations and foundations. Because the Council is a 501(c)3 non-profit organization, all contributions are tax-deductible. Contributions can be mailed to the Washington, D.C. office or wired directly to account #01 08 466 593, Riggs National Bank, 1503 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20013.
- ◆ **Advertise:** *Middle East Policy* reaches a wide variety of readers in the United States and abroad. Advertising can be arranged by contacting the editor.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

- ◆ **U.S. Business Issues:** In addition to publishing economic articles in the journal, the Council actively supports U.S. business interests in the Middle East. Council officers regularly consult with American business groups in the U.S. and the Middle East. The Council also supports U.S. competitiveness initiatives and is a member of the Board of Directors of the Section 911 Coalition.
- ◆ **International Visitors:** In cooperation with the U.S. Information Agency's International Visitors program and USIA contracting agencies, Council officers brief visitors from the Middle East and organize panel discussions on specific topics.

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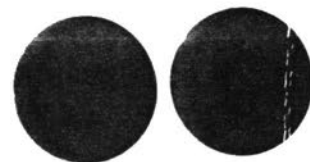
rec'd Aug 5, 1996
11:16 am

Todd --

8/2/96

I'm guessing that you've already developed a response, but these two letters should receive an answer.

Jen
6-6350



8-5-96

To Dorskind

For reply ASAP. per Todd Stern.

C. Cleveland

**Communications
Workers of America
AFL-CIO, CLC**

501 Third Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001-2797
202/434-1110 Fax 202/434-1139

Morton Bahr
President

July 31, 1996

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to strongly urge you to veto Congress's version of welfare reform and to continue to fight for the real reform you proposed. Your plan provides opportunity and assistance to our nation's poorest families and is a model of what welfare reform should be. Instead, you are being presented with a program that its sponsors hope will simply sweep the poor and their children from our sight and out of our budget. This is unconscionable.

This bill is seriously flawed and will result in real tragedy for the most vulnerable of our citizens — the more than one million poor children (according to the Office of Management and Budget) who will fall through the safety net into extreme poverty. Other child advocates estimate as many as 3.5 million children will suffer, especially under provisions limiting lifetime participation under the public assistance program to five years.

This is a mean-spirited measure, one designed to appease the call to "do something" without carefully examining the consequences. Of course, those leading the charge for this so-called reform won't be affected by a slashed welfare check, the five-year lifetime limit, the lack of child care, a limit on receiving food stamps (for a childless, unemployed person) or the other punitive aspects of this bill.

There is no requirement for the states to provide any particular level of work opportunity, training, child care or other services, even though this bill, without question, increases the need for all these and more. Instead, we will likely see most states establish an arbitrary deadline to "get a job or else," cutting off benefits and leaving children defenseless. A quick review of how most states have managed block grants in other areas affecting children — foster care or child development, for example — leaves little doubt of the real tragedy these children will likely encounter.

President Clinton

July 31, 1996

Page two

Experiments are fine, but not at the expense of children who need to eat, go to school and have access to medical care in order to thrive and become working productive citizens in their own right.

We support real reform, Mr. President, and we believe that your plan remains the most effective way "to end welfare as we know it," as you pledged.

The mean-spiritedness of this bill's sponsors is evident in yet another way, with the proposal to deny legal immigrants who are not citizens any cash benefits, despite the fact that these immigrants pay taxes and contribute to their communities and the nation. Again, it appears that the bill's sponsors hope that the poor will simply slip away, out of sight.

We cannot support such a plan, Mr. President. I urge you to stand with us, with the nation's poor children, and veto this shameful proposal.

Sincerely,



Morton Bahr
President

BLE: "UAW DETROIT"

*Solidarity House*8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48214
PHONE (313) 926-8000**INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA—UAW**STEPHEN P. YOKICH, *PRESIDENT*ROY O. WYSE, *SECRETARY-TREASURER*

VICE-PRESIDENTS: CAROLYN FORREST • JACK LASKOWSKI • ERNEST LOFTON • RICHARD SHOEMAKER

July 31, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

The UAW strongly opposes the conference report on the welfare bill. We urge you to veto this mean spirited, reactionary legislation.

The UAW is deeply concerned that the conference report fails to contain adequate anti-displacement provisions to prevent employers from using welfare recipients in heavily subsidized workfare programs to fill job vacancies. Because the welfare bill does not contain any minimum wage floor, equal pay and benefit standards, or protections for union contracts, there is a serious danger that this measure could undermine good paying jobs in the public and private sectors and erode the standard of living for working men and women.

The UAW is also troubled by the provisions in the conference report which would impose deep cuts in the food stamp program, thereby undermining nutritional assistance to poor families. In particular, we oppose the provision denying food stamps to workers who have been laid off for more than three months.

The UAW also objects to the provisions in the conference report which would:


- slash the Earned Income Tax Credit, thereby punishing low income working families;
- deny assistance to legal immigrants, including poor children and elderly persons who are lawfully residing and paying taxes in this country; and
- reduce SSI payments to the elderly and disabled.

In addition, we are concerned that the welfare bill fails to provide adequate child care and job training assistance to help move individuals off of welfare and into the workforce.

Finally, the UAW opposes the core provisions of the conference report which would destroy our social safety net by eliminating the entitlement status of welfare programs and replacing them with block grants to the states. In the process, the bill would slash federal funding for welfare programs by about \$60 billion, and allow the states to withdraw billions of additional dollars from these programs. The net result is that millions of needy individuals will be denied critically important assistance if this legislation becomes law. In particular, this legislation would increase the severity of poverty among children and push over 1 million children into poverty.

For all of these reasons, the UAW strongly opposes the conference report on the welfare bill. We urge you to veto this measure, and to insist on genuine welfare reform which will help to move individuals off of public assistance and into the workforce, without punishing vulnerable persons in our country.

Sincerely,



Stephen P. Yokich
President, UAW

AR:car
opelu494
C2029

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-5-96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

96 JUL 29 P 9:02

*Waldman
for last report*

July 29, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN *MW*

SUBJECT: *NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE ARTICLE*

As you may recall, a week ago we passed on to you the questions submitted by *The New York Times Magazine* for their 100th Anniversary issue. We suggested one draft; in addition, Bruce Reed and Jonathan Prince suggested a different version during the California trip.

I understand that you have been drafting a reply. I wanted to let you know that the *Times* is very eager to receive the draft in the next day or so; Senator Dole has submitted his answer, and they need to set them in type.

Please let me know if there is anything you need us to do -- either in typing up your draft, taking dictation, or preparing a new draft for your approval. Thank you.

**QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY
*NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE***

- Question 1: If you are re-elected, what two or three accomplishments do you think you will be best remembered for into the next century?
- Question 2: By the year 2096, what three amendments to the Constitution are most likely to have been added?
- Question 3: What will be the role of spirituality in the lives of Americans in the 21st Century?

*Language from California trip
from Reed and Prince*

**NEW YORK TIMES QUESTIONNAIRE
NEW PROPOSED ANSWER FOR QUESTION ONE**

Before he died, Thomas Jefferson said he wanted to be remembered for three things. And so his tombstone outside his home at Monticello says he was the author of the Declaration of Independence, the father of the University of Virginia, and the author of Virginia's Statute of Religious Liberty. I've always liked that story. It reminds me that this great man, who accomplished so many things, hoped his legacy would be the three things he did to help guarantee Americans would always grow up in the land of opportunity, in a country where freedom and respect were the fundamental law of the land.

I hope that I can keep that magnificent dream alive for the future, and renew it as we move into the 21st century.

Jefferson founded the University of Virginia because he knew that the vitality of our democracy and the future of our nation would depend on the knowledge and education of our people. Today, in the Information Age, that is more true than ever. Education is the key to opportunity and success.

I want to be remembered as the President who made college available to every American who wants to work for it.

Over the last four years, we have put an unprecedented college opportunity strategy in

place: We reformed the student loan program, to make college more affordable for 5.5 million students -- and we saved money for the taxpayers by eliminating the middleman, cutting red tape, and cutting the cost of student loan defaults in half. We have expanded Pell Grant college scholarships for deserving students. And our national service program, AmeriCorps, has already helped 45,000 Americans earn money for college by helping their communities.

Over the next four years, we want to go even further: We want to expand work-study so, by the year 2000, one million students every year can work their way through college. We want to let people use money from their IRA to help pay for college. We want a \$1000 honor scholarship for the top 5 percent of graduates in every high school.

And I want to make 14 years of education -- through the first two years of college -- the standard for every American. I have proposed a \$10,000 tax deduction for families to help pay for education after high school. Now I want to create a \$1,500 tax cut for Americans, to guarantee the first year of tuition at a typical community college, and the second year for everybody who earns it by maintaining a B average. No tax cut will do more to raise American incomes than a tax cut to pay for college. If we make college available for every American, I will be very, very proud.

The essence of the Declaration of Independence is the great American notion that every single person should have the freedom and opportunity to build a good life by taking the responsibility to make the most of it.

I want to be remembered as the President who transformed our government from a massive bureaucracy into a powerful tool to give people independence in their daily lives -- the power to control their own lives. I don't want the future to undermine our values; I want our values to shape the future.

I want to give parents the independence to be good parents and good workers. One of my proudest moments was to sign the Family and Medical Leave Act so Americans blessed with a baby or troubled by a sick parents are no longer forced to choose between their families and their jobs. And now I want parents to be able to take unpaid leave from work and so they can do their job as parents: to do things like go to parent-teacher conferences or take a child to the doctor.

I want to give parents the power to raise their children with good values, independent from powerful social forces that too often undermine parents. That's why I fought to give parents control over what their children see on television, by requiring all new televisions to include a V-chip that will block violent programs when it is activated by an adult. That's why I'm fighting to cut off children's access to cigarettes, to crack down on those who break the law and sell tobacco to minors, and to curtail advertising especially designed to entice children.

I want to replace the broken welfare system that traps people in a cycle of dependence with a system based on our values, that lifts people from welfare to independence, moving them to work and into the economic mainstream.

The religious liberty clause in the First Amendment to our Constitution is modeled on the Virginia Statute of religious liberty that Jefferson wrote. The essence of that statute is the great and wonderful notion that people of different backgrounds and beliefs could build a strong nation together. And it makes me think -- not only about what kind of President I want to be remembered as, but what kind of person I want to be remembered as, and -- especially -- what kind of country I want America to be.

America is the greatest nation in history because it has been built by people of different backgrounds and beliefs, united by common values and a common pursuit. That is what I always want America to be: a nation where we reach across our differences to come together. A nation where we always draw strength from our great diversity and our constant values to fashion the future we want for our children.

And I believe this legacy of Jefferson's imposes a special burden on all Americans, especially those of us in public life. To never give in to the temptations of division and discord, but rather, to always struggle to come together, to always search for common ground.

And that is how I want to be remembered: As a man who did his best every day to bring us together, to help our people meet America's challenges, protect America's values, and fulfill American dreams.

8-5-96

Draft answer submitted to you on July 20 before California trip

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
ANSWERS FOR NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE
ISSUE OF SEPTEMBER 29, 1996

Question 1: If you are re-elected, what two or three accomplishments do you think you will be best remembered for into the next century?

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I hope that, more than anything, we are helping to prepare the American people to

from Amer ② Econ

meet the challenges of the 21st Century, and to protect our values as we do so.

③ Econ

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We are living through a time of rapid and remarkable change -- one as dramatic as

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the one our country experienced 100 years ago, when that generation wondered what their

worlding 21st century in global vil → Rel

new century would bring. I like to say that this is an age of remarkable possibility, as we

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move from the industrial era to the information age. The next century, because it will be

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unprecedented new demands on our people for knowledge and skills.

More than anything else, I want our grandchildren to look back at this time as our generation's crucial moment to decide what kind of country and what kind of people we are going to be. And I want them to say that we made it more likely that we could harness all that is positive about this age of possibility, and that we acted on their behalf -- that we kept the American dream alive, that we came together as a nation despite our differences, that we

kept America the world's strongest force for peace and freedom.

And I would want Americans, 100 years from now, to be able to look back and see that we remained true to our most enduring values: offering opportunity to all; demanding responsibility from all; staying together as a community.

That is what we have tried to do. And during the past four years, I believe our country has, in fact, begun to grapple with our tough choices. We have created 10 million new jobs. We have cut the deficit more than in half, so that is now at its lowest level since 1981. We have begun to mend many of the tears in our social fabric evident over recent decades: Crime has dropped for four years in a row. There are 1.3 million fewer people on welfare today than on the day I took office. All of these are signs that we are putting our national house in order. And I hope they will be taken as portents of more progress to come in the new century.

All these are signs that we are putting our national house in order. But we must continue to make progress. It is very important that we have a clear sense of the challenges that lie ahead.

When I think about opportunity, I think about how we can give all our people the capacity to prosper in the growing economy. Throughout our history, our country has always expanded the education it offered, to keep pace with changing times, whether it was

the land grant colleges, making 12 year of public education mandatory, or the GI Bill. I believe that the next step must be to make the 13th and 14th years of education -- the first two years of college -- as much a universal standard as a high school degree became in the years following World War II. That is why I have proposed tax cuts to enable every young person in America to go to at least two years of college, and to enable older workers to get the training they need throughout a lifetime.

When I think about community, I think about sustaining our efforts to fight crime, especially the crime committed by young people. We took a new approach to crime -- combining tough punishment with community-based policing, putting 100,000 police on the street and taking guns off the street. The success of community policing rests on the active involvement of neighbors, organized through block-watch associations and citizen groups. These victories against crime will not last, however, if we do not address the rising tide of youth violence. The early years of the new century will be ugly indeed if a generation of children continue to kill children, and hundreds of thousands of young people raise themselves on the streets. More police and tougher sentences will not be enough. Every member of our society, especially parents and neighbors, will have to take responsibility to teach our children values and discipline.

And when I think about community, I think about the efforts we must make to strengthen our families -- because families are where we pass on the values that sustain us as a country. As this century draws to a close, families are under intense and increasing

pressure. In this intensely competitive economy, parents find it harder than ever before to spend enough time with their children, and to protect them from mass media and other influences that can warp their values. So I want this to be a time when we come together as a community to give parents more control over their lives and the lives of their children. That is why, for example, we are going to require TVs to have the V-chip, so that parents can control the forces that come into their living rooms. And that is why, in the coming years, we should extend the Family Medical Leave Act, so parents can take time for parent-teacher conferences and routine medical appointments. In the new century, our people should be able to be both good parents and good workers.

Finally, I believe we will look back at this moment and see that the United States led the world toward a new era of peace and security. As I have said many times, our nation has had to choose twice before during this century whether to turn inward or reach outward. Now, in the wake of the Cold War, we face new realities and new threats. New technologies and the rapid movement of information, money and people across borders bring us closer together and enrich our lives. But they also make us all more vulnerable to rogue states, crime, drugs and terrorism. We must face the threats to our generation, just as previous generations faced the threats to theirs. So far, our nation has chosen to advance our vision of free markets, a strong military, and support for democracy around the world. And so far, support for this general policy has been strong and bipartisan -- just as it was after World War II. I want us to be able, in the first half of the 21st century, to avoid the mistakes and the horrors of the first half of this century. This is a moment of peace and

prosperity; we should use this moment to create the framework for a century of peace.

Question 2: By the year 2096, what three amendments to the Constitution are most likely to have been added?

I hope that the next amendment to be added is a Victim's Rights Amendment, which I recently endorsed. After carefully studying all the alternatives, I became convinced that the only way to safeguard fully the rights of victims is to amend the Constitution to guarantee that victims receive notice of public court proceedings; that they have an opportunity to present their views to the court on such matters as bail sentences, and plea bargains; that they get restitution from the criminal; and that they receive notice if the criminal is released or escapes from custody. The Constitution today protects the rights of the accused, but not the rights of victims. If we wish to create a level playing field, we must give victims an equal place in the Constitution. I am convinced that we will do so within the next few years, and with bipartisan support.

I do not know what other amendments will follow this one -- because no one can know what pressing problems the nation will face over the next century that cannot be addressed through other means. I do not support amending the Constitution lightly. It is a sacred document, which should be changed only with caution and after much deliberation. We should not do by constitutional amendment what we can do by legislation -- such as balancing the budget. Neither should we guarantee rights that are already guaranteed -- such

as the right of schoolchildren to express their religious convictions in an appropriate manner. We should save the amendment process for these times when a crucial interest of the American people is going unprotected, and the Congress and President can do nothing within their usual powers to remedy the situation. I hope that these times do not often occur in the next one hundred years -- and so I hope that our most fundamental law will look in 1996 much as it does today.

Question 3: What will be the role of spirituality in the lives of Americans in the 21st Century?

We can only dimly imagine what the 21st Century will look like, how we will live, and how we will work. Nonetheless, I fully expect Americans to remain among the most religious people on earth. For despite 220 years of occasionally tumultuous change, our deep faith in God has been a constant source of strength for our people.

How we worship is as varied as our people; our nation includes followers of every faith and nearly every religious sect on earth. But faith guides all our families in similar ways, giving children a sense of values and their earliest and most important rules for life.

Our history is filled with our struggle to live up to those values. Our Framers appealed to the supreme being when they declared our independence. Religious liberty is enshrined in the First Amendment to the Constitution. Religion was a source of moral fervor

when we abolished slavery and began the work to protect human and civil rights. It was a wellspring for the modern civil rights movement. It continues to be the source of our most basic shared values.

The job of living up to those values is not done. Humans are imperfect; we will always have to strive to achieve what President Lincoln called "the better angels of our nature." We need our religious grounding more than ever, as we seek to find unity in our differences, as we try to treat one another with civility and decency, as we try to teach our children right from wrong.

The Scriptures [Romans 12:2] tell us: "Do not be conformed to this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind that you may prove what the will of God is, that which is good and acceptable and perfect." I have no doubt that our people, who enjoy the greatest religious freedom anywhere, will continue to seek their higher and better selves through their connection with God, and that America always will be a better place because of it.

ARKANSAS STATE CRIME LABORATORY



96/AUG 2 All : 54

Jim Guy Tucker
Governor

Handwritten: Hall Dec



James T. Clark
Executive Director

July 21, 1996

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate
the reply.

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

Dear Mr. President:

I am requesting any assistance that you may be able to provide in securing a \$68,000 grant for the Arkansas State Crime Laboratory from the Drug Control and System Improvement Discretionary Grant Program administered by the Bureau of Justice Assistance.

The State of Arkansas intends to use this grant money to purchase and necessary computer equipment to participate in an area network drugfire program sponsored by the F.B.I. The Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance Number is 16.580.

Any home field assistance you can provide will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

*Jimmy Clark
Executive Director*

JTC/jlh

3 Natural Resources Drive • P.O. Box 5274 • Little Rock, Arkansas 72215

Fax 501-227-0713
Phone 501-227-5747
Laboratory Services

Fax 501-221-1653
Phone 501-227-5936
Medical Examiner

APPLICATION FOR FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

2. DATE SUBMITTED 7-19-96	Applicant Identifier
3. DATE RECEIVED BY STATE 7-19-96	State Application Identifier
4. DATE RECEIVED BY FEDERAL AGENCY	Federal Identifier

TYPE OF SUBMISSION:

Application
 Construction
 Non-Construction

Preapplication
 Construction
 Non-Construction

1. APPLICANT INFORMATION

Legal Name: State of Arkansas	Organizational Unit: Arkansas State Crime Laboratory
Address (give city, county, state, and zip code): State Crime Laboratory #3 Natural Resources Drive P. O. Box 8500 Little Rock, Arkansas 72215	Name and telephone number of the person to be contacted on matters involving this application (give area code) Jim Clark, Executive Director (501) 227-5747 (501) 227-0713 (FAX)

6. EMPLOYER IDENTIFICATION NUMBER (EIN):

7	1	-	0	5	4	6	9	5	2
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

7. TYPE OF APPLICANT: (enter appropriate letter in box) A

A. State	H. Independent School Dist.
B. County	I. State Controlled Institution of Higher Learning
C. Municipal	J. Private University
D. Township	K. Indian Tribe
E. Interstate	L. Individual
F. Intermunicipal	M. Profit Organization
G. Special District	N. Other (Specify): _____

8. TYPE OF APPLICATION:

New Continuation Revision

If Revision, enter appropriate letter(s) in box(es):

A. Increase Award B. Decrease Award C. Increase Duration
D. Decrease Duration Other (specify):
N/A

9. NAME OF FEDERAL AGENCY:
Bureau of Justice Assistance

10. CATALOG OF FEDERAL DOMESTIC ASSISTANCE NUMBER:

1	6	-	5	8	0
---	---	---	---	---	---

TITLE: Drug Control & System Improvement Discretionary Grant Program

11. DESCRIPTIVE TITLE OF APPLICANT'S PROJECT:
Drugfire Equipment Program

12. AREAS AFFECTED BY PROJECT (cities, counties, states, etc.):
State of Arkansas: Statewide
75 Counties
Population: Approximately 2.5 million

13. PROPOSED PROJECT:

Start Date	Ending Date
10/01/096	9/30/97

14. CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS OF:

a. Applicant	b. Project
State of Arkansas/Statewide Arkansas State Crime Laboratory	State of Arkansas/Statewide

15. ESTIMATED FUNDING:

a. Federal	\$	68,000	.00
b. Applicant	\$.00
c. State	\$.00
d. Local	\$.00
e. Other	\$.00
f. Program Income	\$.00
g. TOTAL	\$	68,000	.00

16. IS APPLICATION SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY STATE EXECUTIVE ORDER 12372 PROCESS?

a. YES. THIS PREAPPLICATION/APPLICATION WAS MADE AVAILABLE TO THE STATE EXECUTIVE ORDER 12372 PROCESS FOR REVIEW ON:
DATE 7-19-96

b. NO. PROGRAM IS NOT COVERED BY E.O. 12372
 OR PROGRAM HAS NOT BEEN SELECTED BY STATE FOR REVIEW

17. IS THE APPLICANT DELINQUENT ON ANY FEDERAL DEBT?

Yes If "Yes," attach an explanation. No

18. TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEF, ALL DATA IN THIS APPLICATION/PREAPPLICATION ARE TRUE AND CORRECT. THE DOCUMENT HAS BEEN DULY AUTHORIZED BY THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE APPLICANT AND THE APPLICANT WILL COMPLY WITH THE ATTACHED ASSURANCES IF THE ASSISTANCE IS AWARDED

a. Typed Name of Authorized Representative Jim Clark	b. Title Executive Director	c. Telephone number (501)227-5747
d. Signature of Authorized Representative 		e. Date Signed 7-19-96

SUITE 1100
145 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60603
312/726-8700

96 AUG 2 All : 54

JIM DORSKIND:

July 19, 1996

Please coordinate
the reply.

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

RE: YouthBuild Coalition

Dear President Clinton,

I am writing in support of the request by YouthBuild Coalition of Somerville, Massachusetts for an increase in the federal government's appropriation to their organization.

YouthBuild is an organization that is successfully helping undereducated, unemployed high school dropouts nationwide to rebuild their communities. At a time when the future of our youth is at risk -- violence among our youth is spreading across the country, illegal drug use is on the rise, the high school dropout rate has not leveled off, and teen pregnancy is still a serious issue -- funding to organizations such as YouthBuild is more important than ever.

I believe it would be detrimental to the success of YouthBuild, and all organizations which rely on government funding, if the appropriation were reduced.

Sincerely,


Adele Simmons

AS:JJ/2306

c: Dorothy Stoneman

Carolyn - my best effort

looks good but we don't say anything about (excessive) food stamp cuts to (o) poor working families probably should have a sentence on that in section on what needs to be fixedf - also might want to use nutrition, not food stamps.

96 Aug 3 P3:15

August 3, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-5-96

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JONATHAN PRINCE

SUBJECT: New welfare, immigration sections in platform

We have updated the platform to reflect the welfare bill. The new welfare section is attached. I have also attached the immigration section, which includes a new paragraph discussing efforts to make citizenship easier for eligible immigrants, and a page from the American community section, to which we added a sentence opposing the English-only legislation.

The Platform Committee meets in Pittsburgh on Monday to consider the entire document. Please let us know if you have any changes.

Looking good
but we don't say anything
about allowing families
cut to provide for working families
Put the in section on what
on that is OK -
welfare to be OK -
to be OK -
to be OK -
to be OK -
to be OK -

1 President launched a 24 hour, seven-day, toll-free hotline so women in trouble can find out how
2 to get emergency help, find shelter, and report abuse to the authorities. The number is 1 800
3 799-SAFE. Everyone who knows it should pass it on to anyone who might need it. Every
4 American must take the responsibility to stop this terrible scourge. As we fight it, we must
5 remember that the victims are not to blame. This is a crime to be punished, not a secret to be
6 concealed.

7 We must do everything we can to make sure that the victims of violent crime are treated
8 with the respect and the dignity they deserve. We support the President's call for a constitutional
9 amendment to protect the rights of victims. We believe that when a plea bargain is entered in
10 public, a criminal is sentenced, or a defendant is let out on bail, the victims ought to know about
11 it, and have a say. A constitutional amendment is the only way to protect those rights in every
12 courtroom in America.

13 **Immigration.** Democrats remember that we are a nation of immigrants. We recognize
14 the extraordinary contribution of immigrants to America throughout our history. We welcome
15 legal immigrants to America. We support a legal immigration policy that is pro-family, pro-
16 work, pro-responsibility, and pro-citizenship, and we deplore those who blame immigrants for
17 economic and social problems.

18 We know that citizenship is the cornerstone of full participation in American life. We are
19 proud that the President launched Citizenship USA to help eligible immigrants become United
20 States citizens. The Immigration and Naturalization Service is streamlining procedures, cutting
21 red tape, and using new technology to make it easier for legal immigrants to accept the
22 responsibilities of citizenship and truly call America their home.

23 Today's Democratic Party also believes we must remain a nation of laws. We cannot
24 tolerate illegal immigration and we must stop it. For years before Bill Clinton became President,
25 Washington talked tough but failed to act. In 1992, our borders might as well not have existed.
26 The border was under-patrolled, and what patrols there were, were under-equipped. Drugs
27 flowed freely. Illegal immigration was rampant. Criminal immigrants, deported after
28 committing crimes in America, returned the very next day to commit crimes again.

29 President Clinton is making our border a place where the law is respected and drugs and
30 illegal immigrants are turned away. We have increased the Border Patrol by over 40 percent; in
31 El Paso, our Border Patrol agents are so close together they can see each other. Last year alone,
32 the Clinton Administration removed over 11,000 illegal workers from jobs across the country.
33 Just since January of 1995, we have arrested more than 1,700 criminal aliens and prosecuted
34 them on federal felony charges because they returned to America after having been deported.

35 However, as we work to stop illegal immigration, we call on all Americans to avoid the
36 temptation to use this issue to divide people from each other. We deplore those who use the need
37 to stop illegal immigration as a pretext for discrimination. And we applaud the wisdom of

1 Republicans like Mayor Giuliani and Senator Domenici who oppose the mean-spirited and short-
2 sighted effort of Republicans in Congress to bar the children of illegal immigrants from schools -
3 - it is wrong, and forcing children onto the streets is an invitation for them to join gangs and turn
4 to crime. Democrats want to protect American jobs by increasing criminal and civil sanctions
5 against employers who hire illegal workers, but Republicans continue to favor inflammatory
6 rhetoric over real action. We will continue to enforce labor standards to protect workers in
7 vulnerable industries. We continue to firmly oppose welfare benefits for illegal immigrants. We
8 believe family members who sponsor immigrants into this country should take financial
9 responsibility for them, and be held legally responsible for supporting them.

10 **Welfare reform.** Today's Democratic Party knows there is no greater gap between
11 mainstream American values and modern American government than our failed welfare system.
12 When Bill Clinton became President, the welfare system undermined the very values -- work,
13 family, and personal responsibility -- that it should promote. The welfare system should reflect
14 those values: we want to help people who want to help themselves and their children.

15 Over the past four years, President Clinton has dramatically transformed the welfare
16 system. He has freed 41 states from federal rules and regulations so they can reform their
17 welfare systems. The Clinton Administration has granted 69 waivers -- more than twice as many
18 waivers as granted in the Reagan-Bush years. For 75 percent of all Americans on welfare, the
19 rules have changed for good already, and welfare is becoming what it should be: a second
20 chance, not a way of life. Welfare rolls are finally coming down -- there are 1.3 million fewer
21 people on welfare today than there were when President Clinton took office in January 1993.

22 Now, because of the President's leadership and with the support of a majority of the
23 Democrats in Congress, national welfare reform is going to make work and responsibility the law
24 of the land. Thanks to President Clinton and the Democrats, the new welfare bill includes the
25 health care and child care people need so they can go to work confident their children will be
26 cared for. Thanks to President Clinton and the Democrats, the new welfare bill imposes time
27 limits and real work requirements -- so anyone who can work, does work, and so that no one who
28 can work can stay on welfare forever. Thanks to President Clinton and the Democrats, the new
29 welfare bill cracks down on deadbeat parents and requires minor mothers to live at home with
30 their parents or with another responsible adult.

31 We are proud the President forced Congressional Republicans to abandon their wrong-
32 headed and mean-spirited efforts to punish the poor. Republicans wanted to eliminate the
33 guarantee of health care for the poor, the elderly, and the disabled. They were wrong, and we
34 stopped them. Republicans wanted to destroy the food stamp and school lunch programs that
35 provide basic nutrition to millions of working families and poor children. They were wrong, and
36 we stopped them. Republicans wanted to gut child abuse prevention and foster care. They were
37 wrong, and we stopped them. Republicans wanted to cut off young, unwed mothers -- because
38 they actually thought their children would be better off living in an orphanage. They were dead
39 wrong, and we stopped them. The bill Republicans in Congress passed last year was values-

1 backward -- it was soft on work and tough on children, and we applaud the President for stopping
2 it.

3 We know the new bill passed by Congress is far from perfect -- parts of it should be fixed
4 because they go too far and have nothing to do with welfare reform. Republicans in Congress
5 insisted on using welfare reform as a vehicle to cut off help to legal immigrants. That was
6 wrong. Legal immigrants work hard, pay their taxes, and serve America. It is wrong to single
7 them out for punishment just because they are immigrants. We pledge to make sure that
8 immigrant families with children who fall on hard times through no fault of their own can get
9 help when they need it. And we are committed to continuing the President's efforts to make it
10 easier for legal immigrants who are prepared to accept the responsibilities of citizenship to do so.
11 Republicans also insisted on cuts in nutritional assistance to working families with children that
12 go too far, and we are committed to correcting that.

13 But the new welfare plan gives America an historic chance: to break the cycle of
14 dependency for millions of Americans, and give them a real chance for an independent future.
15 It reflects the principles the President has insisted upon since he started the process that led to
16 welfare reform. Our job now is to make sure this welfare reform plan succeeds, transforming
17 a broken system that holds people down into a working system that lifts people up and gives
18 them a real chance to build a better life.

19 States asked for this responsibility -- now we have to make sure they shoulder it. We
20 must make sure as many people as possible move from welfare to work. We must make sure
21 that children are protected. We challenge states to exempt battered women from time limits
22 and other restrictions. We challenge the business community to provide more of the private
23 sector jobs people on welfare need to build good lives and strong families. We know that
24 passing legislation is not enough; we must make sure people get the skills they need to get jobs,
25 and that there are jobs for them to go to so they leave welfare and stay off. Welfare reform
26 should put more people to work and move them into the economic mainstream, not take jobs
27 away from working families.

28 We call on all Americans to make the most of this opportunity -- never to use welfare
29 reform as an excuse to demonize or demean people, but rather as a chance to bring all our
30 people fully into the mainstream of American life, to have a chance to share in the prosperity
31 and the promise that most of our people are enjoying today.

32 *Child support.* Nobody has the right to walk away from the responsibility to care for his
33 or her children. If you owe child support, paying it fully and promptly is just the first step in
34 living up to your responsibility as a parent. The Clinton Administration has made a determined
35 effort to crack down on deadbeat parents, collecting a record \$11 billion in 1995 through tough
36 enforcement -- almost a 40 percent increase over 1992. President Clinton issued an Executive
37 Order to track down federal workers who fail to pay child support, and force them to pay.
38 President Clinton and Democrats in Congress insisted that the toughest possible child support

1 enforcement be part of the new welfare reform plan -- including the President's plan to deny
2 drivers licenses and professional licenses to people who do not pay their child support. We are
3 telling deadbeats: If you neglect your responsibility to your children, we will suspend your
4 license, garnish your wages, track you down, and make you pay.

5 *Teen pregnancy.* For the first time in years, the teen pregnancy rate has leveled off and
6 begun to drop. But we all know it is still far too high. Government alone cannot solve this
7 problem. That is why President Clinton challenged community, business, and religious leaders
8 together to form a national campaign to keep the teen pregnancy rate going down. And he
9 expanded support for community-based prevention programs that teach abstinence and demand
10 responsibility. We must send the strongest possible signal to young people that it is wrong to get
11 pregnant or father a child until they are married and ready to support that child and raise that
12 child.

13 We also know that half of all underage mothers were made pregnant by a man in his
14 twenties, or even older. Statutory rape is a crime, but unfortunately the laws that protect young
15 women from it are almost never enforced. We echo the President's call to America's
16 prosecutors: Enforce the statutory rape laws vigorously against men who prey on underage
17 women.

18 **Choice.** The Democratic Party stands behind the right of every woman to choose,
19 consistent with *Roe v. Wade*, and regardless of ability to pay. President Clinton took executive
20 action to make sure that the right to make such decisions is protected for all Americans. Over the
21 last four years, we have taken action to end the gag rule and ensure safety at family planning and
22 women's health clinics. We believe it is a fundamental constitutional liberty that individual
23 Americans -- not government -- can best take responsibility for making the most difficult and
24 intensely personal decisions regarding reproduction.

25 The Democratic Party is a party of inclusion. We respect the individual conscience of
26 each American on this difficult issue, and we welcome all our members to participate at every
27 level of our party.

28 Our goal is to make abortion less necessary and more rare, not more difficult and more
29 dangerous. We support contraceptive research, family planning, comprehensive family life
30 education, and policies that support healthy childbearing. For four years in a row, we have
31 increased support for family planning. The abortion rate is dropping. Now we must continue to
32 support efforts to reduce unintended pregnancies, and we call on all Americans to take personal
33 responsibility to meet this important goal.

34 **Reinventing government.** The American people have a right to demand that
35 responsibility is the order of the day in Washington. The mission of today's Democratic Party is
36 to expand opportunity, not bureaucracy. We have worked hard over the last four years to rein in
37 big government, slash burdensome regulations, eliminate wasteful programs, and shift problem-

1 established a special task force to help local communities catch and prosecute those responsible,
2 prevent further arsons, and rebuild their churches. We believe everyone in America should learn
3 English so they can fully share in our daily life, but we strongly oppose divisive efforts like
4 English-only legislation, designed to erect barriers between us and force people away from the
5 culture and heritage of which they are rightly proud. We must remember we do not have an
6 American to waste. We continue to lead the fight to end discrimination on the basis of race,
7 gender, religion, age, ethnicity, disability, and sexual orientation. The Democratic Party has
8 always supported the Equal Rights Amendment, and we are committed to ensuring full equality
9 for women and to vigorously enforce the Americans with Disabilities Act. We support continued
10 efforts, like the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, to end discrimination against gay men and
11 lesbians and further their full inclusion in the life of the nation.

12 Over the last four years, President Clinton and the Democrats have worked aggressively
13 to enforce the letter and spirit of civil rights law. The President and Vice President remain
14 committed to an Administration that looks like America, and we are proud of the
15 Administration's extraordinary judicial appointments -- they are both more diverse and more
16 qualified than any previous Administration. We know there is still more we can do to ensure
17 equal opportunity for all Americans, so all people willing to work hard can build a strong future.
18 President Clinton has led the way in reforming affirmative action so that it works, it is improved,
19 and promotes opportunity, but does not accidentally hold others back in the process. When it
20 comes to affirmative action, we should mend it, not end it.

21 *Religious freedom.* Today's Democratic Party understands that all Americans have a
22 right to express their faith. The Constitution prohibits the state establishment of religion, and it
23 protects the free exercise of religion. The President fought for and signed the Religious Freedom
24 Restoration Act, to reaffirm the great protection the Constitution gives to religious expression,
25 and to recognize the historic role people of faith have played in America. Americans have a right
26 to express their love of God in public, and we applaud the President's work to ensure that
27 children are not denied private religious expression in school. Whenever the religious rights of
28 our children -- or any American -- are threatened, we will stand against it.

29 *Responsibility to our community and our country.* Today's Democratic Party believes
30 every American has a duty and a responsibility to give something back to their community and
31 their country. In the past three years, 45,000 Americans have performed national service as part
32 of the AmeriCorps program President Clinton and the Democrats fought so hard to create -- and
33 we commend Senator Grassley and other Republicans who joined a bipartisan effort to preserve
34 AmeriCorps when Speaker Gingrich's House tried to kill it.

35 We applaud the American spirit of voluntarism and charity. As we balance the budget,
36 we must work even harder in our own lives to live up to the duties we owe one another. We
37 must shrink the government, but we cannot shrink from our challenges. We believe every school
38 and college in America should make service a part of its basic ethic, and we want to expand
39 national service by helping communities give scholarships to high school students for

96 AUG 2 P12:14

cc Tony
cc Paul
Stoff
Kash
Grey
D. Jeffrey Hirschberg
Vice Chairman

Fax and Hand Deliver

July 31, 1996

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for the chat on Monday, July 29. There are two items which may be of interest to you. Peter Kelly and I will be in Angola from Wednesday, August 7, to Wednesday, August 14. I will be discussing economic development issues with my Luanda office and meeting with Ambassador Steinberg; then traveling with Peter to Bailundo to observe and discuss various issues with Jonas Zavimbi and his UNITA compatriots. If there is anything you would like to share with Dr. Zavimbi, please let me know.

Also, after the January meeting of the Council of Europe and admission of the Russians to the Council, we urged the upgrading of our diplomatic representative to ambassadorial rank. While it is my understanding that Ambassador Harriman has been given responsibilities to the Council, it is still our belief that a separate ambassador ought to be appointed.

If you would like to discuss either of these matters, please let me know. Thanks again for the talk.

Best Regards, *Send to WSC for Action?*

[Signature]

8-2-96
Yes
No

C.

Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

July 31, 1996

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

This past Monday, your White House Counsel wrote to a House Subcommittee on Government Reform and Oversight that he was unable to consider releasing the names of the 200,000 Americans whom you keep in your White House "Big Brother" Database. He wrote that he was "too busy" helping you draft legislation that would give you sweeping new powers, including the power to order secret wire taps on American citizens without court approval.

We strongly support efforts to protect American citizens against foreign and domestic terrorist attacks. However, we find it extremely difficult to grant you additional powers that can be used against innocent Americans, such as secret wire taps without court authority, given your record of abuse of the civil liberties of Americans.

FBI files. For over a year, your White House has sought and maintained at least 700 to 1,000 files from the FBI containing personal, sensitive background information on your political opponents and continues to withhold information from Congress on this matter. Any legislation that is passed must guarantee that such abuses and possible illegal uses of FBI files can never occur in the White House again.

White House Big Brother Database. You have refused three requests to release the names of the 200,000 Americans on whom you keep computer files in the White House Big Brother Database. Before any serious consideration can be given to granting you additional powers to conduct wire taps of American citizens and to other requests in your anti-terrorist bill, we insist that you release all the data you maintain on the 200,000 Americans in the Big Brother Database.

We all strongly support efforts by the law enforcement community to do everything possible to fight terrorism at home and abroad. However, in order to fulfill our oath to uphold the Constitution, we must protect the civil liberties of innocent Americans. Your actions in bringing improper FBI files into your White House and failing to release the names of 200,000 Americans in the Big Brother Database, indicate that you cannot be trusted to protect the civil liberties of Americans. In order to ensure that Congress can protect the rights of all Americans and make them secure from terrorism, we urge you to immediately reverse your course and allow complete and unrestricted access by Congress to all information relating to the FBI files and Big Brother Database investigations.

Sincerely,

David M. Lipton

Greg Richmond

[Signature]

[Signature]

. 96 Aug 3 A 8:

Maureen Lewis

LEADERS

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

MARKING INITIALS: ML DATE: 9/14/14 8 July 1996

2019-0777-5

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

The President of the United States of America
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

*To
Maureen
Lewis
for Reply
✓ yes — NO*

Dear Mr. President:

In case they're picking on you and you need a laugh, turn to page 170 and I think you'll find one.

Cordially yours,



HENRY O. DORMANN
Chairman & Editor-in-Chief

P.S. Thanks for the autographed photo. I look a lot better in a suit but you probably look like the picture from the neck down. Ho ho ho!

1209 Geranium Street NW
Washington, DC 20012
July 30, 1996

Key Sec?

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20500-2000

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate
the reply.

Dear President Clinton:

We were disheartened to hear Leon Panetta's misinformed comments about the proposed D.C. Economic Recovery Act (DCERA), introduced by the District's non-voting delegate, Eleanor Holmes Norton. Mr. Panetta expressed the concern that a tax cut for District residents would not be fair, in that it would not be available to other distressed urban areas. We would point out that, to the contrary, the DCERA is precisely about fairness and this nation's overdue debt to the citizens of the District of Columbia.

Which other "distressed urban area" in this country continues to live under the circumstances that prompted our revolution 220 years ago, namely, taxation without representation? Which other city, large or small, does not have a state capital to turn to for support of certain of its activities, such as health care, prisons, and access to higher education? And which other city in this country, the world's democratic ideal, must get congressional approval before spending even a penny of its locally raised tax monies? The answer, of course, is none: there are no other American cities faced with the same burdens or lack of democratic guarantees as is Washington, D.C.

If the DCERA is not fair, it is only because, as our forefathers said, there should be NO taxation without representation, not merely lower taxes. But no one is asking for a complete elimination of our tax burden. We are, however, asking for what is fair in light of our unique situation. We would hope that your administration, rather than turning a blind eye to this city's problems, would be anxious to lend a hand. Surely you must agree that the status quo is unacceptable given our nation's commitment to democracy around the globe.

Our nation's capital and its residents are in desperate need of a fix, and we have not heard of any attempts by your administration to address that issue. If not the DCERA, what would you propose in its place? Other plausible remedies (such as retrocession to Maryland) have been discussed, but Mr. Panetta did not even suggest one of them as a worthwhile alternative. His outright dismissal of the one serious proposal already on the table suggests a total disregard for the District and its citizens. Is our only option to turn to a Republican Congress for relief--unless that's what Mr. Panetta is telling us to do with our votes as well.

Sincerely,

Deborah M. Thomas *Ralph A. Blessing*

Deborah M. Thomas
Ralph A. Blessing

cc: Mr. Leon Panetta
Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton

FAX

Date: 8/3/96
 Number of pages including cover sheet: 4

To: President Clinton

 Phone: _____
 Fax phone: _____
 CC: _____

From: Cardinal Law

 Phone: 617-782-2544
 Fax phone: 617-782-8358

REMARKS: Urgent For your review Reply ASAP Please comment

JIM DORSKIND:
 Please coordinate
 the reply.

copy to Todd



CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE
2101 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE
BRIGHTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02135

August 3, 1996

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

As you can see by the enclosed statement I have made a suggestion that a bi-partisan effort is needed to develop legislation which would ensure a legitimate reform of the welfare system.

No one can argue that the system as we know it cannot be perfected. The new legislation, however, is not authentic reform, but it is a formula for disaster.

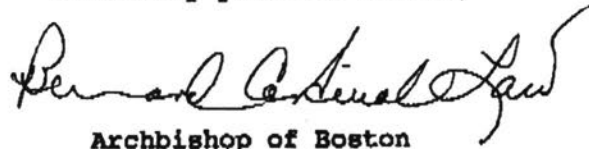
I would urge you even at this late hour to reconsider your declared intention to sign into law the Welfare Reform Bill.

While this may not be the best political advice in the short run, I have no doubt but that it is the only correct moral option before you. Could you not invite a bi-partisan effort to develop a national consensus on this issue?

Like foreign policy, the national interest demands that this issue not be held hostage by partisan concerns.

With an assurance of my prayers for you and all whom you hold dear, I am

Sincerely yours in Christ,


Archbishop of Boston

STATEMENT OF HIS EMINENCE, BERNARD CARDINAL LAW

ON WELFARE REFORM

AUGUST 2, 1996

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The news of Congress' action on Welfare Reform and the President's decision to sign such fatally flawed legislation is distressing to all who care about the most vulnerable among us: poor children born and unborn, their families, and newcomers to our shores.

The leadership of the Catholic Church has steadfastly opposed some elements of the Congressional welfare reform bill. Bishops of the United States, both through statements of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and through statements of individual Bishops, have consistently voiced concerns about this legislation. We cannot support the abandonment of the poorest of our children and families; we cannot support the discriminatory treatment of needy legal immigrants.

As Chairman of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops' Committee on Pro-Life Activities, I wish to highlight an additional concern of the U.S. Bishops: we have always opposed child exclusion and family cap measures and successfully urged Congress to reject the mandatory imposition of such policies. However, we remain strongly opposed to states exercising their option to exclude children because of the age or welfare status of their mothers. We deplore the loss

of life that would ensue from increased abortions due to the allowance of child exclusion clauses in the states' implementation of this Federal legislation. We deplore the loss of life opportunities to those children born into households suffering from increased poverty as a result of such measures.

The cooperation of our two major political parties on this issue and the President's declared intention to sign such legislation, suggests that Welfare Reform is solidly on the political radar screen of our national leaders. Even at this eleventh hour, I call on the President and Congressional leaders of both parties to commit themselves to a bipartisan approach to Welfare Reform that is founded on the inalienable rights and dignity of every human being. If the present course is maintained, no authentic reform will be achieved. There will only be short-term political gains at the expense of the most vulnerable. Ultimately, the nation will be the loser.

Bernard Cardinal Law

Chairman, Committee for Pro-Life Activities

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-31-96

It is important
to reply to these after
we see the bill and
a final decision
is made →

BC

JIM DORSKIND:
Please coordinate
the reply.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-31-96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

96 JUL 30 PM 2:17

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

July 30, 1996

Dear Mr. President,

I know that you are facing one of the most difficult political and policy decisions of your first term on whether to sign or veto the welfare reform bill. As your national economic adviser, I feel compelled to share my views with you.

I believe there are several economic reasons why you should veto the bill. First, the deep cuts in the food stamp program and the conversion of the AFDC guarantee into a bloc grant with a clearly inadequate contingency fund will reduce the automatic stabilizers that the economy relies upon to moderate the personal and national costs of unforeseen economic slowdowns and recessions. I wish I could promise you that our economic policy has made recessions obsolete, but truth in advertising tells me I cannot. Second, economic logic indicates that a bloc grant approach to AFDC with an inadequate maintenance of effort provision will gradually but inexorably cause a race to the bottom among states, even those whose populations might otherwise be inclined to support more generous provisions for their poor. Thus, the long-run implications of this bill for those who are today eligible for AFDC are considerably worse than the short-run implications. Third, the United States already enjoys the scurrilous distinction of having the largest fraction of its children living in poverty, and children who are poor in the United States are actually poorer than their counterparts in the other advanced industrial countries. How can we support legislation that threatens to increase the number of children living in poverty by more than 1 million according to the Urban Institute (upon which this Administration has relied for much of its own analytical work on health and welfare)?

*
* { The moral arguments against signing legislation that threatens the physical and mental well-being of more than a million helpless, young, innocent Americans are strong enough. But there is also a powerful economic argument. A 1995 study by a group of economists chaired by Robert Solow examined the effects of childhood poverty on an individual's future productivity and living standards. The study concluded that childhood poverty itself, as distinct from such factors as family structure, race, and parental education, has a significant adverse effect on both the educational attainment and the future wages of the nation's poor children. The study found that children who experience poverty between the ages of 6 and 15 years are two to three times more likely than those who are never poor to become high-school dropouts. Using years of schooling as a predictor of future hourly wages, the study concluded that just 1 year of poverty for the 14.6 million children and their families in

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Sec. 3.2(C) Initials: OB Date: 7/18/96
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poverty in 1992 costs the economy somewhere between \$36 billion and \$177 billion in reduced future productivity and employment. These results indicate that a bill that saves \$60 billion by throwing a million more children into poverty will exact a serious offsetting cost in terms of lower productivity in the future, not to mention more blighted personal lives. Nor, as the CBO itself has documented, does the bill provide adequate money to support its own welfare to work requirements. Instead, to the extent that those who lose welfare are lucky enough to find a job, a likely result will be downward wage pressure on whatever low-income, low-skill jobs are available.

X (Moreover, the huge cuts in the food stamp program in the welfare bill threaten to undermine our commitment to provide an above-poverty living standard to any American family with one full-time employed worker through a combination of a higher minimum wage, an expanded EITC, and food stamp eligibility. Much of what we have won through the EITC and a hike in the minimum wage will be lost as a result of these unnecessarily large food stamp cuts. Finally, cutting \$60 billion out of our most important low income budgetary programs will exacerbate one of our nation's most glaring economic problems -- the widening income disparities between the rich and the poor and the decline in real incomes for the poorest over the past 20 years.

I regret that the economic team was not able to play a larger role in the Administration's evolving position on welfare. I believe that if we had you might find yourself confronted with a more palatable choice today. I hope the economic arguments I have provided here will help you make your decision. I have also taken the liberty to work with Alicia Munnell of the CEA to solicit a few letters on welfare reform to you from outstanding economists with whom the Administration has worked closely on a variety of issues. Attached you will find letters from Charlie Schultze, Henry Aaron, and Robert Solow, all urging you to veto the welfare reform bill.

Jam



July 29, 1996

The Honorable William Clinton
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

I always seek to share my about to be expressed public views with your staff and with you before I release them. Therefore, I enclose my statement on the pending anti-child Senate and House "welfare reform" legislation for your information. I hope you will veto it.

I request a five minute meeting with you today or Wednesday or before you decide whether or not to sign any pending "welfare reform" bill.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Marian Wright Edelman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Monday, July 29, 1996

Contact: Sarah Howe 202-662-3609
Lisa McDougal 202-662-3615

**SENATE AND HOUSE WELFARE BILLS A FRAUD ON AMERICAN PEOPLE
& POLITICAL CHILD ABUSE**

Edelman Urges Presidential Veto of Social Time Bomb

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- The following statement was issued today by Children's Defense Fund President Marian Wright Edelman during a news conference at the National Press Club:

"Calling the pending Senate and House legislation 'welfare reform' is like calling ketchup a vegetable. Unlike ketchup, the massive harm these so-called 'welfare reform' bills will inflict on poor, hungry, and disabled children and those at risk of domestic violence is life threatening and permanent for the many children they will leave behind in hunger and poverty.

"These pernicious Senate and House welfare bills are social and political time bombs that will explode in families, schools, neighborhoods, and cities all over America for years and decades to come. If enacted, they will leave a moral hole in the soul of America that can never be repaired.

"As an American, as a parent, as a child advocate, and as a person of faith, I am ashamed that I and my colleagues have to hold a press conference urging any of our political leaders from any party -- in the Congress or in the White House -- to reject legislation they know will hurt children. What kind of political leaders hold children hostage in an election year game of political chicken to see who will blink first in enacting reform that will hurt millions of poor and disabled children, working families, and legal immigrants?

"What kind of leaders would vote for a welfare bill that will throw another 2.6 million families, including 1.1 million children into poverty and further impoverish millions more already poor children and families in the richest nation on earth? What kind of political leaders would vote to eradicate a 61-year-old national safety net for children, permit states to decrease their own child investments by at least 20 percent, cut \$60 billion from poor families -- the majority of whom work and are struggling to make ends meet -- and from legal immigrants, while not cutting a dime from corporate welfare recipients, affluent individuals, or Pentagon fat?

-more-

Welfare/Page 2

"What kind of leaders would deny benefits to more than 300,000 disabled children and as many as 350,000 legal immigrant children and cut food benefits for 14 million children? What kind of political leaders would propose to take away an average of \$1300 from low-income families while considering new tax breaks for non-poor families and corporations?

"What kind of leaders would talk about putting people to work while guaranteeing not a single new job, and without assuring adequate child care for all the parents they require to work? What kind of leaders would deny millions of children survival assistance, even diapers, after their parents are cut off from all income assistance as millions will be under Senate and House bills?

"The American people ought to ask their leaders to cite the biblical and American principles of justice that would justify turning the needy into the greedy and the greedy into the needy official national policy.

"The President of the United States rightly has twice vetoed false welfare reform bills that hurt children. Moral and political consistency require him to veto current Senate and House bills which would hurt millions of children. At McClellan Air Force Base, California on July 23, the President said, "I just don't want to do anything that hurts children." That same day in Sacramento he said, "We want real welfare reform . . . that honors work and protects children." And so do we. We are committed to working with the Congress and with the Administration on real welfare reform that protects children, puts parents in training and into work after the election year games are over.

"Since the last anti-child welfare reform bill was vetoed by the President on January 9, 488,227 American children have been born into poverty and 5,230 children have died from poverty. It is unconscionable that Congress and President Clinton would knowingly exacerbate this indefensible and largely preventable poverty by making millions more children poor, hungry, and homeless.

"Albert Camus said in 1948, "perhaps we cannot prevent this from being a world in which children are tortured. But we can reduce the number of tortured children." Perhaps we cannot end child poverty this year, but we can surely keep more children from becoming poor by rejecting unjust legislation.

"If America cannot stand up for, protect and invest in its children, it does not stand for anything and will not stand strong in the new century and millennium. The infants and toddlers and school-age children whose lives will be stunted by this false 'welfare reform' legislation deserve more from their nation. I hope the Congress and the President of the United States will give our children what they deserve -- freedom from hunger, poverty, neglect and abuse."

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT**From:** RBR *Bob***Date:** July 26, 1996**Re:** House and Senate welfare bills

You are probably getting more advice on this than you want or need, but I'd be remiss if I didn't weigh in.

I profess no expertise in welfare policy, but I am concerned about two aspects of the bills which would affect the unemployed. First, the lack of any mandatory job training funds for welfare recipients (by contrast to the \$1 billion per year mandated for job training under the current JOBS program) would almost certainly cause states to turn to the very limited discretionary funding available for low-income and dislocated workers (now totaling about \$2 billion).

Secondly, the constraints on food stamp assistance would impose severe hardships on childless workers who have lost their jobs. (The House Bill would limit food stamp assistance to three months in an entire lifetime; the Senate bill, to a few months per year.)

You know better than I what the politics of all this are. But were you to veto the bill, I believe that a number of Democrats who voted in favor would support you.

Your comfortable lead in the polls cannot be taken for granted, of course, but I do not think you stand to lose much by holding out for a better bill. Every time you have taken a stand on principle you have come out ahead.



The Brookings Institution

1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036-2188

Economic Studies Program

Charles L. Schultze
Tel: (202) 797-6295

Fax: (202) 797-6181

E-Mail: cschultze@brook.edu

July 29, 1996

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Only unthinking partisans will fail to recognize the difficult decision you face on both substantive and political grounds in determining whether to veto the welfare bill. Nevertheless, I think the long-run good of the country strongly calls for a veto, even if the Congress sends you legislation closer to the Senate than the House version. Two aspects of the bills are particularly harmful:

- Both bills fail to provide the substantial sums necessary to make sure that during the difficult transition to a tougher welfare system, the new work requirements and benefit terminations do not substantially increase the number of poor families and children.
- Over the long run, the conversion of AFDC and possibly food stamps to block grants, and the accompanying elimination of a federally-supported individual eligibility standard, will have the pernicious and unintended effect of driving public assistance to the poor well below what a large majority of Americans would be willing to support.

I agree with the need to set rigorous work standards for welfare recipients and to introduce a very tough-minded policy against open-ended support for the formation of single-parent families with illegitimate children. But the federal government should then provide a major share of the large additional sums needed to make sure that these reforms occur without adding, as the present bills will do, another 1 million or more children to the rolls of the poor.

Block grants and devolution of many current federal responsibilities to the states make eminent good sense. But the one function that ought *not* to be devolved to the states is the full responsibility for determining the overall level of financial support for the poor (although, as you have already demonstrated, states can be given much more responsibility for program content).

To the extent that some states attempt to maintain a decent safety net while others skimp -- in order to attract industry, and to minimize the number of "tax eating" poor -- the taxpayers in the more generous states will be forced to pay twice: First they pay the direct costs of assistance to the poor, and second, they are saddled with the additional tax rates that are needed as the poor move in while industry and middle- and upper-income taxpayers move out. Over the long run no feasible maintenance of effort provisions will prevent this outcome -- certainly not those in the current welfare bills. And so, decent middle- and upper-income Americans and responsible state governments, who would be perfectly willing to pay the costs of a reasonable safety net, will gradually be forced into scaling back their support for the poor.

I realize, Mr. President, that with respect to the AFDC program you have not raised the objection to block grants that I spelled out above, so that you cannot veto the bill on that explicit ground. Nevertheless the other objectionable parts in the bill you will receive provide a substantive and politically saleable rationale for a veto. And to the specific arguments of those among your advisers who are recommending a veto, I would add the serious long-run dangers to American society that would ensue if, unlike virtually every other advanced nation, we abandoned the framework of a nationally-determined safety net for the country's poor.

I wish you every success, but particularly over the next four months.

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Charles L. Schultze". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large initial "C".

Charles L. Schultze
Senior Fellow

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02139-4307

29 July 1996

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I realize that your decision whether to sign or veto the Welfare Reform Bill has all sorts of delicate and complex political consequences. And I know that every possible argument for and against specific provisions of the Senate bill has already been laid out for you. Nevertheless, I want to take a page to urge you to veto the bill, from a perspective that may not have been emphasized very much.

We both start from the belief that transforming welfare into work is important for the self-respect of the participants as well as for the comfort of society at large. That is the goal you had in mind when you first embraced welfare reform and it is still the right goal. All of the evidence tells us that it is a very difficult goal to achieve, especially at a time when the earning power of unskilled men and women who are lucky enough to hold jobs is decreasing. Cutting off AFDC payments will not automatically cause jobs to appear for those forced off the welfare rolls. A more likely result will be even lower wages for whatever jobs are available. The current bill is clearly inadequate in its approach to the provision of training for jobs to make the transition possible. Administering a work-welfare program with even a minimum of humanity and competence will be neither simple nor cheap.

To go at this in a mean-spirited and ham-handed way is simply not decent, and it may end up by discrediting the concept of welfare reform. No one has asserted more clearly than you that the costs of this punitive approach will fall very heavily on children. That is evil in itself, and it will have the effect of prolonging the existence of a hopeless underclass for another generation.

Precisely because transforming welfare into work is so difficult to do well, we will have to learn as we go along, with some turmoil in the process. That is the worst time in the world to be further shredding the safety net under poor children. I hope you will decide not to go along with that, and will be able to make people understand that your position rests both on analysis and on decency.

This is being written on a clear, beautiful day on the Vineyard. Wish you were here.

Sincerely,



Robert M. Solow

The Brookings Institution

1775 Massachusetts Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Phone (202) 797-6128 FAX (202) 797-6181

26 July 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to urge you to speak out strongly against Congressional approval of the welfare reform legislation that now appears likely to emerge from the House-Senate conference and then to veto the resulting bill.

X (The bills passed by both House and Senate grotesquely distort the goals you set for welfare reform four years ago. You called for reforms that would provide strong incentives to welfare recipients to find productive work and that would provide states with the flexibility and the means to effectuate those incentives. You presented such draft legislation to Congress. You have used waiver authority--ahead of legislative action--to provide states with much of the flexibility they need to implement desirable reforms

In contrast to the House and Senate bills, your draft legislation would not have plunged more than one million children--and more than 2-1/2 million people overall--into poverty. Your bill lowered the poverty income gap, while the current bills increase it dramatically--by as much as \$4 billion or 20 percent.

Your proposals did not slash per person food stamp benefits by more than one-fifth over the next six years--to a meager 66 cents per meal, or terminate benefits altogether for able-bodied adults who are willing and able to work.

Your proposal did not relieve states of any obligation to provide benefits to children, even if the child's parents were poor, met all state eligibility requirements, and were willing to work.

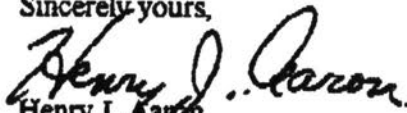
Your proposal did not make a mockery of the work requirement it imposed, as the House and Senate bills do, by denying states the resources they need to fulfill those bills' own work requirements.

Your bill did not treat legal immigrants as pariahs, as the current bill does by denying Medicaid benefits for as long as ten years.

The current bills now being reconciled in conference are, in most important respects, far more draconian than the earlier bill that you quite properly vetoed. I have studied welfare policy for a long time--long enough to know that the status quo is not acceptable--but also long enough to know that the bill now taking shape in conference is a programmatic disaster waiting to happen.

I understand that the political pressures are powerful to approve the bill that emerges from the conference committee. I also realize that I have few credentials as an expert on politics. But I strongly believe that by taking a firm and public position against the bill now emerging from Congress, you can recapture welfare reform as a major political asset. Your veto will be sustained if you make clear to wavering Democrats in a major public statement that you cannot support the legislation emerging from the Conference committee. Doing so in a prime-time news conference or a televised address would make it difficult for Democratic members of Congress to desert their president during an election year. Through such a venue, you can make clear to the American public that you initiated the debate on welfare reform because you fully appreciate that the current system cannot and should not continue as it is and that you have used waiver authority to enable constructive state reforms. You can reiterate that you stand ready to sign constructive legislation, but that reform should be compassionate and far-sighted, not mean-spirited and myopic. And you can make clear that on these principles you will not be moved.

Sincerely yours,


Henry J. Aaron
Senior Fellow

via facsimile

Memorandum to the President

July 30, 1996

From: Al From

Subject: Welfare Reform

Just a quick note to urge you to sign the welfare reform bill and to commit to you that I will do all I can to rally support of that decision. A couple of things for you to consider:

1. You have presided over an historic ideological transformation of the Democratic Party. Over the weekend, I read the party's platforms from 1980 through 1996. The change in our party's message is far greater than even I realized. We are truly a New Democratic party. You deserve enormous credit for that.
2. The challenge before us is now operational. We must demonstrate the ability to put the big ideas of this new ideology -- like ending welfare as we know it -- into action. The pressure you are getting to veto this bill proves that it will not be easy.
3. For you personally signing a welfare bill -- and Bruce Reed assures me this is one you can comfortably sign -- will not only cement your credentials as a New Democrat, but it will also end once and for all any talk of you campaigning one way and governing another.
4. Finally, signing this welfare bill will redeem your most important promise of 1992. At the same time, it will take Dole's most powerful potential issue away from him. Veto a third welfare bill -- and no matter the explanation -- Dole has an issue.

For those reasons and others, I hope you will sign this welfare bill.

() Crime Prevention Council as a leader among retailers in crime deterrence, store personnel, and consumer safety.

() Trudy Lieberman piece in Columbia Journalism Review, "Bartley's Believe it or Not! The Wall Street Journal's editorial page has plenty of clout. But what about credibility?" Via Harold. The article examines editorials on the judicial nominations of Bruce Greer and Peter Edelman among others.

(F) Two Joe Conason pieces from The New York Observer, "The Ghost of Nixon Still Haunts Safire," and "Character Questions? Dole Them Out!" Via Harold. One article addresses Safire's "ceaseless effort to trivialize Watergate," and the other asks a number of ethical questions about former Senator Dole and his campaign.

(G) Rep. Murtha forwards remarks of Mrs. Carmen Gordon at the naming ceremony for the USNS Gordon. "Please see the remarks made by Mrs. Gordon... her husband, Congressional Medal of Honor, killed in action, Somalia."

We also received the following items:

McLarty note on Bill Bowen's suggestion re: the University of Arkansas at Little Rock Law School. Bowen discussed with you last Friday after the radio address the possibility of naming the school the William Jefferson Clinton School of Law. He also has asked Mack about this on several occasions, and Mack seeks your guidance on how to respond.

McCurry memo on Ohio Commerce grant. The radio actuality you recorded on July 26 "received extensive play." In addition, the Commerce Department faxed a media advisory regarding the \$1 million grant to all newspapers, radio and TV stations in the state.

Sen. Hatfield letter thanking you for attending his retirement party. "Your more than generous comments touched my heart and caused me to re-dedicate my remaining lifetime to living out your evaluation and prov[ing] you to be correct."

CS

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w/ Mack
used - story

Plus file



United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D. C.

96 JUN 22 PM 52

7/19/96

Dear Mr. President:

How could I ever fully & adequately express my gratitude for your appearance at my dinner last night? The afternoon in reflection is as wonderful as the excitement of your arrival -

Your more than generous comments touched my heart & caused me to re-dedicate my remaining lifetime to living out your evaluation & prove you to be correct.

Warmest regards - Mark

8-5-96

(F) Joe Conason column from The New York Observer. From Harold. Titled "In Waffle War, Bill Runs Second" and points out the flip-flops in Sen. Dole's record. "...Mr. Dole can engage in the most tortured gyrations on abortion, gun control and supply-side tax cuts without any pundit denouncing his comical acrobatics as proof on an innate deceptiveness." Tony Campolo is favorably quoted on the incident following Ron Brown's memorial service.

cc: Bill / Moore / GS

Dole NY Observer 7/10/96

To: The President FYI Hand

JOE CONASON

96 JUL 29 P 6 : 50

In Waffle War, Bill Runs Second

If I asked you to pick a politician who changes his positions on important matters almost weekly, whose name would spring most swiftly to mind?

Almost without thinking, but perhaps with a slight sneer, nearly anyone who watches television or reads newspapers would reply "Bill Clinton." So ubiquitous is this assessment of the President that regardless of party identification or even candidate preference, the answer would be the same. At the moment, however, the correct answer to this query is Bob Dole, who has lately twisted himself into a humiliated knot and seems likely to remain in that uncomfortable posture.

Having prostrated himself before the religious right, he will soon kneel before the supply-siders he has so long despised when he unveils his tax-cutting economic program. Yet in the received political lexicon, he predictably will remain a figure of granite integrity.

The creation and repetition of simplistic images seems to be about as much as most of our political analysts can manage. Media caricatures of politicians usually do possess some factual foundation; Bill Clinton certainly has abandoned principles he once articulated passionately, such as the struggle for human rights in China. He has remained steadfast on others, including reproductive rights for American women.

But information that doesn't support the conventional wisdom—which better deserves to be known as the conventional idiocy—is rarely permitted to upset established clichés. Thus Mr. Dole can engage in the most tortured gyrations on abortion, gun control and supply-side tax cuts, without any pundit denouncing his comical acrobatics as proof of an innate deceptiveness. And Mr. Clinton can risk denunciation as a baby-killer, in order to protect women at risk if partial-birth abortions were banned, without winning any credit for steadfastness.

The truth evidently too obvious to occur to purveyors of the conventional idiocy is that both candidates are veteran players of this game, and that each sometimes has displayed a capacity for discarding policies and positions that became ... inconvenient. Such distasteful opportunism is best exercised imperceptibly, like the movements of a three-card monte shark. Mr. Dole's problem of late has been a persistent clumsiness. His wise reversal on the assault-weapons ban was ruined by his loud insistence that he still opposes the law but no longer thinks it should be repealed. What exactly does that mean?

Still more ridiculous was his wrangling with the religious right over the abortion plank in the Republican platform. On July 14, *The New York*



BOB DOLE

Times Magazine published an acute article by Jason DeParle about Mr. Dole's courting of Christian conservatives, including a brief history of his "tolerance" trope's migrations from one section of the platform to another and back again. In the magazine piece, Mr. Dole is quoted to the effect that "tolerance language" would appear in the abortion plank, not the platform preamble: "It has been resolved. I made that decision. It is not negotiable." On Saturday, July 13, the same paper's front page revealed that this version already was outdated. Under pressure from the likes of Pat Robertson, granite turned to jelly. Mr. Dole had retreated once more to the preamble. He has time to change his mind a few more times before the G.O.P. convention next month.

While Mr. Dole has been kicked around for his cringing indecision—even A.D. Amato put the boot in the other day—no one has intimated that this episode demonstrates a deep and abiding character flaw. Maybe it doesn't. But Mr. Clinton's reputation has never recovered from similarly craven behavior over the issue of gays in the military during his first months in office.

Indeed, all kinds of minor events since then have been interpreted as indicative of his untrustworthiness and dissembling.

An illustrative case is the famous video clip shot after a memorial service for Ron Brown, in which the President laughed one moment and cried the next. Everyone from Rush Limbaugh to Maureen Dowd seized upon this tape as fresh evidence of Mr. Clinton's phoniness. He wasn't even truly saddened by the death of a close friend, they scolded. Pretty shocking, eh?

Well, nobody questioned the gentleman talking with the President at the moment when he seemed to laugh inappropriately, who happens to be a Pennsylvania evangelist and academic named Tony Campolo. But in a column he wrote this month for a Pittsburgh Christian monthly, Mr. Campolo explains that as they walked from St. John's Chapel back toward the White House, he had mentioned a certain gospel song to his distraught companion. The President had recalled hearing that same song once at a funeral for a young black man, and described how its hopeful words had suddenly changed the mood of the service "from despair to celebration, and people were on their feet celebrating the resurrection."

"As the President told me the story," Mr. Campolo continues, "we laughed together, but then quickly returned to the ugly sadness immediately at hand. Television cameras caught these sudden mood changes in the President. Then in the days that followed, Rush Limbaugh aired that video footage and used what was seen, but not heard, as evidence of the President's insincerity ... I do not expect the world at large to understand how some of us can laugh in the face of sorrow. But I would like to think that Christians could, since that is exactly what the Gospel makes possible."

Mr. Campolo says he was surprised that no one ever asked him what really occurred that day. What he didn't realize was that no one—least of all those who call themselves journalists—needed to ask. They all knew what it meant before it even happened.

Critics made a tape of Ron Brown's funeral an example of President Clinton's phoniness. But the evangelist with him explains.

(C) Crime Prevention Council as a leader among retailers in crime deterrence, store personnel, and consumer safety.

(D) Trudy Lieberman piece in Columbia Journalism Review, "Bartley's Believe it or Not! The Wall Street Journal's editorial page has plenty of clout. But what about credibility?" Via Harold. The article examines editorials on the judicial nominations of Bruce Greer and Peter Edelman among others.

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We also received the following items:

(G) **McLarty note on Bill Bowen's suggestion re: the University of Arkansas at Little Rock Law School.** Bowen discussed with you last Friday after the radio address the possibility of naming the school the William Jefferson Clinton School of Law. He also has asked Mack about this on several occasions, and Mack seeks your guidance on how to respond.

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(I) **Sen. Hatfield letter thanking you for attending his retirement party.** "Your more than generous comments touched my heart and caused me to re-dedicate my remaining lifetime to living out your evaluation and prov[ing] you to be correct."

File
Memo to Mack
w/ Wash Post
Week - 8/10/94

Plus file

P To: the President
7/27/96 7/5 Hand

BARTLEY'S

THE PRESIDENT HAS SE
8-5-96

BELIEVE IT OR NOT!

* * *

The Wall Street Journal's *editorial page has plenty of clout. But what about credibility?*

by Trudy Lieberman



Robert Bartley has been at the Journal since 1962 and in charge of opinion there since 1972. He won a Pulitzer for editorial writing in 1980.

On February 8, *The Wall Street Journal* published a lengthy editorial called "The Clinton Judges," arguing that a Miami corporate litigator, Bruce Greer, should not get a seat on the federal bench. Although he had been recommended in 1993 by Senator Bob Graham, a Florida Democrat, and officially nominated in 1995, confirmation hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee kept being postponed — from December to January and then to mid-February, the week after the *Journal* editorial appeared.

Greer's deficiencies, as laid out in the *Journal*,

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARY COLEBAUM

Trudy Lieberman is a contributing editor of *CJR*. She is senior investigative editor at Consumer Reports. This article reflects her conclusions, not those of Consumer Reports. Free-lance writer Morton Mintz, former investigative reporter for *The Washington Post*, proposed this project and provided substantial research assistance.

centered on a lot of guilt by association, some of it pretty remote:

- A partner in Greer's law firm had committed suicide some eleven years ago when it was discovered that his client's securities firm had engaged in a massive fraud.
 - The law firm had once employed "radical feminist lawyer Patricia Ireland and Jack Ryan, until recently acting head of the Resolution Trust Corp." and onetime head of banking supervision and regulation at the Federal Reserve, whom the editorial linked to "one of the unanswered questions of the Whitewater probe."
 - One of Greer's clients had been David Paul, chairman of the CenTrust Savings Bank, which collapsed shortly after the savings and loan crisis, who went to prison and was ordered to pay \$65 million for "looting CenTrust."
- The editorial then moved on to Greer's wife, an attorney and real estate developer. "The \$12 million in assets Mr. Greer and his lawyer wife list on

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The page is stylish, clearly written, rarely dull, and often fun to read. It is also often unfair, riddled with errors, distortions, and outright falsehoods

their financial disclosure form includes a \$900,000 limited partnership in Cen Office Building Ltd. Public records in Florida indicate that the property was once owned by CenTrust. The details of this transaction should be explored."

Had anyone explored the arrangement, it would have become clear that the property was never owned by CenTrust Bank nor did CenTrust have any connection to it. The property simply shared an unfortunate coincidence of names. The building had been named Cen Office eleven years before Evelyn Greer's involvement because of its proximity to Century Village, a large retirement community in Broward County.

The editorial concluded with the Olympian observation that "lawyers are entitled to have clients and those clients are likely to be people in trouble with the law," and added, "there is no reason to accuse Mr. Greer of anything criminal, and no one has done so." But it questioned whether someone who might have at one time represented unsavory characters should be rewarded with a "lifetime appointment to the federal judiciary" and concluded, "In that context, his list of associations is far too rich for our blood."

The day after the Greer editorial appeared, Senate Judiciary Chairman Orrin Hatch took to the Senate floor to denounce judges who were soft on crime, and he linked those judges to the president who appoints them. Shortly afterward Greer got word there would be no hearing; the nomination was dead, and on February 13, fed up with political shenanigans, Greer notified President Clinton he was withdrawing his name.

A month after the editorial, the *Journal* published a letter from Miami attorney Barton Sacher, who as an SEC official in the eighties often opposed clients Greer defended. "Your off-base personal attacks against Mr. Greer and his wife — predicated solely on misleading innuendo and inaccurate facts — bear a striking resemblance to McCarthyism at its worst," Sacher wrote. That was as close as the *Journal* came to any correction. By then, of course, it didn't matter.

The *Journal's* editorial page, written by its staff of thirty writers and editors, is in a class by itself. It is unquestionably influential, serving as a bulletin board for conservative thought and opinion. (The Greer editorial, for instance, signaled a campaign issue for Republicans — the "liberal Clinton judges" — which has resonated through the media ever since.) It is stylish, clearly written, rarely dull, and often fun to read. It has a clear point of view and avoids

equivocation. No "on the one hand" and "on the other hand" commentary here.

Unlike the *Journal's* meticulously researched in-depth news columns, which many consider a model of journalistic excellence, the editorial page rarely offers balance, is often unfair, and is riddled with errors — distortions and outright falsehoods of every kind and stripe. And when the errors are challenged, the *Journal* is less than eager to set the record straight. The page might stand accused of sloppiness except that the errors always seem to bolster the *Journal's* point of view. Under editor Robert Bartley, the policy seems to be ideology above all else.

"People complain all the time with good reason," says Michael Kinsley, who was a *Journal* columnist for three years until 1987. Kinsley himself clashed with the *Journal* a few years ago when, in his *New Republic* column, he criticized its editorials about White House counsel Vincent Foster and the Rose law firm as shoddy and dishonest. The *Journal* later attacked Kinsley for blaming the editorial page for Foster's death (which Kinsley didn't do) and implying that the White House put him up to it, which Kinsley says it didn't.

CJR examined some six dozen examples of disputed editorials and op-eds over the past seven years, and a clear sense of Bartley's modus operandi emerged. On subjects ranging from lawyers, judges, and product liability suits to campus and social issues, a strong America, and of course, economics, we found a consistent pattern of incorrect facts, ignored or incomplete facts, missing facts, uncorroborated facts. Repeated efforts to discuss the paper's editorial practices with Bartley were unsuccessful. Absent a conversation with him about the section's objectives, one can only conclude that affecting policy and changing the course of history matter most.

Greer's wasn't the only judicial appointment to feel the *Journal's* punch. In late 1994 it targeted Peter Edelman, then counselor to the Secretary of Health and Human Services, who was being considered for a seat on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia circuit. The *Journal* said that when Edelman was director of New York State's Division for Youth in 1978, he ordered a one-week furlough for a seventeen-year-old who had knifed a girl during a robbery. While on his furlough, the youth was arrested on charges of raping, robbing, and trying to electrocute a sixty-three-year-old woman.

That the *Journal's* charge was not true was eventually pointed out in a letter, published

about three weeks later, written by J. Thomas Mullen, president of the Catholic Charities Services Corp. in Cleveland, who had worked with Edelman in New York. Under the structure of the agency, Edelman did not order transfers or furloughs, but he could override them, particularly when there was a concern about security, which he did in this case. But by the time he had ordered the boy picked up and returned to the facility, it was too late.

It was also too late for Edelman's nomination. Under pressure from the right wing's judicial attack machine, Clinton got cold feet, and Edelman's name never went to the Senate.

The paper's ruthlessness in assaulting judicial enemies is matched by its zeal in defending (by the same means) friends it thinks the legal system has maligned. Consider the case of Elliott Abrams, assistant secretary of state in the Reagan administration, who in 1991 pleaded guilty to withholding information from Congress during the Iran-Contra affair. In a short, breezy editorial last summer called "Iran-Contra Epilogue," the *Journal* said "one of the worst abuses to emerge from the Iran-Contra jihad against Reaganites was ended this week: The U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia ruled that the D.C. bar association couldn't block Elliott Abrams from practicing law for a year," adding that "the liberal shock troops of the D.C. bar nonetheless insisted on punishing him."

The editorial included three major errors. First, it named the wrong court. The ruling had come from the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, not the U.S. Court of Appeals. Second, the case was brought by the Bar Counsel, an arm of the D.C. Court of Appeals that is appointed by the Court's Board on Professional Responsibility, which is responsible for disciplining lawyers, not the D.C. Bar Association, which does not decide or bring disciplinary actions. Third, the Bar Counsel had no choice but to bring the case; under court rules it must initiate proceedings against any member of the bar who is convicted of a crime that violates disciplinary rules. Hamilton Fox, chairman of the Board on Professional Responsibility, pointed out the mistakes in a letter the *Journal* published nearly one month later.

Such inaccurate portrayals of judicial and legal matters have a long history at the *Journal*. In 1989, *The American Lawyer* published a scathing critique of three editorial-page commentaries by the *Journal's* then assistant editorial page editor, L. Gordon

Crovitz. The article, by Stuart Taylor, Jr., charged that the *Journal* editorials and op-eds, which discussed the 1977 veto by Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis of a bill that would have required teachers to lead students in reciting the Pledge of Allegiance, were "riddled with inaccuracies" and "grossly distorted the state of the law," and that "a businessman who relies on the *Journal* may well have concluded from Crovitz's pieces on the pledge that legal precedents supported the law Dukakis vetoed. The opposite was true."

"They were almost indifferent as to whether what they wanted to say comported with dispassionate factual reality," says Taylor, who is now a senior writer at *The American Lawyer*. "If my article caused him [Bartley] any grief, it escaped my attention." (Crovitz went on to bigger and better things at Dow Jones and is now the editor and publisher of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*.) Says Taylor: "I think the general pattern of their gonzo attitude continues."

Product liability and fraud suits bring out the *Journal's* highest-octane gonzo response. For example, the day after an *Albuquerque Tribune* reporter, Eileen Welsome, won a Pulitzer Prize in 1994 for disclosing that the government had conducted radiation experiments on unsuspecting citizens without their consent, Max Boot, an assistant features editor for the editorial page, mocked her series in an op-ed, saying there was nothing particularly new to report and that the hype over the experiments "far exceeds their news value." Toward the end of the piece Boot got to his real problem with the series: families of the victims highlighted in Welsome's stories might sue. "It'll be the attorneys — not the alleged victims — who'll receive the most compensation. That's the fallout from the radiation experiments story 'uncovered' by Eileen Welsome," Boot wrote.

A letter from Tim Gallagher, who was the *Tribune's* editor and is now editor of the Ventura, California, *County Star*, was published nearly two months later. In response both to Boot's op-ed and two letters that attacked Welsome's series, Gallagher wrote that Boot had failed to summarize Welsome's work accurately. The *Tribune* didn't claim to be the first to report that people were injected with plutonium, and it credited others who had; the *Tribune* did claim to be the first media institution to identify victims and report that they had never given informed consent for the experiment, and pointed out that the federal government had attempted to hide their identities for fifty years.

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The editorial page seems to have a policy of waiting for a letter of correction or complaint, which is usually run up to four weeks later — if at all

Last summer, with a bill limiting the ability of investors to sue for securities fraud bogged down in a conference committee, the *Journal* wrote an editorial titled "Brazen Beyond Limit?" that came to the defense of Representative Christopher Cox, one of the bill's sponsors. Cox had been named as a defendant in a lawsuit filed on behalf of some of the 8,000 investors in a fraudulent investment scheme called First Pension. (Investors lost \$136 million, and the principals are now in jail.)

The editorial brushed off Cox's involvement as minimal. It argued that as the victim of "lawsuit abuse," he had to "waste time, energy, and money mounting a defense against baseless charges." To persuade readers that there was no case against Cox, the editorial emphasized a preliminary ruling by a judge who was no longer hearing the case and ignored the fact that the case had been transferred to the court's complex-litigation division seven days before the *Journal* published its editorial. (Contrary to the *Journal's* assertion of baseless charges, the suit is proceeding, and Cox remains a defendant. The paper has carried no news account about court rulings this spring that have kept Cox in the case, although California papers did.) The editorial also implied that naming Cox as a defendant was politically motivated and attacked the investors' attorney, Michael Aguirre, who the *Journal* said had "repeatedly and unsuccessfully run for political office in San Diego as a Democrat" (he ran twice for nonpartisan City Council office and once for Congress, as a Democrat, fourteen years ago).

The *Journal* also attacked news stories, including the paper's own, that questioned whether Cox was trying to abolish the kind of lawsuit that was filed against him.

Harry Farrar, one of the defrauded investors in the First Pension case, wrote a letter to the *Journal* complaining of errors in the piece, made numerous follow-up calls, and sent two letters to publisher Peter Kann asking his help in getting a letter of correction printed. When he got no response, Farrar, in frustration, contacted CJR. "If they had allowed us to point out the errors, it would have detracted from their thrust to get the [securities] legislation moving," Aguirre told CJR.

In March the paper took another whack at plaintiffs' lawyers with an editorial arguing that damages in product liability suits should be limited. It noted that a bill making its way through the Senate was the best it was likely to pass, since "most Democrats and some Republicans are deeply dependent on trial

lawyers as campaign contributors." That statement was a misleading half-truth at best. Ninety-nine political action committees set up by members of the American Tort Reform Association, a who's who of business and trade organizations that want to limit liability, gave \$26.2 million to members of Congress and candidates during the 1994 election cycle and in calendar year 1995, compared with \$2.9 million given by the Association of Trial Lawyers of America.

Other examples abound of facts not standing in the way of *Journal* logic. Earlier this year Boot wrote an op-ed claiming that Proposition 103, which regulated auto insurance rates in California, didn't work. Actually, it did: premiums that had been rising faster than the rates countrywide have turned around; in the past five years, the increase was 88 percent lower than rates throughout the U.S. Four months before Boot's op-ed appeared, the Consumer Federation of America had issued a report and press release detailing the successful California experience. A couple of weeks after the op-ed, the *Journal* published a letter from J. Robert Hunter, the former insurance commissioner of Texas who had written the CFA report, pointing out the *Journal's* errors.

In an editorial last June attacking subsidies to the U.S. Merchant Marine, the *Journal* claimed that U.S. mariners earn an average of \$125,000 for six months' duty. If the paper had called the Maritime Administration at the Department of Transportation, it would have discovered that on average a U.S. mariner earns about half of that. The error was pointed out in letters, almost one month later, from a couple of mariners, one of whom wanted to know where he could find those high-paying jobs. The head of the Maritime Administration was sufficiently exercised to make a public statement about the error.

An August 1994 editorial about the Smithsonian Institution's Enola Gay exhibit said that "... it is especially curious to note the oozing romanticism with which the Enola show's writers describe the kamikaze pilots. . . . These were, the script elegiacally relates, 'youths, their bodies overflowing with life.' Of the youth and life of the Americans who fought and bled in the Pacific there is no mention." Contrary to the *Journal's* outraged presentation, the quote did not originate with Smithsonian curators; the words were written by a Japanese kamikaze pilot who had survived the war, an attribution the original script made crystal clear. "If they said it was written by a Japanese pilot, it would have

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undercut their point," says Tony Capaccio, editor of *Defense Week*, who has written about press coverage of the Enola Gay affair.

In his annual statement to readers last January, publisher Peter Kann proudly described the paper's correction policy. He certainly did not intend to point up the stark contrast between the two branches of the paper, but his comments about the daily Corrections & Amplification column clearly apply only to the news pages. He said it is "a constant reminder of the shortcomings of even the most painstaking reporting and editing process. Last year we published more than 500 items setting the record straight as well as more than a thousand letters from readers often taking issue with *Journal* news or views. . . . Our clear policy, however, is to correct errors and offer opportunity for reader response. We believe this enhances credibility and reinforces reader trust."

The editorial page seems to have a slightly different policy. It appears to wait for a letter of correction or complaint, which is usually run two to four weeks later. Correction boxes on the editorial page are apparently reserved for misattributed quotations, spelling errors and mismatched books and authors on the Leisure & Arts page, incomplete attributions, and misplaced quotation marks.

Delays in publishing letters of correction can undermine the correction itself. By the time a letter is published, most readers have forgotten what the editorial said, the desired goal may have been achieved (as in the case of Bruce Greer), or the disputed information may have been picked up by other media. *The Washington Post*, for example, repeated the inaccuracy in a news story about the Enola Gay exhibit the day after the *Journal's* editorial appeared and used the inaccurate passage to bolster the views of the exhibit's critics.

A letter writer who has an especially high profile may have his or her say within a day or two of the offending editorial, but that's rare. So are correction boxes that admit to the kinds of errors examined for this story.

Other papers are more likely to use correction boxes for serious factual errors on their editorial pages and save the letters columns for differences of opinion. *The Washington Post*, whose editorial page is on an influential par with the *Journal's*, corrects such errors that way. "If we make them, we correct them. We hate to do it, but we do it," says deputy editorial page editor Stephen Rosenfeld. "You have to be more rigorous than the news columns because matters are very contentious."

An error Rosenfeld made recently in one of

his op-ed columns points up the difference between the *Post* and *Journal* approaches. Rosenfeld called former strategic arms negotiator Max Kampelman a "former Democrat." Kampelman was always a Democrat, and Rosenfeld forthrightly corrected his error in a column two weeks later. When the *Journal* made a similar mistake, claiming that Senator Thad Cochran of Mississippi was a member of the plaintiff's bar — in other words, a trial lawyer, one of its regular targets — it waited for him to write a letter saying he was not.

It's impossible to say how many errors go uncorrected. A case in point deals with misinformation familiar to CJR readers. In mid-March, the *Journal* wrote about the health reform bill then making its way through Congress, and attacked an insurance concept called "guaranteed issue" that requires carriers to offer policies to anyone, regardless of health. It argued that when New York required insurers to sell guaranteed issue policies and eliminated most premium variations based on health risk, "500,000 individuals have been forced to drop their insurance coverage." The January/February 1995 issue of CJR showed how that number was false and had been derived from a misleading study by an actuarial consultant employed by insurance interests that had much to gain by discrediting the New York experience. If any letters were sent to the *Journal* disputing that statistic, none ever appeared.

Last summer the *Journal* ran two op-eds and one review critiquing a well-publicized book on wealth inequality by a New York University economics professor, Edward Wolff. But it refused to print a letter from Wolff correcting some errors and distortions that appeared in the pieces. For example, in one, the writer inaccurately claimed that Wolff had used only two years' worth of data and ignored pension wealth. Said Wolff: "They weren't interested in getting to the truth of the matter but more interested in presenting a political position on income equality."

The White House couldn't get a correction after the *Journal* wrote that Hillary Clinton had intervened to suppress allegations of sexual harassment at the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, a charge the *Journal* had picked up from *The Sunday Times* of London. The White House had denied the allegation before the *Journal* published its editorial. Bartley told *Washington Post* reporter Howard Kurtz that the *Journal* was aware that the First Lady had denied the charge. "We meant to include that," he told Kurtz. But "if you've got 600 words, something has to give." ♦

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Mack
Memo on Bowen
w/ Mack
Dole - Story

Pres. file