



✓
Chvon



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
International Trade Administration
Washington, D.C. 20230

Rec'd 8/21 8:00 AM

*Need reply
ASAP 8/23
before*

From Oval: 8-20
to do/skind?
✓ Yes Need reply
ASAP 8/23
— No see NH's
note

August 14, 1996

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Mr. President:

As you no doubt know, the experience of working in this Administration to support your international trade initiatives and thereby help make true your promise of economic prosperity for America has been exhilarating and personally meaningful beyond any of my expectations. It is therefore with some sadness that I inform you of my decision to resign as the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Service Industries and Finance at the Department of Commerce. I could have asked for no higher honor than to serve you and this Administration in an area so vital to this country's well-being, prosperity and security.

You should also know that you and the Administration will have my continued support without hesitation or qualification. We Kearneys have seen firsthand for two full decades that your leadership reflects your genuine compassion, energy and insistence on improving the lives of your fellow men and women.

Sincerely,

Jude
Jude Kearney
Deputy Assistant Secretary
for Service Industries and Finance

Betty,

*Jude asked that you
Pass this on to the President
for him.*

Thanks



From Oval 8/21

To deskland
for reply? letter is from
✓ yes Phyllis
Segal,
— No Blis
note

Dominic Nigro

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-21-96

FEDERAL LABOR RELATIONS AUTHORITY

Dear Mr. President,

On a much smaller scale than Between Hope & History,
here's another example of "legal marketing".
This niche-publication is aimed at a constituency
that will be interested in your Administration's
commitment to promoting labor-management
partnership.

My dual hats as FLRA Chair, and Board
Member of the publisher of FORUM, gave me the
opportunity to develop and now deliver this issue
spotlighting the Clinton Administration's initiatives
showing that labor and management working

Together is the way to make America —
work!

With best regards,

Phyllis

20 August 1996

FORUM

NATIONAL
INSTITUTE FOR
DISPUTE
RESOLUTION

Conflict, Cooperation and Collaboration in the Work Place

CONFLICT, COOPERATION AND COLLABORATION IN THE WORK PLACE

Patricia Worlock Moore

LABOR AND MANAGEMENT WORKING TOGETHER TO MAKE AMERICA WORK

Vice President Al Gore

EFFECTIVE PARTNERING FOR THE FUTURE

Commissioner Margaret Milner Richardson

BUILDING A PARTNERSHIP TODAY TO MEET THE CHALLENGES OF TOMORROW

Robert M. Tobias

WORKING TOGETHER FOR PUBLIC SERVICE: REPORT ON THE SECRETARY OF LABOR'S
TASK FORCE ON EXCELLENCE IN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT THROUGH
LABOR-MANAGEMENT COOPERATION

Jonathan Brock

COLLABORATIVE PROBLEM SOLVING: POSITIVE APPROACHES USED IN
A MANUFACTURING ENVIRONMENT

Michael M. Gagnon

COLLABORATION: A COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE FOR BUSINESS

Jerry Erlenbach

A PREPARATION FOR EFFECTIVE PARTNERING FROM THE UNION PERSPECTIVE

Nancy Mills

"ONE MUST PERSEVERE TO PREVAIL..."

Jay W. Molyneaux and John F. Schantzen

MUTUAL GAINS COLLABORATIVE BARGAINING IN TODAY'S HEALTH CARE SETTINGS:
A CASE STUDY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN HEALTH CENTER

Deborah Childs and Deborah Stoll

NIDR

P.S. ENCLOSED IS A COPY OF THIS LETTER DIRECTED TO THE ATTENTION OF THE PRESIDENT. COULD YOU PLEASE SEND IT ALONG TO HIM. THANK YOU.

COPY TO
PRESIDENT CLINTON

AUGUST 14, 1996

From oval: 8/21

To Dorskind for
reply?

✓ Yes

MR. RALPH ALSWANG
WHITE HOUSE PHOTO OFFICE
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DEAR MR. ALSWANG:

— No

I AM A LUCKY GUY. I LIVE ON
THIS SANTA MONICA BEACH FRONT AND
THEREFORE I HAVE BEEN ABLE TO SEE
OUR PRESIDENT A NUMBER OF TIMES.

ACTUALLY, IT WAS SEPTEMBER 1992,
WHEN RETURNING FROM A MORNING JOG TO
THE LOEW'S HOTEL, THAT THEN GOVERNOR CLINTON
STOPPED, WALKED OVER A FEW PACES TO
SHAKE MY HAND AND SAY TO ME, "I LOVE
THIS BEACH." I SPREAD THE WORD TO ALL OF
MY NEIGHBORS AND THE VOTE IN NOVEMBER
WAS OF LANDSLIDE PROPORTIONS IN HIS FAVOR!

OF COURSE, EVEN FOUR YEARS AGO THERE
WERE PLENTY OF OTHER REASONS TO VOTE FOR
MR. CLINTON. NOW, ALTHOUGH WE STILL
TREASURE THE IDEA THAT THE PRESIDENT MAY
GAIN SOME NOURISHMENT FROM HIS EXPOSURE TO
OUR BEACH, WE WILL VOTE FOR HIM WITH GREAT
ENTHUSIASM BECAUSE OF HIS RECORD IN OFFICE
OF "PUTTING PEOPLE FIRST"

IT WAS A VERY SPECIAL HONOR TO
SHAKE THE PRESIDENT'S HAND THE OTHER DAY AND
TO SAY A FEW WORDS.

CORDIALLY,
Richard T. Bates

RICHARD T. BATES
1361 OCEAN FRONT WALK
SANTA MONICA, CA
90401

From Ova ✓ 8-21

to ~~Dark~~ Darkkind?

✓ Yes

— No

Private
By air mail
Par avion

To U.S.A. =
The United States
of America

Radio



Great Britain
Postage
Paid

Very
Personal

Royal Mail

International

Aerogramme

U.S.A. The Uni-

ONLY TO
BE SEEN
BY THE
Personal
Secretary

The
Personal Secretary
to the President of USA
c/o THE WHITE
HOUSE
WASHINGTON D.C.



By air

R.S.V.P

Name and address of sender

Postcode

An aerogramme should not contain

By air mail
Par avion

To open slit here

deliver to the President. It was sent
by me from local Post Office Merdool
on the Small Packet Rate wrapped in a
brown paper sealed by Air Mail to U.S.A.
I sent it in January 1995. I shall be
very grateful indeed to you when I hear
if you could make some enquiries
about it and please let me know as soon
as possible in the course of the year.
God Bless to you all. Little Jesus I trust
into you, Ave Maria. Our Lady of Consolation

Sender: MR. WOJCIECH, WITOLD
PIOTR c/o THE

WOOLDRIDGE COURT - (ROOM NO. 8)
POMONA PLACE - Off Grimmer Rd
HEREFORD - MK4 - OEF - ENGLAND
G.B. Tel. NO. Hereford (01432)
277309 open 24 hours. for the
Residents of the hotel the Wooldridge
Court.

Afternoon Saturday the 10th of August
1986 The letter to The Personal
Secretary to the President of the U.S.A
c/o The White House, Washington D.C
U.S.A. R.S.V.P. Mr. William Clinton
Mine Dear Sir,

Long time ago
in January 1985 I had sent from
the local Post Office of Hereford a
little souvenir to the MR. William
Clinton the President and his old home
It was a Print Picture average size
copy of Real Painting from 1840 of
Merchand View of the town most
Merchand England, Herefordshire G.B.
Till today I had not received the
acknowledgement from Mr. William
Jefferson Clinton that he had received
it. I wonder if it was the little
souvenir home to him or all

From oval: 8/21

To Doriskind for
reply?

☒ — yes

☐ — No

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

FROM THE DESK OF

MARKING INITIALS: W DATE: 9/19/14 JOHN O. LEONARD

2019-0774-S

August 21, 1996

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

FAX: 202 456 2883
ATT: Ms. Betty Curry, Executive
Secretary to the President.
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - EYES ONLY

Dear Mr. President:

Greetings and Happy Birthday from your HARRY TRUMAN DEMOCRAT...

I am still very busy with my Veterans Health Care Plan, and how it will insure 89 Million Americans that is self financing. I have been doing research on the Welfare Legislation that is a Republican initiative, and we want you to VETO the present Bill at this time. I have urged you in the past to make the Republicans come to you and give you what YOU WANT... You have done pretty damn good so far, but now the Democratic Members of Congress, i.e. Charles Rangel etc have opposed you on this issue including Senator Moynihan. AND YOU ARE GOING TO NEED ALL THE HELP YOU CAN GET IN THE COMING ELECTION. I listened to a Seminar given by Edward Howard, Alliance for Health Reform, plus Douglas Nelson and Sara Rosenbaum, George Washington University Center for Health Policy Research; and it is their combined opinions that there would be a dislocation of over 9 Million Children under the present plan. MAKE THE REPUBLICANS COME BACK AGAIN WITH A WELFARE BILL YOU CAN SIGN...

PRESIDENT CLINTON

2.

Mr. President you know that I am speaking to you from outside of the Beltway, which gives me a decided advantage over those in government and the media. We know how the Voters will choose their next President. We also have the advantage of getting the true story from C-Span, as we know and hear how the Senate and the House decide on their legislation. The Voters today are far more knowledgeable about what is going on today than 4 years ago, and they are able to make up their minds and discard what is trivial.

Mr. President you know that I am a lifetime member of the National Rifle Association having joined it when I was a Boy Scout. I was in the U.S. Border Patrol for many years plus 17 years with the Sheriff's Office in Fort Lauderdale while operating my own business. There are thousands of NRA Members who do not oppose the Assault Weapons Ban, and applaud your cops on the street program in Community Policing.

I want to introduce to you Sheriff Ron Cochran, Broward County in Fort Lauderdale who would make an excellent speaker at the Democratic Convention. Sheriff Cochran has a force of over three thousands employees, and I hope you will have Attorney General Janet Reno also speak at the Convention. We want to make the Democratic Party all inclusive, and this includes all NRA Members, and it would be a thorn in the side to have Sarah Brady, Hand Gun Control Inc to speak at the Convention. Here in Florida we have over 400,000

President Clinton

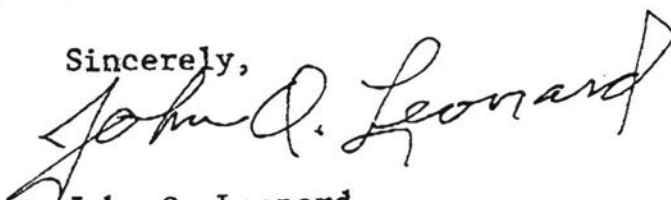
3.

citizens who are licensed to carry concealed weapons, and there has not been a single criminal incident from any citizen licensed to carry concealed weapons, including myself...

I introduced the Veterans Health Care Plan to the Democratic Platform Committee, and Don Fowler called me the other day wanting to know all about this Veterans Plan. We talked for over a half hour and he promised to get back to me. He just could not understand how this Veterans Health Care Plan is self financing, and offering complete Programs in Health Care, Income Protection, and Life Insurance. Since WWII the Government has spent Billions building 217 Major Hospitals and an equal number of Clinics that can serve Veterans and their Families. In addition this Insurance program will permit private physicians to work in VA Hospitals, and be paid at Medicare Rates from the VA Insurance Plan.

The Veterans Health Plan will enable older infirm Veterans to be located in State/VA Nursing Homes, who would be paid by the VA Insurance Plan at VA Rates. Veterans not living near VA Facilities could go to their private physicians in Primary Care and the Health Care Plan would pay the physician at Medicare Rates. What Republican is going to vote against a Veterans Health Plan.

Sincerely,



CC: Don Fowler

Democratic National Comm.

John O Leonard

P.O. Box 4719

(954) 463 1969

Ft. Lauderdale, FL 33338

8/21/96

This Welfare Reform Is Best We Can Achieve

To the Editor:

William Shore, the anguished Democrat who is voting not to vote for Bill Clinton this year (Op-Ed, Aug. 12), says well what I have heard others say. He is wrong, of course, but his heart is pure.

President Clinton betrays no one by signing the welfare bill. He does not want to abandon the children, or the weak or the undefended, but neither does he defend the indefensible.

The welfare system evolved in an era when women could not legitimately enter the workplace, a time when many men were maimed and lost the ability to work because the workplace was not safe, and they could not then work because of their acquired disability. The system to feed children who had no other means of support was not only born of charity but also of a realization that their loss would be a loss to the whole of society.

Progress has now allowed women to work (though not yet at parity with men), safety regulation has made the workplace safer, and injury no longer prevents re-employment, because of the Americans With Disabilities Act (not perfectly, but helpfully).

The financial burden to society for support of the indigent citizen, or child, has grown enormously, and because we foolishly followed the supply-side fantasy, there is far less available to help the children. Either we find additional means to support them, or we bankrupt the nation to their detriment.

President Clinton has followed this maxim: "Do not let the perfect be the enemy of the good." While the "good" choices in welfare reform are not easy to discern, surely one of them is to ask the parents to contribute their work (if able) to the support of their children.

The welfare bill is far from perfect, but in all the circumstances, it is the best we can now achieve. Bill

Clinton is not perfect either, but he is good.
BOB GRIZZARD
Lakeland, Fla., Aug. 12, 1996

Cynicism's High Price

To the Editor:

William Shore's "Clinton's New (Double) Deal" (Op-Ed, Aug. 12) is one of the most eloquent pieces ever to appear on The Times's opinion page. If only our politicians would remember the dictum "If you would have peace, work for justice." And believe that it could get them elected or re-elected, too.

I've worked with the poor, the truly poor, often. It's a humbling experience. And their greatest poverty is in spirit. To further diminish their small store of hope and belief in their



Santiago Cohen

few mortal creatures' basic decency is a heinous thing to do.

Christmas Eve 1992 I worked at a temporary shelter for the homeless in San Diego (that now seems ironic), dispensing woolen socks. Most of them were men, black and Hispanic, and they couldn't have been sweeter

or more gentle. I handed them a measly pair of socks, and they thanked me and thanked me and said, "God bless you." And it was sincere.

Compassion may be expensive. And surely there is a right way and a wrong way to do it. But the cost of cynicism and greed is a hardened heart, a price that I don't want to pay.

KATHLEEN SLOCUM
Blairtown, N.J., Aug. 12, 1996

Only Compromise Wins

To the Editor:

Like William Shore (Op-Ed, Aug. 12) I consider President Clinton's willingness to sign a bill that virtually repeals welfare a failure of courage and a betrayal of liberalism. But the logic of not voting for Mr. Clinton in November escapes me. Surely children who will suffer as a result of the new welfare bill will be no better off if the Republicans who designed it control both Congress and the Presidency.

What purists forget is that voting is not a matter of selecting or rejecting an ideal leader but of choosing between relative evils. In a country of 250 million people who represent a broad diversity of interests, religious beliefs, ethnic backgrounds and income, candidates have to be compromisers if they are to win. Otherwise they would represent only a minority of voters. Consequently, voting for the lesser of two evils is for most of us not a cynical act but a necessity.

There are many ways of translating moral conviction into practice, as Mr. Shore has demonstrated by working for disadvantaged children, but to do so by refusing to vote for a flawed but demonstrably better candidate indicates a misunderstanding of our political system, and is futile besides.

RACHELLE MARSHALL
Stanford, Calif., Aug. 12, 1996

Am showing
down Clinton
to him - have
our Fla people
check out in poss
help in camp
very grateful
JG

① to Doriskind for
reply

② to Sosnik/Hancock
for "have our Fla people
check him out"

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-21-96

Original signature h.
Secretary
Date

CALL US

Questions, comments? Please call:
Metro/Region Editor Christine Rook,
25-9668.
Assistant City Editor Melissa Birks,
25-9760.
Assistant City Editor Gregg Parker,
25-9629.
Outside Madison County, 1-800-372-3922.
E-mail address is jaxsun@usit.net

LOCA

Monday, August 19, 1996



Tom
BOHS

An apology to Clintons

I'm probably the only West Tennessean who doesn't want to give the president some advice today. Instead, I want to apologize to him and to Mrs. Clinton.

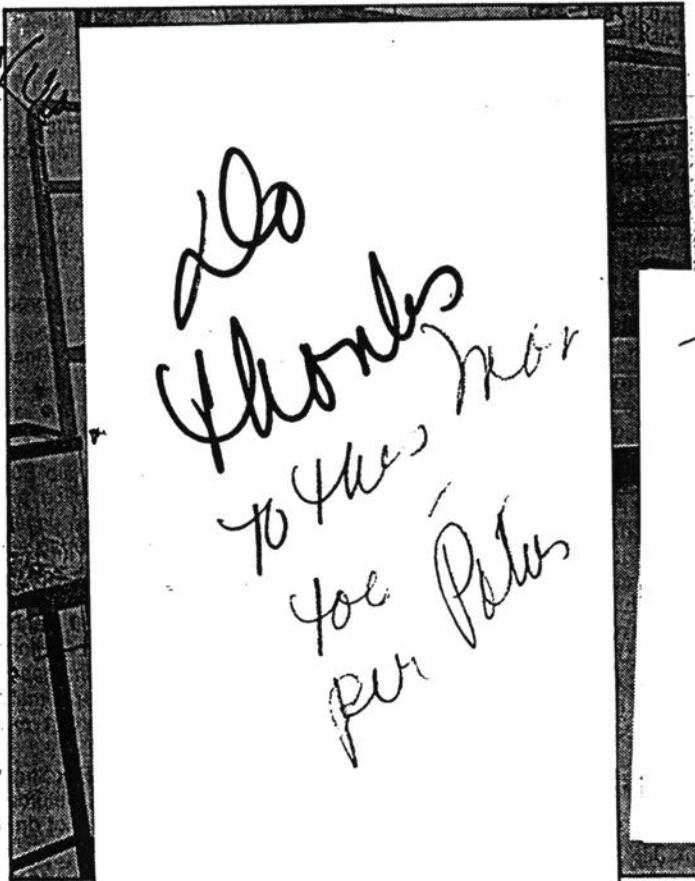
Before I do, however, I want it known that I didn't vote for Clinton in 1992. I voted for Ross Perot. I'm not a Democrat, a Republican or anything else, registered or otherwise. I want a president and a first lady who — despite the realities of politics — will lead me, my family and all Americans into a brighter, more secure and fair future. An editorial late last week urged the president to broaden the focus of his visit beyond burned churches to include other issues important to West Tennesseans. In today's paper he can find plenty of their comments and concerns.

Bad behavior

Now, back to my apology. I want to apologize to President and Mrs. Clinton for the four years of boorish, often vicious treatment they have had to endure at the hands of fellow Americans. We have much to be sorry for the way we have treated our first family.

It is a shame that so much of last week's Republican convention centered, not on issues, but on Clinton bashing. The repeated personal attacks on the Clintons said more

Telethon to



Allyson Wimberly, also known as "Hootie the Clown," dances with 3-year-old Kelsey Muse from Savannah at the

By JIMMY HART
The Jackson Sun

As Robert Thomas III watched a group of young girls test their basketball skills outside the Wal-Mart Supercenter in Sunday's heat, he wasn't bothered by the beads of sweat dotting his forehead.

Besides, he was working for a good cause.

The 12-year-old West Middle School student was among the many volunteers

TO DONATE

Send donations to
Circles of Hope Telethon,
P.O. Box 1252 Jackson, TN
38305. For more
information, call the center
at 424-7900.

more than \$247,000, exceeding the telethon goal of \$240,000. Last year, the telethon raised more than \$200,000.

Warner Turner, telethon director and chairman of fund-raising, said the total

To Doriskind
for reply?

— yes
— no
Nameless
Cia

about the Clintons or the Clinton administration.

A study released by Knight-Ridder this past weekend showed that Clinton has delivered on 60 percent of his campaign promises. Another 20 percent were brought to life through proposed legislation but were killed by Republicans in Congress. That's a good record.

Focus on Issues

Mr. President, Mrs. Clinton, just like me, many Americans are tired of these mindless, mean-spirited attacks on you. You have been more than gracious in your tolerance of them. You have shown that you are people of character and good will by not wrestling in the mud with your accusers. You have shown courage by continuing your important work of governing and trying to help all Americans.

I hope that your upcoming campaign for reelection will continue to focus on issues important to the country. Daily, more and more Americans join me in rejecting Clinton bashing. Keep up the good work. Who knows, I might even be persuaded to vote for you this time.

Tom Bohs is *The Sun's* editorial page editor. Call him at 425-9686 or toll-free 1-800-372-3922. His column runs Mondays.

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This year's telethon raised

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"I think the community sees the need to assist the children abused in Jackson and the surrounding area," he said.

Lunsford

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"It makes me feel good,"

Whew! Two years later, traffic h

■ The four-laning project on North Highland is complete, except for clean-up and operating traffic lights, much to the relief of area motorists.

By JIMMY HART
The Jackson Sun

Despite construction hassles along the U.S. 45 Bypass, traveling to growing North Jackson recently got easier.

After two years of construction, the paving of four-lanes on North Highland Avenue from Country Club Lane to just past Volunteer Boulevard was recently completed.

And although not yet officially accepted by the city, Vann Drive, from the Wal-Mart Supercenter to Country Club Lane, is open to traffic.

On North Highland, orange and white striped construction barrels now line the sidewalks instead of the roadway. On

► GROWTH

Vann Drive, the barricades have vanished. While businesses consider the improved accesses a boon, some motorists consider them a mixed blessing.



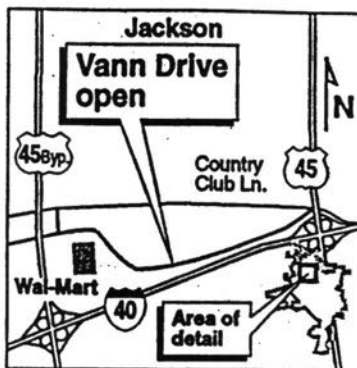
Dennis

Volanda Dennis, a cashier at the Exxon on the corner of North Highland Avenue and Char-jean Drive, said the numerous barrels and equipment accompanying the construction made access to the store difficult.

Motorists "ended up going across the street" to Texaco, she said. Now that construction's finished, things have picked up.

"It's helped a lot, it really has," she said. "Business is better."

Employees for Thomson & Thomson Construction Co., the contractor for the Highland Av-



enue project, were working Sunday afternoon on traffic signals at intersections along Highland.

Owner Wade Thomson said the only remaining work involves getting the signals operational and completing some clean-up work.

"It'll mean an awful lot to the community out that way," he said.

Motorist Butch Glover of Jackson calls completion of the Highland construction "a real good thing" — for now.

"I think that now that it's completed, people will use this

MORNING BRIEFING

Search continues for missing girl, 14

Milan police are searching for a 14-year-old girl missing since Friday night.

Cayce Lynn McDaniel was last seen entering her home a little after midnight Friday after a friend dropped her off from attending a church dance.

Her mother, Cynthia McDaniel, told police she returned home at about 2:45 a.m. Saturday and her daughter wasn't home. Police say there were no

signs of struggle, and no signs of forced entry at the residence.

Police are not sure if McDaniel is missing or has been abducted.

McDaniel is described as 5 feet 4 inches tall, weighing about 120 pounds with brown hair and brown eyes.

Anyone with information about McDaniel's whereabouts is asked to call the Milan Police Department at 688-3309.

► SUN LINE

Q. I would like to find out the name of the lady who puts signs in the yard to announce you had a baby. The story ran in the Living section. — C.C., Jackson

A. Jackson resident Kristi Anderson recently started Bit of Heaven. Customers can have Anderson plant a 3-foot sign in the front lawn that announces the birth of a baby. The cost is \$25 and the sign remains in the yard for a week. For more information, call 668-2301.

Also, Southern Rents & Sells, 1061 U.S. 45 Bypass, has large stork cut-out signs that can be rented to announce

a baby's more info call South at 664-686 6161.

And Fla that places pe sign in the birth. The r

Call Sun Line P.O. Box 1059, and information and address consumer question Consumer Affa 8385.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-21-96

Original signature h...

Secretary

Date

CALL US

Questions, comments? Please call:
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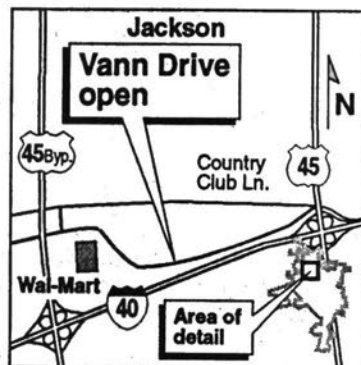
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Anyone with information about McDaniel's whereabouts is asked to call the Milan Police Department at 686-3309.

► SUN LINE

Q. I would like to find out the name of the lady who puts signs in the yard to announce you had a baby. The story ran in the Living section. — C.C., Jackson

A. Jackson resident Kristi Anderson recently started Bit of Heaven. Customers can have Anderson plant a 3-foot sign in the front lawn that announces the birth of a baby. The cost is \$25 and the sign remains in the yard for a week. For more information, call 668-2301.

Also, Southern Rents & Sells, 1061 U.S. 45 Bypass, has large stork cut-out signs that can be rented to announce

a baby's birth. more information call Southern R at 664-6868 or 6161.

And Flamingo that places pink peeping people's sign in the yard to birth. The number

Call Sun Line, 425-9686, P.O. Box 1059, Jackson and information. Include number and address; they answer questions also. Consumer Affairs Division 8385.

cc: w/incoming:
• Karen Hancox
• Paige Reffe

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 21, 1996

Billie Carr
5307 Beechnut
Houston, Texas 77096

Dear Billie:

Thanks for your letter and the birthday wishes. The party in New York was great, but I love the idea of a second childhood one. That sounds pretty good these days!

On welfare, it was a tough decision with good arguments on both sides, but I think we've done the right thing. And I would like to hear more about your thoughts on health care and Medicare.

Thanks, too, for letting me know about the delay in notifying you about our plans for visiting Houston. I've made our people aware of the problem, and it shouldn't happen again.

I'm sorry to hear that you haven't been doing well and hope you're feeling stronger now. Lord knows the country needs you -- we certainly do. See you in Chicago.

Sincerely,

Bar

We can fix what's wrong
with the welfare bill —
we have to keep the heat
on the local folks to make
sure what's right with it
is implemented

Billie Carr

Democratic National Committee
5307 Beechnut
Houston, Texas 77096
(713) 667-6194

Maureen

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

Dear Mr. President,

It has been awhile since I have written you. First, Happy Birthday-this is one of the big ones. When I turned 50 I told everyone I now deserved respect. Hope it works for you. When I turned 60 my friends gave me a second childhood party. At 65 I bought a linen handkerchief, my grandmother always had one in her purse. In June this year I turned 68 and if I had know I would live so long I would have taken better care of myself!

I had two mini strokes in June, they called them TIA's. They said it only affected my right brain but not seriously. I told them I never used my right brain anyway so it would be all right. In July I had a reaction to the medication and was rushed to the hospital, again. That is when I made them take the test in less then 24 hours so I could check out in time to go see you on your last trip here.

It was great to see you. I loved the Saxophone Club event it was the most fun. My young date, Richard Hightower, invited me to go with him to the dinner. We sat at the table his law firm bought. For the second time I did not hear from your people until one hour before the event. The advance teams and the White House have always called me when any Democratic President or candidate came to Houston for the past thirty years or more. The media and Democrats all over town call me and my office to get information about visiting Democrats. Anyway we are good friends so you should make sure they don't overlook me again!

*cc
Karrin H
Page R*

I am sure you know that I am concerned about the Welfare Bill. It is still not what we had in mind. If you're re-elected, as I feel you will be, then maybe we can make it better. However, what if the worst happens and we lose? Heaven help the children. I would love to hear what you think about this bill. I do understand that you had to sign it.

Page 2 (Billie Carr Letter)

I will write you another time about my experience with health care now that I am on Medicare. It is not a good story and I've fussed enough in this letter already. I am sure you have heard it all before.

The local Clinton/Gore Boosters took a bus trip to Hope and they had a great time. The local people gave them first class treatment. I am resting up for Chicago so I didn't go. My friends and co-workers Karen Loper & Dottie Newton head up the Boosters. Karen went to Hope before and she arranged the trip with friends of yours in Hope. They are sending the stories to you and your people. It was on the front page of the Hope paper. Karen and Dottie are both delegates to the convention.

I was elected for four more years on the DNC at our state convention. This will be my last time, I only ran this time so I could be on the committee while you are President. We can both go out together in the year 2000. I have been on the committee since 1972, I think that makes me and Fowler two of the longest serving committee members.

This is more than enough for one letter, see you in Chicago, I think we will have a wonderful convention.

Peace & Love

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Billie".

Billie Carr

CCNH
for Karen
Kendall
celebrating
CPS 25th
USC activities -
C. Seaport
J. C.

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Please Return
Photos to Carolyn
Huber for personal
file.

August 20, 1996

Liz Goodenough
2260 Pinegrove Court
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48103

Dear Liz:

Thanks for your letter of August 1. It's wonderful to hear from you, and I really like your and Gil's idea for an institute on child studies. We certainly need it.

It was an honor to have the winners of the National Medals of Science and Technology here. Lew and Ruth are good people -- I'm glad they could be here for the ceremony.

I love the pictures! You look as good as always.

Sincerely,

Bill - no change in you -
lots in me! 

MAUREEN LEWIS

...ru rca
8/14



**Residential College
East Quadrangle**

The University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109-1245
(313) 763-0176
FAX: (313) 763-7712

August 1, 1996

Bill,

Dear Mr. ~~President~~:

I am writing at the insistence of Lewis van Dusen, my step-father's brother, who had a marvelous time meeting you last week when his wife, Ruth Patrick, was honored by a medal of science at the White House. Lew, a former Rhodes scholar, Philadelphia lawyer, and life-long Republican, was so impressed by your handling of this ceremony that my four years of effort as an F.O.B. have now inched forward.

I wanted you to know that Gil and I are 100% behind you in 1996, and are counting on a term in which your commitment to children and the environment becomes the defining legacy of a great presidency.

I still have the copy of Agee's Let Us Now Praise Famous Men you inscribed on my 23rd birthday at Oxford. You were very prescient about this amazing book. I used it teaching for Robert Coles at Harvard and recently have been rereading it as Gil and I try to set up an institute for Child Studies here. Ann Arbor, where the Hillary Clinton fan club started, is at the center of the country. We are hoping this fragmented university might inaugurate a cross-disciplinary degree program in the rebuilding of urban communities which focuses on the health, education, recreation, arts and environment of children. The catch phrase of our project is It Takes a Child to Make a Village Whole.

Please let me know what we can do for your reelection in Michigan.

with warmest wishes, always

Liz Grodenough

P.S. Thought you might like to have these photos from June 1970.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc: w/incoming
Carol Rasco

Pls look
into, advise
BK

August 20, 1996

David J. Jones
Post Office Box 431
Mabelvale, Arkansas 72103

Dear David:

Thanks for your letter of August 10 and for making me aware of the Vancomycin issue. I've passed along Dr. Peter Marvin's letter to Carol Rasco, my Assistant for Domestic Policy, and have asked her to follow up on this matter.

I hope you are doing well -- I'd love to see you and plan on keeping you to your word!

Sincerely,

Bill

J

Thank you Info.
CC Rosco

David J. Jones
P. O. 431
Mabelvale, Arkansas 72103

8-10-96

Mr. President,

Business first - The enclosed letter from Dr. ^{Peter} Mawin at Baptist is a bit wordy - I will try to be brief - The color pages enclosed are about an antibiotic called Vancomycin - The only one left that will kill most infections - The CDC and the Foundation for Medical Care are telling the "Docs" they must not use it - they must save it for the worst of infection -

The medicare regulation that Dr. Mawin refers to says that Vancomycin is the only antibiotic they will approve for home care -

Solution - get them to approve another one or two for home care -

J

David J. Jones
P. O. 431
Mabelvale, Arkansas 72103

The medical Community say don't use it - and for the patients at home, it is the only one approved -

Point - you can make some real brownie points with all the docs and related fields - the entire medical group in the U S - right here at election time.

Son - you are doing a great job - after your re-election I want to come and see you - I still brag to my friends about you inviting me over for the movie.

You are a good friend - and we love you -

Sincerely

David Jones

P.S. The entire meeting looked impressed when I told them at Baptist - I would write to you with the problem



Baptist

MEMORIAL MEDICAL CENTER

One Pershing Circle
North Little Rock, AR 72114-1899
501 771-3000

August 8, 1996

Peter Marvin, M.D.
Chief of Staff

President Bill Clinton
Washington, DC 20610

Re: Medicare Regulations Restricting Home Antibiotic Use

Dear Mr. President:

A Medicare regulation which desperately needs to be changed recently came to the attention of the executive committee of our medical staff here in North Little Rock, Arkansas. The Centers of Disease Control in Atlanta, as well as the Arkansas Foundation for Medical Care recently published very restrictive guidelines for the use of an antibiotic called Vancomycin. This drug has become the last resort in many serious infections, as the more dangerous bacterial populations have become increasingly resistant to drugs of first choice. Both the CDC nationally and the AFMC in our state have recommended sharp restrictions of the use of this drug, so as to save it for those occasions when nothing else will work.

Yet Medicare has restricted reimbursement for home antibiotics to this drug alone! Medicare will pay for no other. The result of course will be great pressure on physicians either to: (A) Use this precious drug liberally to save patients' huge out-of-pocket costs for alternate antibiotics, or (B) Put the patient in the hospital to receive alternative antibiotics, sparing the patient the out-of-pocket costs, but burdening the taxpayer with the increase cost of hospitalization.

Sir, the medical profession nationally and locally have tried to prevail upon HCFA to loosen these restrictions on home antibiotics through Medicare, without success; but these efforts take on a new urgency in the face of the potential loss of a "last-resort" antibiotic. Please prevail upon Medicare management to reconsider these restrictions; this will reduce Medicare hospitalization costs, expand our armamentarium for the elderly patients, while preserving the utility of one of our last, best weapons against mutating bacteria.

Thank you for listening.

Sincerely,

Peter M. Marvin, M.D., F.C.C.P.
Chief of Staff, Baptist Memorial Medical Center
North Little Rock, Arkansas

PMM/ddp



Arkansas Foundation for Medical Care, Inc.

809 GARRISON AVENUE • P.O. BOX 2424 • FORT SMITH, ARKANSAS 72902-2424
PHONE (501) 785-2471 • FAX (501) 785-3460 / (501) 785-2201

June 3, 1996

Steven Lampkin, Administrator
Baptist Medical Center
9601 Interstate 630, Exit 7
Little Rock, AR 72205

Suggested staff involvement:
Pharmacy Lab
Epidemiology/Infection Control
Director of Nursing

RE: Vancomycin Study

Dear Administrator:

This communication from the Arkansas Foundation for Medical Care Health Care Quality Improvement Program focuses on the prudent use of vancomycin as outlined by recent CDC guidelines.

3

Because of the growth in difficult to treat nosocomial infections, vancomycin is one of the more important pharmaceutical agents in our antimicrobial arsenal. Infection control experts are increasingly concerned with the development of resistant organisms to vancomycin. Vancomycin resistance is now present in 7.9% of enterococcal infections and 14% of such infections in ICU's. There was a 20 fold increase in the percentage of these isolates from 1989 through 1993. Such strains could become a serious threat to the population as few agents can successfully deal with such resistant bacteria. Moreover, the gene for vancomycin resistance can be passed in vitro from enterococcus to other streptococcal and staphylococcal species. To respond to this problem, the CDC has issued guidelines to limit the use of vancomycin, in the hope that restricted application of this medication will lessen the spread of resistant strains. In addition, they have outlined steps all institutions should take to monitor for these organisms and limit their spread within the facility.

Attachment A outlines the accepted and discouraged uses of vancomycin as outlined by the CDC. Vancomycin should not be used when culture and sensitivity analysis demonstrates effectiveness of β -lactam antibiotics. (Indeed, β -lactam agents are more rapidly bactericidal than vancomycin.) Vancomycin should not be used for routine preoperative prophylaxis or community acquired organisms. AFMC's previous preoperative antibiotics study demonstrated a 5% use of vancomycin for arthroplasty patients in our state. Other recommendations focus on treatment of probable contaminated blood cultures. Hospital pharmacies should track vancomycin use in their facility (see Figure 1).

Many hospital laboratories do not routinely test susceptibility of enterococcal isolates. Thus, recognition of hospital colonization of these resistant agents could be delayed. **All hospitals should have a program by which a sample or population of enterococcal isolates are tested for resistance to determine whether this organism is a problem at their institution.** All enterococcal isolates from usually sterile sites should be tested for antimicrobial susceptibility. Facilities with high risk patients (ICU, oncology, transplant) should perform periodic stool or rectal swab cultures of these high risk patients to determine if vancomycin resistance is an emerging problem in their critical care facilities. The cost of this screening can be reduced by inoculating specimens onto vancomycin containing selected media and restricting the screening to patients who have been in the hospital for at least five to seven days. Once the presence of vancomycin resistant organisms has been detected, a hospital should test for vancomycin resistance on all enterococcal isolates.

All hospitals should have isolation policies to respond to dealing with the care of patients having vancomycin resistant organisms. Such patients, whether colonized or infected, should be placed in single rooms or in rooms with other patients with this condition. Strict isolation precautions (gloves, gowns, and antiseptic soap) to limit transmission of the organism to other patients and units within the facility are critical. These patients should not share noncritical items such as blood pressure equipment, wheel chairs, intravenous poles and electronic thermometers. Stethoscopes should be dedicated or cleansed after contact.

In addition to the above, all clinical isolates of *Staph. aureus* or *Staph. epidermidis* should be tested for susceptibility to vancomycin. Confirmation cultures and techniques should be employed to verify the presence of such organisms. Health department and CDC officials should be notified of vancomycin resistance of all these bacteria.

Conclusions:

1. Vancomycin is a valuable medical resource whose effectiveness must be protected by the provider community.
2. The CDC has issued guidelines to reduce vancomycin use except for specific indications for organisms with potential resistance. Hospitals should implement surveillance, isolation, and reporting procedures for vancomycin resistant organisms.

Suggestions:

1. Hospitals should review standing orders for surgical care to eliminate routine use of vancomycin for perioperative prophylaxis.
2. Pharmacy committees should review the use of IV vancomycin in their institutions to determine if there are variances from CDC guidelines. Run charts (See Figure 1)

documenting vancomycin use could be helpful in focusing institutional effort on this project.

3. All hospitals should have a program of surveillance for resistant strains of enterococcus, *Staph. aureus*, and *Staph. epidermidis* to detect emerging vancomycin resistance, especially in ICU settings.
4. All hospitals should have procedures in place to isolate patients with vancomycin resistant infections to decrease further colonization of patients and facilities.
5. All clinical isolates of *Staph. aureus* and *Staph. epidermidis* should be tested for susceptibility to vancomycin.

As in previous projects, AFMC looks forward to helping you apply these practice guidelines in your hospital. We have included a summary of the CDC guidelines and a sample run chart to assist with your surveillance. For additional literature or assistance, please contact our office.

Sincerely,



William Golden, MD
Principal Clinical Coordinator

cc: Chief of Staff
Quality Manager/Key Contact

Attachments

Note: AFMC is moving to a new office June 6 & 7; so we'll be unavailable those days. Effective Monday, June 10, our new business numbers will be: voice phone - 501-649-8501; fax 501-649-0004. We will have the same shipping post office address. Thanks for your patience.

Vancomycin Utilization *CDC Guidelines*

A. Acceptable Use

1. For treatment of high risk patients with sepsis due to β -lactam-resistant gram-positive microorganisms. Clinicians should be aware that Vancomycin may be less rapidly bactericidal than β -lactam agents for β -lactam-susceptible staphylococci. Control of MRSA essential to Vancomycin use and Vancomycin Resistant Enterococcus control.
2. For treatment of infections due to gram-positive microorganisms in patients with defined serious allergy to β -lactam antimicrobials.
3. When symptomatic antibiotic-associated colitis (AAC) fails to respond to metronidazole or therapy or if AAC is severe and potentially life-threatening.
4. Prophylaxis, as recommended by the American Heart Association, for endocarditis following certain procedures in patients at high risk for endocarditis with focus on β -lactam allergy.
5. Prophylaxis for major surgical procedures involving implantation of prosthetic materials or devices, e.g., cardiac and vascular procedures and total hip replacement, at institutions with a high rate of infections due to methicillin-resistant *Staphylococcus aureus* (MRSA) or methicillin-resistant *S. epidermidis*. A single dose administered immediately before surgery is sufficient unless the procedure lasts more than 6 hours, in which case the dose should be repeated. Prophylaxis should be discontinued after a maximum of two doses.

B. Discouraged Use

1. Routine surgical prophylaxis other than in a patient with life-threatening allergy to β -lactam antibiotics.
2. Empiric antimicrobial therapy for a febrile neutropenic patient, unless there is strong evidence at the outset that the patient has an infection due to gram-positive microorganisms (e.g., inflamed exit site of Hickman catheter), and the prevalence of infections due to MRSA in the hospital is substantial.

3. Treatment in response to a single blood culture positive for coagulase-negative staphylococcus, if other blood cultures drawn in the same time frame are negative, i.e., if contamination of blood cultures is likely. Because contamination of blood cultures with skin flora, e.g., *S. epidermidis*, may cause vancomycin to be administered to patients inappropriately, phlebotomists and other personnel who obtain blood cultures should be trained properly to minimize microbial contamination of specimens. It is considered poor medical practice if only a single blood culture is ordered.
4. Continued empiric use for presumed infections in patients whose cultures are negative for β -lactam resistant gram-positive microorganisms.
5. Systemic or local (e.g., antibiotic lock) prophylaxis for infection or colonization of indwelling central or peripheral intravascular catheters.
6. Selective decontamination of the digestive tract.
7. Eradication of MRSA colonization.
8. Primary treatment of asymptomatic non-severe, or non-life threatening AAC.
9. Routine prophylaxis for very low-birth weight infants.
10. Routine prophylaxis for patients on continuous ambulatory peritoneal dialysis or hemodialysis.
11. Treatment (chosen for dosing convenience) of infections due to β -lactam-sensitive gram-positive microorganisms for hospital patients with renal failure.
12. Use of vancomycin solution for topical application or irrigation.

The preceding is an excerpt from the Hospital Infection Control Practices Advisory Committee (HICPAC). Special Communication: Recommendations for preventing the spread of vancomycin resistance: recommendations of the Hospital Infection Control Practices Advisory Committee (HICPAC). *American Journal of Infection Control* 1995;23:87-94.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: Peter Umhofer

Fax Number: 2710

Phone Number:

FROM: Todd Stern

SUBJECT: Climate Change Letter

DATE: 8/21

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 3

MESSAGE:

If all pages are not received, please call 202/456-2702

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~~Insert to~~ Climate Change Letter
(t. stern)

Dear ____:

Thank you for your letter on my Administration's approach to the global climate change issue. I understand your concerns and want to take a moment to explain my views.

As a starting point, I do believe that we have a responsibility to address this issue. The scientific community has sounded a clear warning that escalating emissions of greenhouse gases could lead to major changes in the Earth's climate, damaging human health and our environment.

At the recently completed Second Conference of Parties, the United States announced a new framework for action under the Climate Convention. I believe that this framework is balanced and addresses many of the concerns set forth in your letter.

First, the United States rejected proposals by some countries for emissions reductions that could not realistically be achieved and, instead, called for "realistic, verifiable and binding" targets. Second, the United States supported the use of market-based mechanisms, including emissions trading among nations, to promote cost-effective reductions. Third, we rejected the use of inflexible, harmonized "policies and measures." Finally, we stated that all countries, including developing countries, must participate in meeting this global challenge.

Establishing a sound framework is a critical first step in the negotiating process. We are already conducting additional economic analyses and technical assessments. As part of this process, we will be consulting with the Congress, the business community and other nongovernmental groups. Based on this effort, we will at some later point in the negotiations be able to support a specific target and timetable. Our ultimate position will fully reflect economic considerations and our commitment to the principle that environmental

protection and economic prosperity go hand-in-hand.

§ That is a principle to which Vice President Gore and I are fully committed. In addressing the issue of climate change, I hope we can count on your assistance and expertise.

Thanks again for writing.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 11, 1996

THE FEDERAL DIARY

Backdoor Buyouts

By Mike Causey
Washington Post Staff Writer

The genie is out of the bottle. Buyouts are back! That should be welcome news to longtime federal workers eager to take the money and run. And for jittery junior bureaucrats who daily check their interoffice mail for a pink (as in **YOU'RE FIRED!**) slip. Beginning Oct. 1, selected Agriculture Department employees will be offered buyouts, thanks to a little-noticed provision in the appropriation bill President Clinton has signed into law. The buyouts slipped past just about everybody.

Look for similar buyouts in other agencies. They would offer retirement incentives to older workers and job insurance to younger ones.

Agriculture's buyouts were intentionally buried in multibillion-dollar language covering other agency programs. The first buyouts will be offered Oct. 1, the start of the fiscal year. The buyouts will be worth as much as \$25,000 at the start, and the maximum value will decline \$5,000 a year. The maximum would be \$10,000 when the buyouts ended in fiscal 2000. Buyouts are subject to deductions and are fully taxed.

Agriculture has about 105,000 workers, and most buyout takers will come from among the 21,000 eligible for regular or early retirement. Agriculture hopes to offer early retirement (age 50 with 20 years of service or any age with 25 years of service) as an added incentive.

Early-cut authority expires for most agencies next month, but Agriculture and many other departments have requested an extension for at least another 12 months. Early retirees would have their annuities reduced 2 percent for each year they are younger than 55.

Approval of Agriculture's buyouts makes it likely Congress will offer similar treatment on a case-by-case basis to other departments and agencies.

Downsizing agencies that are expected to ask for buyouts include the Departments of Energy and Housing and Urban

Development and independent agencies such as the the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the General Services Administration.

NASA, for example, expects to eliminate about 500 of 1,400 headquarters jobs in the Washington area within the next 13 months. The Clinton administration is pressuring other agencies to whittle down headquarters staffs and the number of people in "overhead" jobs such as personnel, payroll and accounting, budget and procurement.

Agriculture's buyout program is almost identical to a plan proposed by the Clinton administration in May. That proposal went the traditional route—through the House Government Reform and Oversight Committee—and was quickly shot down.

Committee members, who control civil service legislation, felt the government had used earlier buyout programs as expensive, taxpayer-financed farewell gifts to employees who would have retired in any case. They also objected to the successful end run made by the Smithsonian Institution when it got buyout authority this year from another committee.

Members of the Government Reform and Oversight Committee also were angered when the Departments of Transportation and Energy briefly revived a delayed buyout program that was supposed to end in March 1995 to give a few hundred more employees a chance to take buyouts.

After seeing the minefields that blew apart the Clinton buyout plan, Agriculture decided to take its case to friendlier folks in the appropriations committees that handle its budget. The buyout language, so closely guarded that most top Agriculture officials were unaware of it, slipped through as part of a much bigger bill.

Buyouts of the Future

The next round of buyouts will be very different from those given more than 110,000 workers in recent years. For a preview of how they will work, check this space tomorrow.

Sunday, Aug. 11, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/21/96

VP
interesting
with an annual
270,000 by end
of year?

Re

8/21/96

Genes That Protect Against AIDS

The discovery that a genetic mutation can protect certain individuals from the AIDS virus despite repeated exposure solves a puzzling medical mystery and opens new pathways toward treatments and possibly a vaccine.

In this case the lucky individuals included two homosexual New Yorkers who had somehow escaped infection with the AIDS virus despite repeated, unprotected sex with companions who died from the disease. Neither quite understood why he was spared but they were smart enough and public-spirited enough to press scientists to come up with the answer.

Last week scientists at the Aaron Diamond AIDS Research Center in New York City did just that. Building on the recent discovery that the AIDS virus enters human immune cells by latching onto a previously unidentified receptor, they determined that, in these two men, the gene that was supposed to produce the receptor was defective. As a result the receptor was missing, and the AIDS virus was unable to enter. Parallel studies by Belgian researchers found similar results.

The findings may help explain not only how some people avoid infection entirely despite repeated exposures but also why others who are infected progress exceedingly slowly toward severe illness. Although AIDS is usually fatal, there have always been long-term survivors who show few if any signs

of overt illness. Those individuals, it now seems, might have inherited only a single copy of the defective gene from one parent. The two New Yorkers who resisted infection inherited the genetic mutation from both parents.

The new discovery opens exciting possibilities for treatment and prevention. Now that they know how crucial the receptors are, scientists may be able to devise drugs that could disable or block the receptors from accepting the AIDS virus. They might also be able to devise a vaccine to produce antibodies that would block the receptors, thus conferring long-term immunity. But that task is considered more daunting.

The protective mutation, while not common, is not extremely rare. An estimated 1 percent of all Caucasians of Western European descent have the double-copy mutation that seems to provide full protection, while an additional 20 percent or more have the single-copy mutation that may prove slightly protective. Scientists expect that other protective mutations may be found in other population groups, thus explaining how some prostitutes in Africa and Thailand have not come down with the disease despite repeated exposure.

These new discoveries are a reminder that genetic mutations, though often deemed "defects," can sometimes prove a blessing, conferring surprising benefits on those lucky enough to inherit them.

The Future of Tolerance

Powell Addresses An Imaginary Party

SAN DIEGO
Shortly after addressing his fellow Republicans here, Colin Powell told NBC News that he did not want to be regarded as a "poster boy" for Republican tolerance. No one can blame him for that, but you have to assume, based on the political skill with which he managed his career, that Mr. Powell understands how great a gap there is between his

nostalgic vision of the "party of Lincoln" and the modern party as defined by the delegates to this convention. The majority of those delegates have no intention of belonging to a party that believes what Mr. Powell believes about abortion, affirmative action and immigration. So in explaining his vision of Republicanism, Mr. Powell was defining a party that does not exist and that will never exist if the activist core of this convention has its way.

But as the tributes to Ronald Reagan should remind us, a party is shaped by personalities as well as by the zeal of its factions. Given the anxiety over how Bob Dole will perform in 1996, no one here wants to talk too loudly about 2000 or 2004. But you can bet that plenty of people — including Jack Kemp, Patrick Buchanan and perhaps even the tirelessly coy Mr. Powell — are looking down the road. Of course, if the Dole-Kemp ticket wins, the mantle of inevitability will settle on Mr. Kemp's shoulders. But if Mr. Dole loses, then the succession struggle and the future of the party are opened up in some fascinating ways.

Should Mr. Kemp inherit or win the leadership of the party in four or eight years, then its economic-theory faction will be ascendant. Figures like Mr. Kemp and Newt Gingrich are passionate about taxes and fiscal policy, and they are willing to indulge the social-agenda conservatives on abortion, school prayer, guns or any other issue that stirs their passions. By the way, you have to give Mr. Gingrich and Haley Barbour credit for keeping the rowdy little army of evangelicals and social-agenda conservatives under control here despite Mr. Buchanan's efforts at rabble-rousing.

But the price of peace was to let them write the platform, and Mr. Buchanan is being only slightly hyperbolic when he says that if the G.O.P. is judged by its platform, it is really "Pat Buchanan's party." Mr. Buchanan did not draw a very big crowd to his sore-loser rally in Escondido on Sunday, but he got what he needed in the form of sound bites to remind "my people" that they have a

chance to dictate both the platform and the ticket in 2000. Indeed, Mr. Buchanan yearns so deeply for a Dole defeat that he can hardly bring himself to speak the man's name in public.

If the Kemp wing represents the party's intellect and Mr. Buchanan represents its id, then Mr. Powell represents a party whose personality is shaped by the polite inclinations of its grass-roots voters rather than the passions of its delegate factions. Within the next decade, the flexible G.O.P. envisioned

by Mr. Powell and Northeastern moderates like William Weld and Rudolph Giuliani could probably be created in only one way. That would be for Mr. Powell to march through the primaries with such forceful, overarching personal appeal that he developed the clout to drag the party toward the center on social issues.

Such a revolution by personality is exactly what happened in 1980, although of course Mr. Reagan dragged the party in a different direction. The current reality is that the tolerance at this convention for Republican moderates like Mr. Powell is pretty shallow. Susan Molinari is being tolerated because she will make a good television picture and has promised not to say she believes in the right of women to have legal abortions.

Mr. Powell could be a more serious force if he set out to rally Republican voters to take back the party from its convention zealots. But no one knows whether he was delivering a serious political speech the other night or just kind of thinking out loud. One thing is for sure. Fixing used Volvos is probably easier and more fun than trying to get Abe Lincoln re-admitted to Pat Buchanan's party.

HOWELL RAINES



Chase
in the
of then's
mon her can
res (eg at mon
research & lighter
now. sketchy!!

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/21/96

5459

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 8, 1996

96 AUG 8 PM 1:18
C. J. McGarry
Beer
[Signature]

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Letter to British Historian Regarding D-Day
Dinner

Purpose

To thank the famed British military historian, John Keegan, for his insightful and very complimentary account of the "D-Day Dinner" you hosted in May 1994 and in which he participated (see Tab B).

Background

Besides chronicling the basic sequence and highlights of the dinner, Mr. Keegan draws some fascinating conclusions in his latest book, *Fields of Battle*, about what the event underscored for him in terms of the differences between the American and British forms of government. For example, he writes: "I was, I realised, present at an occasion when the American voice makes the American mind unequivocally clear to the chief of the nation. I could imagine no similar occasion in England. We defer, not only to our hereditary but also to our elected leaders; collectively, we are as independent and as difficult to govern as any people on earth; individually, we shuffle and stumble our words and bob our heads and hope we have not broken any of the rules. There are no rules between Americans, except those of the common politeness that ought to govern free people. I love America."

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A to Mr. Keegan.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Mr. Keegan

Tab B Excerpt from Keegan's *Fields of Battle*

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Professor Keegan:

I greatly enjoyed reading your fascinating and insightful account of the dinner I was privileged to host at the White House just prior to our 50th anniversary of D-Day commemorations. I can amply attest to your observations about Americans' penchant for directness when addressing their chief of state. I also appreciated your kind comparison between our proceedings that remarkable evening and the proceedings in Philadelphia in 1787.

This is a busy season for me, as you can imagine, but I hope to find time before long to read *Fields of Battle* in its entirety.

Sincerely,

Rin Clinton

Professor John Keegan
The Manor House
Kilminster
near Warminster
Wiltshire
BA12 6RD

The Wars for North America

JOHN KEEGAN



Alfred A. Knopf New York

1996

I suppose, had it not been for this gradual initiation, that I might have timorously declined the invitation to meet the greatest of America's public officials when it eventually came my way. Most of us are modest enough to recognise that we have little to say of interest or importance in the wider world; I, except as a military historian, have never thought my opinion on anything worth tuppence. Military history, moreover, is an antiquarian calling; however its practitioners flatter themselves to the contrary, it impinges little on the real world. It helped me to predict, accurately, the outcome of the Gulf War; I did not think that my familiarity with battles long ago would prove of contemporary applicability again. In the spring of 1994, however, military historians suddenly found themselves courted by the media and governments. The great public event of the year was to be the commemoration of the invasion of Europe fifty years earlier. Anyone who had written about the subject—as fortuitously I had—was in demand. I signed up for a raft of articles in British and American journals. Late in May a former editor of an American magazine on whose masthead I appear telephoned to enquire whether I planned shortly to be in Washington. I suppose I could be, I answered; why? The President, he explained, was convening a conference of Second World War historians in the White House to acquaint him with the outlines of the campaign and also to suggest to him appropriate messages to transmit to the participant countries. I would, I said rapidly, be there. He could count on me.

I had been inside the White House once before, as a tourist in 1957, when Washington was an empty city and queues short. A vague memory of stuffy rooms and clumsy furniture lingered. I remembered better crossing the Mall and climbing by the internal staircase to the top of the Washington Memorial, a feat of Alpinism which would be quite beyond me today. I did not know what to expect. We would, I was told, each speak to the President for five minutes, answer questions, and then dine with him. The arrival at journey's end had a famil-

iar routine, a student escort, a chauffeur-driven car; but the student was a White House intern, bubbling with excitement at learning his political science on the hoof, the chauffeur a Transportation Corps sergeant in sober plain clothes. He dropped me at my hotel and said he would be back. At the dinner hour he reappeared: "We shall be going to the Diplomatic Entrance." The White House is an island of tranquillity inside Washington's bustle. Beyond the railings and the power-operated gates one might be in the gardens of a great Southern plantation house, cut off by rose arbours and ornamental groves from the world outside. Once admitted, moreover, one is made to feel a guest, not a visitor. At 10 Downing Street, on party evenings, the throng passes one by one through an electronic scanner and pockets are emptied for policemen. At the White House a charming girl told me that I would find the others at the end of the hall; "you'll hear voices." I wandered away through a succession of corridors, past the open doorways to rooms of perfectly arranged and exquisite furniture—Jackie Kennedy's hand, I thought to myself—all dusted and polished a moment before, and found some grave, greying, black, tail-coated footmen offering iced tea outside the theatre in which the President would hear us.

Inside were some familiar faces: Paul Fussell, the great cultural historian of the Anglo-American war experience; Carlo d'Este, master of the documentation of the Normandy campaign; Stephen Ambrose, biographer of Eisenhower; Forrest Pogue, the official historian who interviewed wounded survivors of Omaha Beach offshore on hospital ships in the evening of D-Day; General Hal Nelson, U.S. Army Chief of Military History. They and I were the briefing team. Among the other guests I knew was General Andrew Goodpaster, a former Supreme Allied Commander, an incarnation to me of the George Marshall world of high-minded public service; as a young colonel, convalescing from wounds suffered in Italy, he had served both Marshall and Stimson, the Secretary of War, as confidential secretary. General John Eisenhower, Ike's son, a distinguished military historian himself, was there; we had met a few months earlier in Washington. There were other faces I recognised without knowing their owners: Warren Christopher, the Secretary of State, Lloyd Bentsen, the Secretary of the Treasury. I felt in a slight blur. It was suddenly borne in on me that I was the only non-American present in a gathering of the great republic's establishment; and we were waiting for the President.

There was a delay. The President was detained at a meeting, dis-

cussing most-favoured nation status for China. Conversation buzzed on; I was surprised by the absence of unease. British subjects in Buckingham Palace are on stiff best behaviour; these American citizens in the Executive Mansion were courteously relaxed. There was no stir when the President entered; hands were shaken; "Thank you for making the long trip," he said to me; we settled down to work. The historians sat on a row of fragile, gold chairs facing the President; he balanced a notebook on the arm of his seat and took notes relentlessly. Abstractedly I observed that he is left-handed. Maps were arranged on an easel, sequences of events described. I had been told I would be the last to speak. I wondered what to say. Gradually it dawned on me that my American colleagues were not simply making presentations. They were also telling the President what he should say in the speeches he would have to make when he visited Europe ten days hence. He must remember to emphasise the contribution of the French Resistance. He must allude to Italy's co-belligerency. He must pave the way—even though the Germans had not been invited—for the reconciliation which would be the theme of the 1995 commemorations of the end of the war. "The Germans suffered, too," repeated several speakers. You weren't bombed by the Luftwaffe, I thought, and bit my tongue; but when my turn came I found the words I wanted. "Remember the Canadian contribution," I said—I know how overlooked Canadians feel, when the capture of one of the five D-Day beaches was wholly their achievement; "Remember the Poles"—it was they who plugged the Falaise Gap; most heartfelt of all, recalling my childhood, "Remember that the British date the making of the great alliance to the coming of the GIs." My generation does not forget. You do not need to remind us of what America did. We know and we shall be grateful to our graves.

"I've kept you too long," said the President. He led us upstairs to dinner. China so beautiful I scarcely dared put knife to plate, presentational cuisine, almost invisible service; not long before I had been a guest at a similar evening in a British royal palace and reflected on the differences. There is a certain knockabout quality to palace life, old retainers grown saucily familiar, odd bits of obsolete serving equipment parked in corners, polished silver boxes full of spent matches, beautiful liveries but shabby shoes. The Prince Consort noted the deficiencies when he married the young Victoria. The White House is like the grandest of grand hotels, in which the major domo pounces unforgiv-

ingly on the slightest failing by kitchen or waiters. The President is cooed by perfection. He is not, however, allowed to think for one moment that he is royal. Head of State he may be, but his fellow citizens speak their minds directly and unaffectedly. At my palace evening the guests spoke hesitantly and into the middle distance. In the White House the President's guests addressed him over dinner face-to-face, and made polemical points. A senior congressman who had fought for his country warned him that America's place in the world rested on its possession of preponderant military force. A former commanding general emphasised that the armed services require recruitment from the country's best. An old Washington power-broker dismissed the idea of interdependence as an American alliance policy and declared that there is no substitute for leadership.

I was, I realised, present at an occasion when the American voice makes the American mind unequivocally clear to the chief of the nation. I could imagine no similar occasion in England. We defer, not only to our hereditary but also to our elected leaders; collectively, we are as independent and as difficult to govern as any people on earth; individually, we shuffle and stumble our words and bob our heads and hope we have not broken any of the rules. There are no rules between Americans, except those of the common politeness that ought to govern free people. I love America. I have long wondered and tried to explain why, most of all to myself. After my evening with the President, I grasped a little more of the answer. The Americans are truly free and equal people. It was I who had "sirred" and "Mr. Presidented" in a reflex of the manner I would have used at home. The Americans had "Mr. Presidented" also, but as the preliminary to statements of what he ought to say, what he ought to think. I had been listening to a process of the making of policy, not much different, perhaps, from the process that had made the Constitution at Philadelphia in 1787. The stakes, of course, were of an altogether lower order. The temper of the meeting cannot have been much dissimilar. I had seen the President as a first among equals, a relationship which is the essence of the American political system. I went back to England—followed by a signed letter of thanks so charming that I framed it to hang on my study wall—pondering even deeper on the differences between monarchy and republic.



JOHN KEEGAN is one of the world's most distinguished historians, and the author of many acclaimed books, including, most recently, *A History of Warfare* and *The Battle for History*. He has been a Fellow at Princeton University and is now defence correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph* in London.

With 16 pages of photographs and 4 maps

*Jacket painting: The Siege of Yorktown
by Henri Desire van Blarenberghe
(in reverse), Château, Versailles, France.
Giraudon/Art Resource, New York*

Jacket design by Susan Carroll



Alfred A. Knopf, Publisher, New York

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/21/96

Smith
This is a big key to turn R

Clinton Urges Approval of Project Using Medicare to Reimburse VA Facilities

By Spencer Rich
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Clinton administration has asked Congress to authorize a demonstration project in which Medicare would reimburse the Veterans Affairs Department for the health care of certain elderly veterans who are eligible for Medicare but would prefer to be treated in veterans' facilities.

Now Medicare does not reimburse the VA when a Medicare-eligible person obtains care at a veterans' medical facility.

Veterans Affairs Secretary Jesse

Brown sent Congress legislation Thursday to set up such a project. Among other things, the project would test whether the VA, with its experience in handling veterans' health care, could provide better care at lower costs to the government than veterans could obtain using Medicare in the private sector. If the demonstration indicated that the VA costs would be lower, and that many veterans who now use Medicare would switch to VA services, the hard-pressed Medicare trust funds might save money by paying the VA to provide care to these Medicare eligibles.

However, if the VA could not provide the services for less, the Medicare trust funds could lose money.

The project "would open the VA system to Medicare-eligible veterans at a limited number of sites, allowing VA to receive reimbursement from Medicare," President Clinton said in a statement last week.

Under existing law, veterans who have service-connected disabilities or are poor receive health care free at veterans' medical facilities.

However, because of "constraints on resources" at VA health centers, Brown said in a letter to Vice Presi-

dent Gore, veterans who are neither poor nor suffer from service-connected disabilities have only limited access to services, and when they do get served it is not free.

That means many elderly veterans who would prefer using the VA must seek care in the private sector and rely on Medicare if eligible for it. The reimbursement demonstration would involve only this group—non-poor, Medicare-eligible elderly who do not have a service-connected disability. With the prospect of Medicare funding—at rates that exceed what the VA charges its paying patients—and an assured supply of

paying patients, the VA could expand its medical services, officials said.

The president said the administration is also working on a proposal for a similar demonstration project authorizing Medicare to reimburse the armed forces when a career military retiree (normally those who have served at least 20 years) who is eligible for Medicare receives care at an armed forces medical facility. Career military retirees are eligible for veterans' health benefits, but spokesmen say they prefer military health facilities, not veterans' hospitals.

The proposed VA demonstration project would be carried out at up to eight sites. The legislation also authorizes Brown to set up managed care health plans at the sites, with Medicare paying the premiums. After four years, Medicare and the VA must recommend whether the project should be continued and expanded.

Both the VA proposal and the anticipated proposal for career military personnel have support from many constituent groups and members of the congressional veterans' and military affairs committees.

Arkansas Defies Abortion Ruling

Associated Press

LITTLE ROCK, Aug. 10—In defiance of an order from a federal judge, Arkansas Gov. Mike Huckabee (R) refused to allow Medicaid to pay for the abortion of a 15-year-old girl whose stepfather has been charged with incest.

While federal law requires Medicaid to fund abortions for poor women in cases of rape or incest, Huckabee said through a spokesman Friday that his first obligation is to the Arkansas Constitution, which forbids public funds to be used for abortion except when a woman's life is in danger.

State attorneys say the governor's refusal to authorize the \$430 payment did not reflect his well-known opposition to abortion, but is part of a strategy to protect the state's position in a pending lawsuit in state court.

In that lawsuit, scheduled to go to trial in September, an antiabortion advocate is seeking an order compelling Arkansas' withdrawal from the Medicaid program because of the state constitutional provision.

Failure to uphold federal law could lead to the state losing its federal funding for Medicaid. The state could lose about \$1 billion if it no longer participates in the program, which provides health care for the poor and elderly.

THE WASHINGTON POST

SUNDAY, AUGUST 11, 1996

On TV: Barbour, Campaign Aides, 4 Governors

Guests to be interviewed today

on major television talk shows:
Dole campaign co-chairman Vin Weber, Dole campaign adviser Donald Runstedt, Clinton-Gore campaign press secretary Joe Lockhart, presidential adviser George Stephanopoulos, former presidential candidate Malcolm S. "Steve" Forbes and former Republican strategist Edward J. Rollins on "Fox News Sunday" (Fox, WTTG), 9 a.m.
Republican National Committee Chairman Haley Barbour and Angela "Bay" Buchanan, Patrick J. Buchanan's campaign manager, on Meet the Press" (NBC, WRC), 10:30 a.m.
California Gov. Pete Wilson (R), Michigan Gov. John Engler (R), Runstedt and Christian Coalition executive director Ralph Reed on "This Week With David Brinkley" (ABC, WFLA), 11:30 a.m.
Texas Gov. George W. Bush (R), New Jersey Gov. Christine Todd Whitman (R) and Christian Coalition president Pat Robertson on "Face the Nation" (CBS, WTSA), 11:30 a.m.
Democratic Party Chairman Christopher J. Dodd, Runstedt, Bay Buchanan, former New York governor Mario M. Cuomo (D) and William J. Bennett of Empower America on "Late Edition With Frank Sesno" (CNN), noon.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/21/94

Don
What about this?

Be

The Washington Times
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 14, 1996

JACK PAYTON

Turkey's very public slap of Clinton

This is a slap in the face President Clinton was hoping to avoid — at least until after the November elections.

And it didn't come from any expected quarter, such as the Republican convention at San Diego. Instead, the slap, sharp and well-aimed, came from the new prime minister of Turkey during a visit to Iran on Monday.

What Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan did was to sign a \$23 billion natural gas supply deal with Iran, a country the Clinton administration considers one of two major state sponsors of international terrorism. The deal, which calls for construction of a natural gas pipeline between the two countries and a 23-year supply contract, amounts to an open and very direct challenge to the new anti-terrorism measure that Mr. Clinton signed into law only last week.

Under Mr. Clinton's new law, the United States is supposed to punish any foreign company that does more than \$40 million a year in oil and gas business with Iran or Libya. The idea is to damage the economies of those two countries so much that their leaders decide to stop using terrorism as an instrument of national policy.

Mr. Clinton apparently was hoping that the law would work simply by being there — that foreign governments and companies, valuing their ties with the United States, would quietly stay away from Iran and Libya. That way, Washington would get its way without having to

get into a nasty argument or trade dispute with its allies.

Mr. Erbakan's natural gas deal dashes those hopes and confronts Mr. Clinton with a ticklish problem: What to do about Turkey, a key ally in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization?

Does the president let this one pass, hoping that our other allies don't follow Turkey's example? Or does he stand up for what he apparently believes is right by imposing sanctions?

And if Mr. Clinton does that, won't he risk sparking a wave of nationalist anti-Americanism in Turkey, one that would play right into the hands of Mr. Erbakan's Islamic fundamentalist Welfare Party?

This last question may be the most crucial of all.

Turkey's people are already among the most anti-American around. A recent U.S. Information Agency study ranks the Turks next to last in positive feelings about us, surpassed in their anti-Americanism only by the Serbs.

The fear among State Department experts on the region is that if we go after Turkey's new government over the Iranian natural gas deal, the only thing we'll accomplish is to strengthen support for Mr. Erbakan's anti-Western fundamentalist party.

On the other hand, the president

will look mighty ridiculous if he doesn't do something about a once-trusted ally's slapping him in the face so defiantly only a week after his anti-terrorism law went into effect. And this being presidential election season, Mr. Clinton certainly doesn't want to look ridiculous, does he?

That's a hard question to answer. Initial reaction from the State Department left open the possibility that the president might indeed decide that looking ridiculous is better than the alternative.

The Iran-Turkey natural gas deal "sends the wrong message," said a State Department spokesman, adding that "we certainly don't expect that this will cause a major rift in our relationship."

That response, vague as it was, left open the possibility that Mr. Clinton was playing for time so he could come up with some last-minute diplomatic sleight of hand that allows him to have it both ways. That's what he did with a law penalizing foreign companies that do business with Cuba.

When Canadian and European companies defied the law, Mr. Clinton authorized American lawsuits against them, but only after a six-month waiting period — i.e., after the November elections.

He may have gotten away with that ploy once, but there was enough finger-pointing and howling

after the Cuba cave-in that it's hard to imagine Mr. Clinton's trying the same trick again. Right?

What all this points up is that Washington is beginning to have a

major problem with Turkey. Mr. Erbakan's Islamic Welfare Party has traditionally been anti-Western and anti-American, in particular. The timing and scope of the Turk-

ish leader's natural-gas deal with Iran confirms that tradition and hands Mr. Clinton yet another foreign policy challenge when he least needs it.

Jack R. Payton writes for the St. Petersburg Times. Distributed by Scripps Howard News Service.



THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MONDAY, AUGUST 12, 1996

Mistrust Imperils Some Mideast Projects

Business Must Surmount Resurgent Political Hurdles

By AMY DOCKSER MARCUS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

After Middle East peace talks got under way, politicians rushed to announce high-profile business projects designed to usher in a new era of economic cooperation. Now several of the flagship deals may be in jeopardy, calling into question whether business is strong enough to overcome the resurgent political mistrust in the region.

The Middle East regional development bank faces funding problems amid growing opposition by Congress to put up \$260 million, or 21% of the bank's start-up capital. Israel's deal with Enron Corp. to buy liquefied natural gas from Qatar, announced with great fanfare at last year's Middle East economic summit in Amman, is facing questions at home by officials who say it doesn't make economic sense. And Egyptian officials have indicated that this year's summit planned for Cairo in mid-November may not go ahead if peace talks between Israel, Syria and the Palestinians, frozen because of terrorist attacks in Israel and the May Israeli elections, don't begin again soon.

Not So Bleak

Mini-crises have long marked Middle East political and economic relations, and the current troubles are no exception. But the situation isn't necessarily as bad as it

'Prosperity is going to come from better access to the region's markets and not grandiose projects," says Harvard's Leonard Hausman.

may seem: Congress still could decide to cough up the money for the bank; Egypt, eager to attract foreign investors, is unlikely to cancel the summit; and criticism about some of the deals under question predates the Israeli elections. Not all of the economic news is bleak either: The Persian Gulf country Oman opened a trade office in Tel Aviv last week.

But many of the architects of the vision that came to be known as the "New Middle East" say the recent bumps highlight the fragility of economic progress when the pace of political dialogue isn't keeping up. They also say that the whole strategy of pushing big-ticket deals mainly to secure political objectives needs to be re-examined in light of the difficulties that have emerged.

"Economic arrangements cannot be a substitute for political arrangements. And prosperity is going to come from better access to the region's markets and not grandiose projects," says Leonard Hausman, director of Harvard University's Institute for Social and Economic Policy in the Middle East, which sponsors working

Blemished Fruits of Peace

PROJECT	OBSTACLES
MIDDLE EAST REGIONAL BANK	Fading support in the region. U.S. is main shareholder, and Congress balks at funding.
MIDDLE EAST ECONOMIC SUMMIT, CAIRO, MID-NOVEMBER	Expected to go forward, but Egypt is linking summit to restarting of peace talks between Israel, Syria and Palestinians.
JOINT AIRPORT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JORDAN	Formal approval by both governments, but questions raised about the economic need for the airport.
REGIONAL NATURAL-GAS PIPELINES	Planned Egypt-Israel-Jordan-Palestinian Authority pipeline going forward, but not time to abandon pace. Rate of funding not yet set by Qatar to Israel in doubt.
REGIONAL RAILWAYS	Israeli officials questioning deal's economic viability. Israel and Jordan have completed early planning for a Haifa-Mashraq line, but the huge cost and low amount of trade may torpedo the deal.
OPENING OF ECONOMIC INTEREST OFFICE IN TEL AVIV BY QATAR	Postponed. Qatar says it will slow economic normalization with Israel until peace talks restart.

groups trying to come up with solutions to regional economic issues.

The uncertainty about the future of Middle East peace talks hasn't helped matters. When former Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres lost the May elections to Likud Party head Benjamin Netanyahu, the new Israeli government's harder line on trading land for peace prompted some Arab leaders to put economics on hold. Qatar decided to postpone opening a trade office in Tel Aviv, saying economic normalization with Israel would be tied to the pace of the peace talks. Two meetings scheduled to be held in Tel Aviv in early July to discuss the formation of a regional business council and regional transportation issues never took place. Israeli officials say their Arab counterparts cited political tensions as the reason for backing out.

Lack of Progress

"There is a growing feeling at the public level that it is premature to normalize economic relations with Israel," says Hisham Awartani, head of the economics department at the Center for Palestine Research and Studies in the West Bank city of Nablus. "Any talk about joint ventures is constrained by the lack of political progress."

The slowdown in peace talks also has created an opportunity for any underlying economic obstacles to emerge. The Middle East development bank always had critics who said setting up another regional financial institution was costly and unnecessary. While peace talks were moving forward, nobody wanted to express their doubts too loudly. Those voices now are being heard.

Some of the problems would have emerged no matter who won the elections. Despite the change in government in Is-

rael, both Israel and Jordan continue to support a proposed joint airport and new railway line. But the high price for each of the deals makes it tough to find investors, and officials on both sides privately raise doubts about whether the low level of trade and traffic between the two sides justifies spending such huge sums.

Oded Eran, deputy director general of economic affairs in Israel's Foreign Ministry, says the result may be a shift in focus away from big deals to smaller projects that aren't as sexy but are more manageable. "Megaprojects stir the imagination, and that was necessary in the beginning in order to attract the private sector to the region," says Mr. Eran. "But now we need to implement a project, not talk about it."

Tom (Sammy)
Thinking
can we discuss?
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8/2/19

Australia rises as key U.S. ally near Asia

■ A new military pact lets Washington project balancing power as a Chinese threat builds.

By Ben Barber
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

U.S. military planners believe they have found a way to restrain Chinese ambitions in Asia without embarrassing regional U.S. allies, who are reluctant to provide basing facilities like those vacated by the United States in the Philippines in 1992.

The answer lies in the vast spaces of the Australian outback, where U.S. and Australian forces are scheduled to conduct their largest-ever joint war games in March.

Military analysts and former senior State Department and national security officials said a little-noted military cooperation pact announced last month in Sydney was aimed at shoring up America's military umbrella in East Asia.

"Australia gets us out of North-east Asia — it reduces the noisy exercises in Korea and Japan," said Stanley Roth, former Asia policy adviser to President Clinton. "It also says that we're here to stay (in Asia)."

U.S. military protection has allowed the world's fastest-growing economies to thrive in Asia. But the loss of the bases in the Philippines and recent anti-American feelings in Japan have shaken confidence in that protection just as China is flexing new-found muscles.

see ASIA, page A7

ASIA

From page A1

U.S. forces have suffered particularly from the loss of Clark Air Base's Crow Valley training area in the Philippines. Since then, Washington has sought in vain for a replacement facility among the nations of ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

Indonesia, Thailand and especially Malaysia all have refused, finding the basing of U.S. troops to be too much of a hot potato. Public opinion in these rising economic powers will no longer readily accept the need for a powerful white brother to protect them.

But analysts say all these nations have become increasingly frightened about the intentions of China, which last year confronted the Philippines over Mischief Reef in the South China Sea and which fired missiles off Taiwan during the island's spring elections.

Those concerns are prominent in the minds of planners preparing for the war games in Australia, according to military analyst Tom Marks, a consultant to the U.S. Army with close ties to U.S. military officers in Asia.

"It's almost guaranteed that we will have a confrontation of some sort with China," said Mr. Marks. He cited an incident in 1994 when a Chinese submarine "locked" its electronic targeting systems on the aircraft carrier USS Kitty Hawk in the Yellow Sea.

U.S. warplanes then targeted the submarine, which withdrew into Chinese waters. But Pentagon officials told the Los Angeles

The Washington Times

SUNDAY, AUGUST 11, 1996

Times that shortly after, China served notice through a U.S. military official in Beijing that the next time such a situation arises China's orders will be to shoot to kill.

Mr. Marks said the incident was even more serious than reported and that U.S. military officials and their Asian allies expect some sort of clash with China.

The dispatch of U.S. carriers to the Taiwan Strait this spring served to remind America's Asian allies of the value of U.S. forces in the region.

But because of the political repercussions at home, they prefer U.S. troops to be available just over the horizon, rather than carousing in their bars and conducting training flights over their neighborhoods.

The United States hopes to meet those concerns by shifting its Asian flight-training operations to the vast open spaces of Australia. That also will take pressure off U.S. troops based in Korea and especially Okinawa, where anti-base protests have intensified since the rape last September of a local girl by three U.S. servicemen.

The military cooperation deal concluded two weeks ago by Defense Secretary William Perry and Australian officials is designed to upgrade the partnership to the level of U.S. alliances with Japan and South Korea.

Some 17,000 U.S. troops and 5,000 Australians will take part in the war games in Shoalwater Bay, Queensland, marking the biggest U.S. presence in Australia since World War II.

Subsequent maneuvers will take place up to three times a year

in the Northern Territory, involving as many as 2,500 U.S. Marines from the U.S. mainland, Okinawa and perhaps the Persian Gulf.

The Marines will also establish a 15-man permanent liaison staff in Darwin or Townsville.

The agreement also provided for the installation of a ground station to monitor U.S. spy satellites watching for ballistic missile launches.

Mr. Roth and other analysts said they are not concerned that the intensified U.S.-Australian military cooperation will play into the hands of anti-Western demagogues.

Malaysian Prime Minister Mohammed Mahathir, for instance, regularly attacks Western values but saves his rhetoric for his domestic audience or uses it to deflect criticism of his human rights and environmental policies.

Like most of his Southeast Asian neighbors, he still likes to know U.S. troops are nearby.

"It's not visible, but all of them are worried about China and they don't want the U.S. out of the region," said a former senior State Department official.

"The policy-makers have to walk on eggshells," said Mr. Marks. "Most of the people in the region are pro American, but some groups are nationalistic and want to make the U.S. go home."

A recent book by a young Chinese nationalist, "The China That Can Say No," has contributed to uneasiness about how the Chinese leadership will act as the nation grows in economic and military importance.

By
What about this?
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8/21/96

THE WASHINGTON POST
SUNDAY, AUGUST 11, 1996

Robert Kuttner

Clinton Joins the GOP

The damage done by President Clinton's embrace of the Republican welfare bill is both economic and political. First, of course, is the damage to needy people.

The measure is a Christmas-tree bill, in reverse—not just repeal of the federal welfare guarantee, but large cuts in other programs for the poor. The three biggest cuts are in food stamps (\$28 billion over six years), in housing legal immigrants from most categories of aid (\$34 billion cut) and, incredibly enough, in support for disabled children (\$7 billion.)

The "welfare reform" part of the bill—replacing Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) with state block grants and imposing a cutoff after five years—might have made sense if coupled with funds to create jobs. But the law merely requires states to cut welfare caseloads and limit the duration of public assistance. If jobs are not available, people simply will join the growing legions of beggars. The Congressional Budget Office calculates the

bill is \$12 billion short of the money needed to create a job for everyone kicked off welfare.

There is no great secret about how to do welfare reform properly. It takes more money for child care, creation of more jobs that pay a living wage and more efforts to discourage teen pregnancy. As the architects of the original Clinton plan realized, that takes more money, not less.

So why is Clinton signing this wretched bill?

The most obvious reason is that welfare is politically unpopular. Clinton had pledged to end welfare as we know it; the Republicans handed him something labeled welfare reform. It's easier to sign the bill than to veto it and explain why this reform is worse than nothing.

Clinton's more conservative advisers, in this case led by strategist Dick Morris and Vice President Gore, argued that here was one more opportunity to steal the Republicans' clothes and neutralize a finely campaign issue.

But the secondary damage to the president's own party and program will be long-term.

In a stroke, Clinton revived flagging Republican spirits. Until Clinton agreed to sign this bill, Newt Gingrich's Republicans had been humiliated as the party that couldn't get its program through because the ideas were too extreme. Now, thanks to Clinton, the right seems ascending and mainstream.

The welfare bill has divided the Democratic Party more seriously than any issue since NAFTA. The House Democratic Caucus split evenly, 98 voting in favor and 98 against.

Neither House Democratic leader Dick Gephardt nor his Senate counterpart, Tom Daschle, voted for the bill. The White House signing ceremony later this month could display Clinton flanked by Republican House Speaker Newt Gingrich and Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, with key Democratic leaders staring at their shoes or absent.

How can Democrats now argue ef-

fectly that the Republicans failed or that the Republican agenda was too radical when a Democratic president supports its centerpiece? How do Democratic candidates go on the campaign trail arguing that we need a Democratic Congress to block Gingrich, when Clinton and Gingrich are backing the same program?

Clinton's recent press conference offered one presidential whopper after another. He was signing the bill, Clinton declared, because "even though serious problems remain with the non-welfare provisions of the bill, this is the best chance we will have for a long, long time to complete the work of ending welfare as we know it."

Baloney. If Clinton had vetoed this bill, Congress would have kept sending him welfare reform bills. And a more Democratic Congress in 1997 would have sent him a more defensible bill.

Clinton pledged to seek repeal of the bill's objectionable provisions. But having a filibuster-proof Democratic Senate, this is politically inconceivable.

Clinton also tried, unconvincingly, to distinguish this bill from the two he previously vetoed. "Last year," he said, the Republican majority in Congress sent me legislation that had its priorities backward: It was soft on work and tough on children." What does Clinton think this bill is? It creates no jobs and throws more than a million children into poverty.

Clinton easily could have sent the bill back, asking Congress for a clean welfare reform bill with no cuts in food stamps, no savaging of immigrants and no cuts in aid to disabled children. He might have insisted that any cut in any other anti-poverty aid be redirected to job creation.

But, no. Dole had it right when he said, gloatingly, "The first 100 days of the Dole administration have begun 97 days early."

The trouble with Clinton's political cross-dressing is this: Stead the Republicans' clothes often enough, and you start dressing just like a Republican. Can't we have two parties?

Lou Cannon

The New Americans

SANTA BARBARA—On a bright Friday morning I saw history in the making at the historic Arlington Theatre as 800 immigrants took the oath of citizenship to the United States of America, then watched a patriotic video of Lee Greenwood singing "God Bless the U.S.A."

While the new citizens came from 63 different lands, 576—or 72 percent—of them were from Mexico, part of a great stream of immigrants that may eventually transform the political landscape of California.

A federal court official participating in the ceremony told me that 200,000 new citizens, the large majority from Mexico, will be sworn in this year in the Central District of California, which includes Los Angeles and six surrounding counties.

This official confirmed what alert politicians have been saying, which is that the anti-immigrant backlash represented in California by Proposition 187 and in Washington by the new welfare bill

denying benefits to legal aliens has created its own backlash. "This is the answer to Pete Wilson," a Latino told me before the ceremony.

If so, it is the right answer. The principal reason it has been easy for demagogic California politicians to lash immigrants is that most Latinos in the state, and most Asians as well, are part of the population but not part of the electorate.

According to estimates by the California Department of Finance, Latinos are nearly 30 percent of the state's population and Asians nearly 11 percent. But many are not citizens or not registered to vote. Together, Latinos and Asians usually account for only 10 to 12 percent of the electorate.

This lack of participation has consequences. In Texas, where the proportion of Latinos is smaller in the population and higher in the electorate, powerful politicians tend to be more tolerant. Wilson, for instance, recently

clashed in the editorial pages of the New York Times with fellow Republican Gov. George W. Bush and Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison of Texas over education of the children of illegal immigrants.

Wilson believes that states cannot afford to educate these children. Bush and Hutchison take the more enlightened view that states cannot afford not to educate them.

Kevin de Leon, of One Stop Immigration in Santa Barbara, believes that much of the anti-immigrant rhetoric in California will vanish if Latinos and Asians increase their political participation. De Leon, whose nonprofit organization expedites citizenship proceedings for immigrants, put voter registration cards on the chairs of the new citizens at the Arlington Theatre ceremony.

U.S. District Judge John Davies, who administered the oath of citizenship in the Arlington, then made a brief but forceful speech urging the new Americans to "join the mainstream" and regis-

ter and vote. "This is a land of opportunity where one is truly free to do what one wishes," he said.

Davies, best known for his even-handed conduct of the federal trial of the Los Angeles police officers accused of violating the civil rights of Rodney King, was speaking from experience. He is an Australian immigrant and gold medal swimmer for his native country in the 1952 Olympics who went to the University of Michigan and UCLA Law School and stayed in the United States. For the record, 47 members of the 1996 U.S. Olympic team that offered us so many thrills were naturalized citizens.

I don't know if future judges or Olympians are among the citizens to whom Davies administered the oath. But the new Americans said the Pledge of Allegiance as lustily as I have ever heard it and waved tiny American flags at the slightest provocation.

The brown, yellow, black and white faces in the Arlington Theatre seemed

to me the rainbow-colored face of a California future that should be faced with hope, not fear. By the year 2002, according to the demographers, California will become the only U.S. state except Hawaii where no race or ethnic group will be a majority of the population. By 2020, California will become the first state with a Latino majority of the population.

California already leads the nation in trade with Mexico and the Pacific Rim nations of Central and South America and Asia. The state's demographic change will make California more resemble the nations with which the United States is engaged in world commerce.

We ought to be comfortable with these new Americans, who are enriching the nation as much as our own ancestors, who also were immigrants. I saw people cry when Lee Greenwood sang that he was proud to be an American because he knew he was free.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/21/96

Board
This we should answer
Duty as public & private
turn down wages, 103 tax
103 tax

Burma's Growing Middle Class Opts for Bargains Over Barricades

By Dennis D. Gray
Associated Press

RANGOON, Burma—On a recent Sunday afternoon, nearly 4,000 Rangoon residents gathered to hear Aung San Suu Kyi, the charismatic leader of Burma's democracy movement, preach freedom.

As she spoke, far more people scoured department stores for bargains, chatted on mobile phones and cruised the streets of Rangoon in new Japanese-made cars.

These are members of Burma's small but growing middle class. Some ripped their lives for Aung San Suu Kyi's cause eight years ago. Now, they'd rather get rich.

"We all love her. But I don't know

many who pray to the Lord Buddha for democracy," said a white-collar worker. Than Aye. "We pray for a decent life, peace and more money."

The generals who run Burma have quashed political opponents since coming to power in 1988, when troops brutally put down a pro-democracy uprising led by Aung San Suu Kyi. But they have loosened up in economic matters.

For the two generations who lived under an isolationist, bankrupt system, the relatively liberal policy of the generals has amounted a pent-up pursuit of the good life.

How much these generations would be willing to struggle and sacrifice to wrest political freedom from the regime—which is widely unpop-

ular—remains a key question in Burma. Rangoon is a world apart from the pre-1988 city.

Private businesses have proliferated, high-rises are beginning to dwarf the moldering British colonial buildings, and once virtually empty streets are snarled with traffic.

Poverty remains and the gap between rich and poor grows, but there's more cash around than in decades. Besides foreign investment, some \$3 billion has flowed in from Burmese abroad—and probably also from narcotics traffickers—since exchange controls were loosened in early 1995.

While Aung San Suu Kyi, the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize laureate, spoke to

the crowd outside her home, shoppers at the Yuzana Department Store eyed items that were the stuff of dreams a few years ago—microwave ovens and exercise machines, stuffed toy animals and Sears Roebuck appliances from Washington State.

At the EMU mall, people strolled through outlets such as Hung Ten and Heart Rock, sporting sarongs and mobile phones, and using the local Yoma credit card.

On a suburban avenue, a big government billboard says: "Crash all internal and external destructive elements." Next to it is a bright sign for Macintosh computers: "It does more. It costs less. It's that simple."

Western analysts say the middle class is fragmented. Its richer mem-

bers in the business sector are often dependent on the military for contracts and permits. A number are ethnic Chinese, traditionally looked upon with animosity by the Burmese majority.

Many of Burma's best and brightest are exiles, including thousands of students who fled the 1988 repression. And the chances of a well-educated middle class developing appear bleak.

As the generation educated during British rule and a period of democracy before the 1962 military take-over passes, it is being replaced by one poorly schooled and isolated from the outside world. Most children who start kindergarten don't even make it to the fifth grade.

"I don't think there is such a thing as a real middle class in Burma," Aung San Suu Kyi said in an interview. "I think there is too much emphasis on this business of middle class equals democracy. That is not necessarily so."

Rather than looking to a specific segment of society, she said she hopes the "general will of the people" will build a new Burma.

"In countries where radical changes have taken place, the forces working for change are many and linked to each other. And sometimes there are forces you never expected, yet never counted on," she said. Ideally, many Burmese want both a lifting of the repressive mantle and more money in their pockets.

Canada Proposes Plan to Beat Excess Plutonium Into Plowshares

By Howard Schneider
Washington Post Foreign Service

TORONTO—After opting out of the nuclear arms race more than 30 years ago, Canada now wants to help mop up after it by recycling tons of plutonium from surplus U.S. and Russian nuclear bombs as fuel for its civilian reactors.

In proposals to the U.S. Energy Department and in preliminary talks with the Russians, officials with the government-owned utility Ontario Hydro say their reactors on the shores of Lake Huron could be adapted to burn a type of hybrid fuel that includes a small percentage of plutonium.

Use of the former bomb material in a mixed-oxide nuclear fuel is one of the options the U.S. Energy Department is considering as it decides how to dispose of perhaps 50 tons of plutonium. Russia also has tons of the highly toxic material, removed from weapons under arms-control treaties with the United States.

Canadian officials say their initial studies indicate the reactors at the Bruce Generating Station in northern Ontario could be modified to burn the fuel within a few years—more quickly and easily than U.S. reactors that are based on a different design and technology.

And as a matter of policy, they say, it would enhance Canada's long-standing renunciation of nuclear weapons by converting the tools of the Cold War into electricity and rendering the plutonium worthless for making weapons.

"For us, the bottom line is a need to reduce the stockpile of weapons-grade plutonium," said Ariel Delouya, speaking for Canada's Foreign Affairs Department. "There is value in examining proposals that would provide a safe outlet for disposing of this enormous quantity of plutonium that both the Americans and the Russians have built up."

The U.S. Energy Department for several years has been studying what to do with the plutonium pits removed from defunct weapons and is doing detailed environmental, economic and security analyses of several options, according to Bert Stevenson, the department's deputy director for environmental compliance. None, he said, has emerged as clearly superior. Canada's is the only proposal from another country, he said.

A decision is expected by the end of the year.

The cost and safety of the idea are matters of dispute. Environmentalists say converting the plutonium to a fuel will prove to be more expensive and less safe than another major option—mixing the plutonium with a ceramic or glass-like material and burying it in metal canisters. Burial, they argue, would eliminate the need to invest in a fuel fabrication plant here or, more troubling, to ship the material to an existing plant in Europe and then back to Canada's reactors. In addition, they oppose using plutonium for commercial purposes, for fear it would en-

courage other nations to do so and thus add to the world's supply.

"It would be a political nightmare," said Tom Clements, who is following the issue for Greenpeace. He raised the specter of military convoys protecting shipments of plutonium as they cross the border to Canada—an image that might not be well received in a nation quick to assert its sovereignty when it comes to the United States.

"I think they are going to have a hard sell," he said.

But burial also faces obstacles, such as ensuring the technology is safe and locating a site in the United States where it is politically feasible to store the canisters.

The Canadians, meanwhile, are arguing to both Russia and the United States that letting Canada use the plutonium will eliminate it as a weapons risk. When plutonium is mixed with uranium and used to generate electricity, the remaining waste is not of weapons grade.

The idea is being pushed by Ontario Hydro as an economically and environmentally sound idea and by federal politicians as a plus for Canadian foreign policy.

Although it invested heavily in civilian nuclear power, Canada decided not to pursue its own nuclear weapons program. An agreement with the United States to base some nuclear-tipped missiles in Ontario and Quebec sparked a political crisis here in the early 1960s, and by 1970 even those had been phased out.

"Canada has always been interested in getting rid of nuclear weapons," said Juris Grava, business development manager for Ontario Hydro. "The advantage of using it as fuel is you extract value from it. You destroy some of the plutonium and you extract some fair value in the electricity."

Ontario Hydro is one of the largest utilities in North America, and its 20 reactors supply most of Ontario's electricity. It also exports power to other provinces and to the United States. Grava said that fuel derived from the surplus weapons could run four of the company's reactors for as long as 15 years.

Whether the idea will be accepted widely is also in doubt. If Washington or Moscow pursues the Canadian proposal, Ottawa would still have to go through the Canadian regulatory process, and some here say the country should not get involved. Russia and the United States built the bombs, they argue, and Russia and the United States should deal with the refuse.

"This proposal will integrate Canada into the American and Russian nuclear weapons program—a reversal of our current nonmilitary nuclear path," said Irene Kock, head of the Ontario-based Nuclear Awareness Project.

"Both countries are actively maintaining huge arsenals of nuclear warheads."

THE WASHINGTON POST

SUNDAY, AUGUST 11, 1996

Handwritten: about 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8/21/96

The New York Times Magazine

AUGUST 18, 1996 / SECTION 6

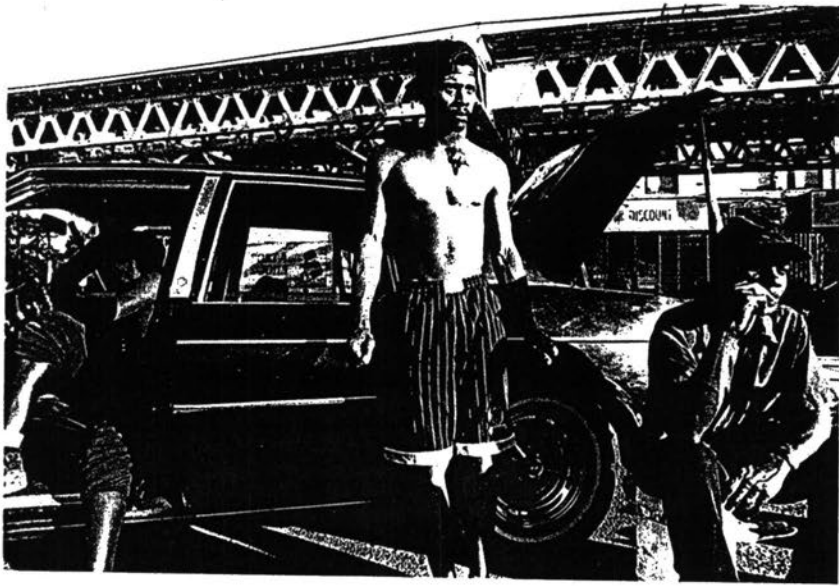
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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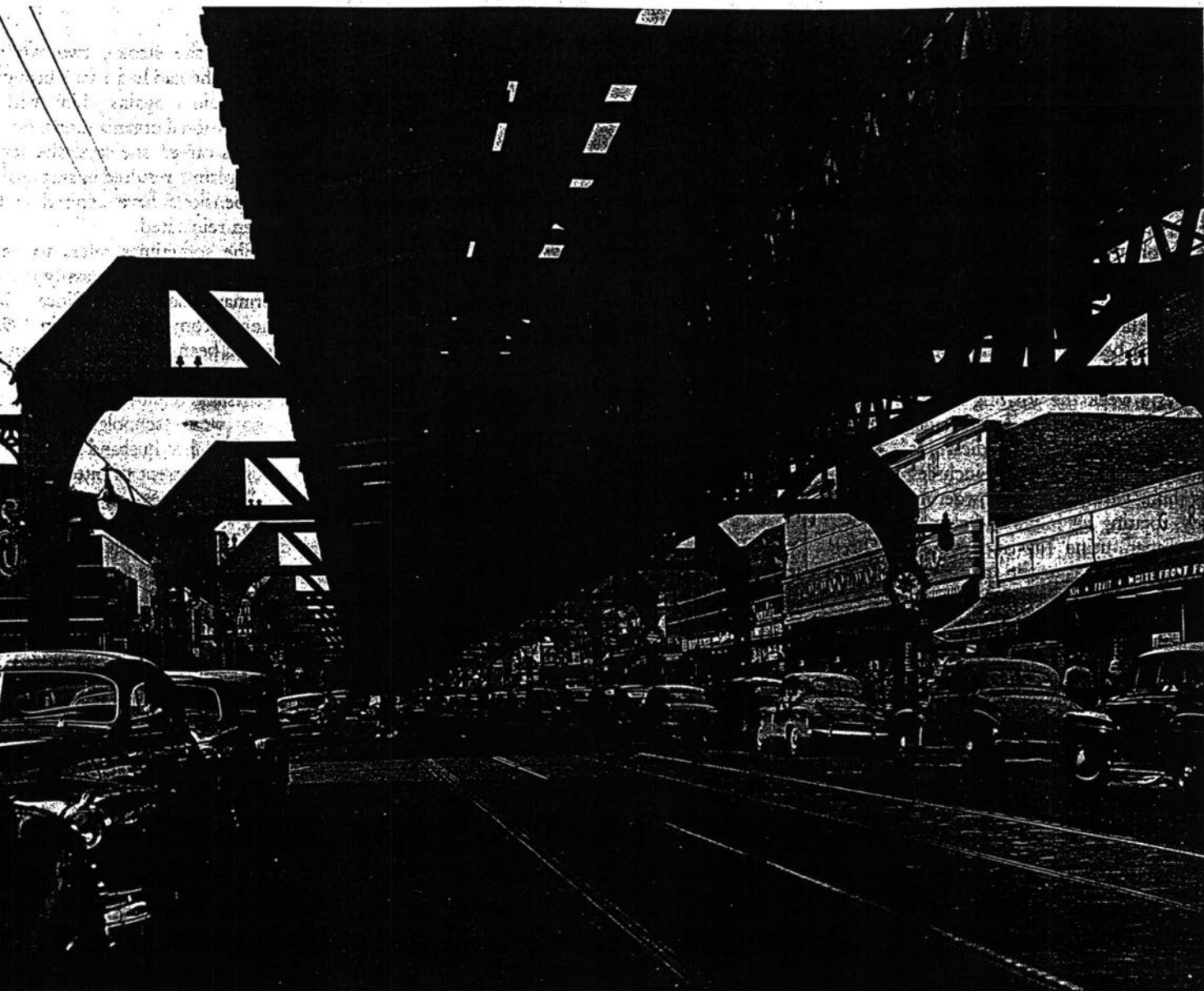
THE ISSUE IS NOT WELFARE but the disappearance of work in the ghetto. The problem has now reached catastrophic



proportions, and if it isn't addressed it will have lasting and

harmful consequences for the quality of life in the cities and, eventually, for the lives of all Americans. **WHEN WORK DISAPPEARS**

By William Julius Wilson



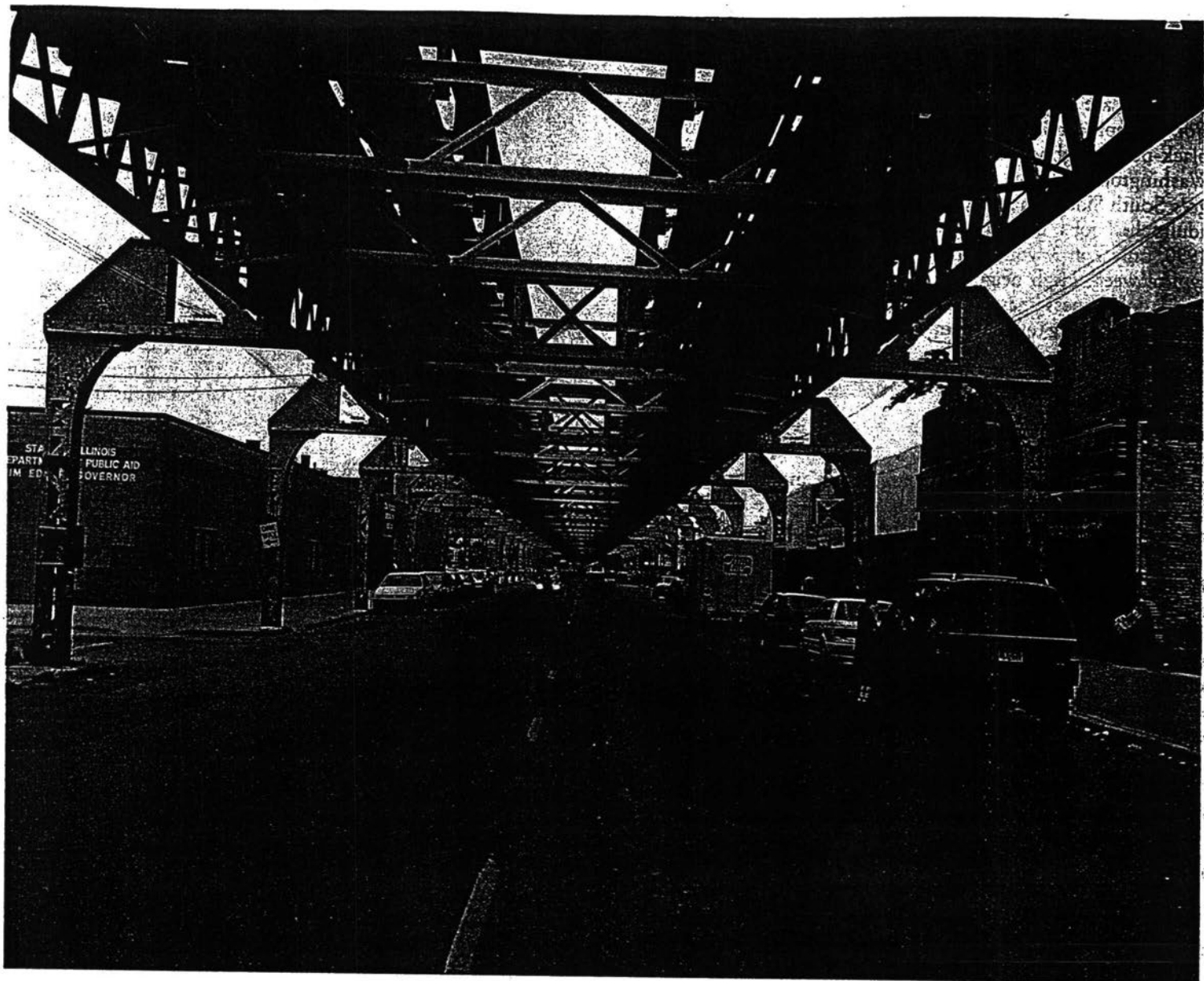
1946 Chicago's Woodlawn neighborhood once boasted more than 800 businesses.

What explains the catastrophic descent of
America's ghettos into ever-deeper poverty and misery?
The disappearance of jobs, says a leading scholar.
What's the remedy?

WORK

By William Julius Wilson

Photographs by André Lambertson



1996 Only about 100 businesses remain.

The disappearance of work in the ghetto cannot be ignored, isolated or played down. Employment in America is up. The economy has churned out tens of millions of new jobs in the last two decades. In that same period, joblessness among inner-city blacks has reached catastrophic proportions. Yet in this Presidential election year, the disappearance of work in the ghetto is not on either the Democratic or the Republican agenda. There is harsh talk about work instead of welfare but no talk of where to find it.

The current employment woes in the inner city continue to be narrowly defined in terms of race or lack of individual initiative. It is argued that jobs are widely available, that the extent of inner-city poverty is exaggerated. Optimistic policy analysts — and many

African-Americans — would prefer that more attention be devoted to the successes and struggles of the black working class and the expanding black middle class. This is understandable. These two groups, many of whom have recently escaped from the ghetto, represent a majority of the African-American population. But ghetto joblessness still afflicts a substantial — and increasing — minority: it's a problem that won't go away on its own. If it is not addressed, it will have lasting and harmful consequences for the quality of life in the cities and, eventually, for the lives of all Americans. Solutions will have to be found — and those solutions are at hand.

For the first time in the 20th century, a significant majority of adults in many inner-city neighborhoods are not working in a typical week. Inner cities have



Liquor stores and check-cashing places thrive in high-joblessness neighborhoods.

residents, who then purposely intensify the behavior that is the source of irritation. The white and even the black middle-class moviegoers then exercise their option and exit, expressing resentment and experiencing intensified feelings of racial or class antagonism as they depart.

The areas surrendered in such a manner become the domain of the inner-city residents. Upscale business are replaced by fast-food chains and other local businesses that cater to the new clientele. White and black middle-class citizens complain bitterly about how certain areas of the central city have changed — and thus become “off-limits” — following the influx of ghetto residents.

The negative consequences are clear: where jobs are scarce, many people eventually lose their feeling of connectedness to work in the formal economy; they no longer expect work to be a regular, and regulating, force in their lives. In the case of young people, they may grow up in an environment that lacks the idea of work as a central experience of adult life — they have little or no labor-force attachment. These circumstances also increase the likelihood that the residents will rely on illegitimate sources of income, thereby further weakening their attachment to the legitimate labor market.

A 25-year-old West Side father of two who works two jobs to make ends meet condemned the attitude toward work of some inner-city black males:

“They try to find easier routes and had been conditioned over a period of time to just be lazy, so to speak. Motivation nonexistent, you know, and the society that they’re affiliated with really don’t

advocate hard work and struggle to meet your goals such as education and stuff like that. And they see who’s around them and they follow that same pattern, you know. . . . They don’t see nobody getting up early in the morning, going to work or going to school all the time. The guys they be with don’t do that . . . because that’s the crowd that you choose — well, that’s been presented to you by your neighborhood.”

Work is not simply a way to make a living and support one’s family. It also constitutes a framework for daily behavior because it imposes discipline. Regular employment determines where you are going to be and when you are going to be there. In the absence of regular employment, life, including family life, becomes less coherent. Persistent unemployment and irregular employment hinder rational planning in daily life, the necessary condition of adaptation to an industrial economy.

It’s a myth that people who don’t work don’t want to work. One mother in a new poverty neighborhood on the South Side explained her decision to remain on welfare even though she would like to get a job: “I was working and then I had two kids. And I’m struggling. I was making, like, close to \$7 an hour. . . . I had to pay a baby-sitter. Then I had to deal with my kids when I got home. And I couldn’t even afford medical insurance. . . . I was so scared, when my kids were sick or something, because I have been turned away from a hospital because I did not have a medical card. I don’t like being on public aid and stuff right now. But what do I do with my kids when the kids get sick?”

Working mothers with comparable incomes face, in many cases, even greater difficulty. Why? Simply because many low-wage jobs do not provide health-care benefits, and most working mothers have to pay for transportation and spend more for child care. Working mothers also have to spend more for housing because it is more difficult for them to qualify for housing subsidies. It is not surprising, therefore, that many welfare-reliant mothers choose not to enter the formal labor market. It would not be in their best economic interest to do so. Given the economic realities, it is also not surprising that many who are working in these low-wage jobs decide to rely on or return to welfare, even though it's not a desirable alternative for many of the black single mothers. As one 27-year-old welfare mother of three children from an impoverished West Side neighborhood put it: "I want to work. I do not work but I want to work. I don't want to just be on public aid."



When jobs aren't available, drugs often fill the void.

AS THE DISAPPEARANCE OF WORK HAS BECOME A CHARACTERISTIC feature of the inner-city ghetto, so too has the disappearance of the traditional married-couple family. Only one-quarter of the black families whose children live with them in inner-city neighborhoods in Chicago are husband-wife families today, compared with three-quarters of the inner-city Mexican families, more than one-half of the white families and nearly one-half of the Puerto Rican families. And in census tracts with poverty rates of at least 40 percent, only 16.5 percent of the black families with children in the household are husband-wife families.

There are many factors involved in the precipitous decline in marriage rates and the sharp rise in single-parent families. The explanation most often heard in the public debate associates the increase of out-of-wedlock births and single-parent families with welfare. Indeed, it is widely assumed among the general public and reflected in the recent welfare reform that a direct connection exists between the level of welfare benefits and the likelihood that a young woman will bear a child outside marriage.

However, there is little evidence to support the claim that Aid to Families With Dependent Children plays a significant role in promoting out-of-wedlock births. Research examining the association between the generosity of welfare benefits and out-of-wedlock childbearing and teen-age pregnancy indicates that benefit levels have no significant effect on the likelihood that African-American girls and women will have children outside marriage. Likewise, welfare rates have either no significant effect or only a small effect on the odds that whites will have children outside marriage. The rate of out-of-wedlock teen-age childbearing has nearly doubled since 1975 — during years when the value of A.F.D.C., food stamps and Medicaid fell, after adjusting for inflation. And the smallest increases in the number of out-of-wedlock births have not occurred in states that have had the largest declines in the inflation-adjusted value of A.F.D.C. benefits. Indeed, while the real value of cash welfare benefits has plummeted over the past 20 years, out-of-wedlock childbearing has increased, and postpartum marriages

(marriages following the birth of a couple's child) have decreased as well.

It's instructive to consider the social differences between inner-city blacks and other groups, especially Mexicans. Mexicans come to the United States with a clear conception of a traditional family unit that features men as breadwinners. Although extramarital affairs by men are tolerated, unmarried pregnant women are "a source of opprobrium, anguish or great concern," as Richard P. Taub, a member of one of our research teams, put it. Pressure is applied

by the kin of both parents to enter into marriage.

The family norms and behavior in inner-city black neighborhoods stand in sharp contrast. The relationships between inner-city black men and women, whether in a marital or nonmarital situation, are often fractious and antagonistic. Inner-city black women routinely say that black men are hopeless as either husbands or fathers and that more of their time is spent on the streets than at home.

The men in the inner city generally feel that it is much better for all parties to remain in a nonmarital relationship until the relationship dissolves rather than to get married and then have to get a divorce. A 25-year-old unmarried West Side resident, the father of one child, expressed this view:

"Well, most black men feel now, why get married when you got six to seven women to one guy, really. You know, because there's more women out here mostly than men. Because most dudes around here are killing each other like fools over drugs or all this other stuff."

The fact that blacks reside in neighborhoods and are engaged in social networks and households that are less conducive to employment than those of other ethnic and racial groups in the inner city clearly has a negative effect on their search for work. In the eyes of employers in metropolitan Chicago, these differences render inner-city blacks less desirable as workers, and therefore many are reluctant to hire them. The white chairman of a car transport company, when asked if there were differences in the work ethic of whites, blacks and Hispanics, responded with great certainty:

"Definitely! I don't think, I know: I've seen it over a period of 30 years. Basically, the Oriental is much more aggressive and intelligent and studious than the Hispanic. The Hispanics, except Cubans of course, they have the work ethic [sic]. The Hispanics are *mañana*, *mañana*, *mañana* — tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow." As for native-born blacks, they were deemed "the laziest of the bunch."

If some employers view the work ethic of inner-city poor blacks as problematic, many also express concerns about their honesty, cultural attitudes and dependability

WHEN WORK DISAPPEARS

"When I moved in the neighborhood was intact. It was intact with homes beautiful homes mini-mansions with stores Laundromats, with Chinese cleaners."

Continued on page 40

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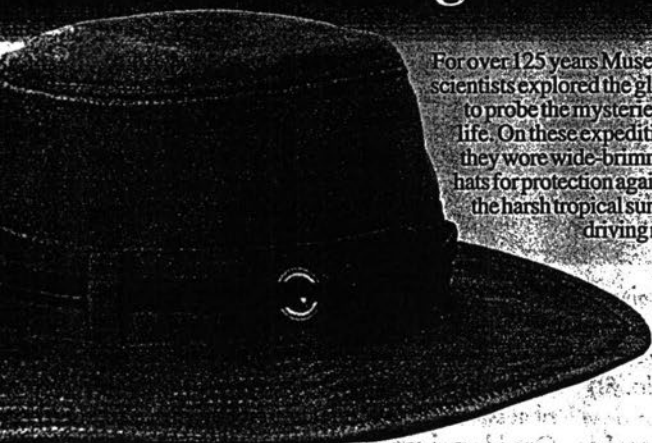
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HARRISON HOGE INDUSTRIES

WORK

Continued from page 31

— traits that are frequently associated with the neighborhoods in which they live. A white suburban retail drugstore manager expressed his reluctance to hire someone from a poor inner-city neighborhood. "You'd be afraid they're going to steal from you," he stated. "They grow up that way. They grow up dishonest and I guess you'd feel like, geez, how are they going to be honest here?"

In addition to qualms about the work ethic, character, family influences, cultural predispositions and the neighborhood milieu of ghetto residents, the employers frequently mentioned concerns about applicants' language skills and educational training. They "just don't have the language skills," stated a suburban employer. The president of an inner-city advertising agency highlighted the problem of spelling:

"I needed a temporary a couple months ago, and they sent me a black man. And I dictated a letter to him. He took shorthand, which was good. Something like 'Dear Mr. So-and-So, I am writing to ask about how your business is doing.' And then he typed the letter, and I read the letter, and it's 'I am writing to ax about your business.' Now you hear about them speaking a different language and all that, and they say 'ax' for 'ask.' Well, I don't care about that, but I didn't say 'ax,' I said 'ask.'"

Many inner-city residents have a strong sense of the negative attitudes that employers tend to have toward them. A 33-year-old employed janitor from a poor South Side neighborhood had this observation: "I went to a couple jobs where a couple of the receptionists told me in confidence: 'You know what they do with

these applications from blacks as soon as the day is over?' They say, 'We rip them and throw them in the garbage.'" In addition to concerns about being rejected because of race, the fears that some inner-city residents have of being denied employment simply because of their inner-city address or neighborhood are not unfounded. A welfare mother who lives in a large public housing project put it this way:

"Honestly, I believe they look at the address and the — your attitudes, your address, your surround — you know, your environment has a lot to do with your employment status. The people with the best addresses have the best chances. I feel so, I feel so."

IT IS INSTRUCTIVE TO study the fate of the disadvantaged in Europe. There, too, poverty and joblessness are on the increase; but individual deficiencies and behavior are not put forward as the culprits. Furthermore, welfare programs that benefit wide segments of the population like child care, children's allowances (an annual benefit per child), housing subsidies, education, medical care and unemployment insurance have been firmly institutionalized in many Western European democracies. Efforts to cut back on these programs in the face of growing joblessness have met firm resistance from working- and middle-class citizens.

My own belief is that the growing assault on welfare mothers is part of a larger reaction to the mounting problems in our nation's inner cities. When many people think of welfare they think of young, unmarried black mothers having babies. This image persists even though roughly equal numbers of black and white families received A.F.D.C.

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1994, and there were also a good many Hispanics on the welfare rolls. Nevertheless, the rise of black

A.F.D.C. recipients was said to be symptomatic of such larger problems as the decline in family values and the dissolution of the family. In an article published in *Esquire*, Pete Hamill wrote:

"The heart of the matter is the continued existence and expansion of what has come to be called the Underclass... trapped in cycles of welfare dependency, drugs, alcohol, crime, illiteracy and disease, living

in anarchic and murderous isolation in some of the richest cities on the earth. As a reporter, I've covered their miseries for more than a quarter of a century... And in the last decade, I've watched this group of American citizens harden and condense, moving even further away from the basic requirements of a human life: work, family, safety, the law."

One has the urge to shout, "Enough is enough!"

WHAT CAN BE DONE? I believe that steps must be taken to galvanize Americans from all walks of life who are concerned about human suffering and the public policy direction in which we are now moving. We need to generate a public-private partnership to fight social inequality. The following policy frameworks provide a basis for further discussion and debate. Given the current political climate, these proposals might be dismissed as unrealistic. Nor am I suggesting that we can or should simply import the social policies of the Japanese, the Germans or other Western Europeans. The question is how we Americans can address the problems of social inequality, including record levels of joblessness in the inner city, that threaten the very fabric of our society.

Create Standards for Schools

Ray Marshall, former Secretary of Labor, points out that Japan and Germany have developed policies designed to increase the number of workers with "higher-order thinking skills." These policies require young people to meet high performance standards before they can graduate from secondary schools and they hold each school responsible for meeting these standards.

Students who meet high standards are not only prepared for work but they are also ready for technical training and other kinds of post-secondary education. Currently there are no mandatory academic standards for secondary schools in the United States. Accordingly, students who are not in college-preparatory courses have severely limited options with respect to pursuing work after high school. A commitment to a system of performance standards for every public school is

Continued on page 5.

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the United States would be an important first step in addressing the huge gap in educational performance between the schools in advantaged and disadvantaged neighborhoods.

A system of at least local performance standards should include the kind of support that would enable schools in disadvantaged neighborhoods to meet the standards that are set. State governments, with Federal support, not only would have to create equity in local school financing (through loans and scholarships to attract more high-quality teachers, increased support for teacher training and reforms in teacher certification) but would also have to insure that highly qualified teachers are more equitably distributed in local school districts.

Targeting education would be part of a national effort to raise the performance standards of all public schools in the United States to a desirable level, including schools in the inner city. The support of the private sector should be enlisted in this national effort. Corporations, local businesses, civic clubs, community centers and churches should be encouraged to work with the schools to improve computer-competency training.

Improve Child Care

The French system of child welfare stands in sharp contrast to the American system. In France, children are supported by three inter-related government programs, as noted by Barbara R. Bergmann, a professor of economics at American University: child care, income support and medical care. The child-care program includes establishments for infant care, high-quality nursery schools (*écoles maternelles*) and paid leave for parents of newborns. The income-support program includes child-support enforcement (so that the absent parent continues to contribute financially to his or her child's welfare), children's allowances and welfare payments for low-income single mothers. Finally, medical care is provided through a universal system of national health care financed by social security, a preventive-care system for children

and a group of public-health nurses who specialize in child welfare.

Establish City-Suburban Partnerships

If the other industrial democracies offer lessons for a long-term solution to the jobs problem involving relationships between employment, education and family-support systems, they also offer another lesson: the importance of city-suburban integration and cooperation. None of the other industrialized democracies have allowed their city centers to deteriorate as has the United States.

It will be difficult to address growing racial tensions in American cities unless we tackle the problems of shrinking revenue and inadequate social services and the gradual disappearance of work in certain neighborhoods. The city has become a less desirable place in which to live, and the economic and social gap between the cities and suburbs is growing. The groups left behind compete, often along racial lines, for declining resources, including the remaining decent schools, housing and neighborhoods. The rise of the new urban poverty neighborhoods has worsened these problems. Their high rates of joblessness and social disorganization have created problems that often spill over into other parts of the city. All of these factors aggravate race relations and elevate racial tensions.

Ideally, we would restore the Federal contribution to city revenues that existed in 1980 and sharply increase the employment base. Regardless of changes in Federal urban policy, however, the fiscal crisis in the cities would be significantly eased if the employment base could be substantially increased. Indeed, the social dislocations caused by the steady disappearance of work have led to a wide range of urban social problems, including racial tensions. Increased employment would help stabilize the new poverty neighborhoods, halt the precipitous decline in density and ultimately enhance the quality of race relations in urban areas.

Reforms put forward to achieve the objective of city-suburban cooperation range from proposals to create metropolitan governments to proposals for metropolitan tax-base sharing (currently in effect in Min-

neapolis-St. Paul), collaborative metropolitan planning and the creation of regional authorities to develop solutions to common problems if communities fail to reach agreement. Among the problems shared by many metropolises is a weak public transit system. A commitment to address this problem through a form of city-suburban collaboration would benefit residents of both the city and the suburbs.

The mismatch between residence and the location of jobs is a problem for some workers in America because, unlike the system in Europe, public transportation is weak and expensive. It's a particular problem for inner-city blacks because they have less access to private automobiles and, unlike Mexicans, do not have a network system that supports organized car pools. Accordingly, they depend heavily on public transportation and therefore have difficulty getting to the suburbs, where jobs are more plentiful. Until public transit systems are improved in metropolitan areas, the creation of privately subsidized car-pool and van-pool networks to carry inner-city residents to the areas of employment, especially suburban areas, would be a relatively inexpensive way to increase work opportunities.

The creation of for-profit information and placement centers in various parts of the inner city not only could significantly improve awareness of the availability of employment in the metropolitan area but could also serve to refer workers to employers. These centers would recruit or accept inner-city workers and try to place them in jobs. One of their main purposes would be to make persons who have been persistently unemployed or out of the labor force "job ready."

Reintroduce the W.P.A.

The final proposal under consideration here was advanced by the perceptive journalist Mickey Kaus of *The New Republic*, who has long been concerned about the growth in the number of welfare recipients. Kaus's proposal is modeled on the Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.), the large public-works program initiated in 1935 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The public-works jobs that Roosevelt had in mind included highway construction, slum clearance, housing

construction and rural electrification. As Kaus points out: "In eight-year existence, according to official records, the W.P.A. built improved 651,000 miles of road, 953 airports, 124,000 bridges, viaducts, 1,178,000 culverts, 8,000 parks, 18,000 playgrounds and athletic fields and 2,000 swimming pools. It constructed 40,000 buildings (including 8,000 schools), repaired 85,000 more. Much of New York City — including La Guardia Airport, F.D.R. Drive, plus hundreds of parks and libraries — built by the W.P.A."

A neo-W.P.A. program of employment, for every American over 18 who wants it, would provide useful public jobs at wages slightly below the minimum wage. Like the work relief under Roosevelt's W.P.A., it would not carry the stigma of a cash dole. People would be earning their money. Although some workers in the W.P.A. jobs "could be promoted to high-paying public service positions," says Kaus, most of them would advance occupationally by moving to the private sector. "If you have to work anyway," he says, "why not for \$4 an hour?"

Under Kaus's proposal, after a certain date, able-bodied recipients on welfare would no longer receive cash payments. However, unlike welfare-reform bills that Clinton agreed to sign, Kaus's plan would make public jobs available to those who move off welfare. Also, he argues that to allow poor mothers to work, government-financed child care must be provided for children if needed. But this system has to be integrated into the existing system of child care for other families in the United States to avoid creating a "day-care ghetto" for low-income children.

A W.P.A.-style jobs program would not be cheap. In the short run it would be considerably cheaper to give people cash welfare than it is to create public jobs. Including the costs of supervisors and materials, each subminimum-wage W.P.A.-style job would cost an estimated \$12,000, more than the public cost of staying on welfare. That would represent \$12 billion every 1 million jobs created.

The solutions I have outlined were developed with the idea of providing a policy framework that could be easily adopted by a reform coalition. A broad range of groups would

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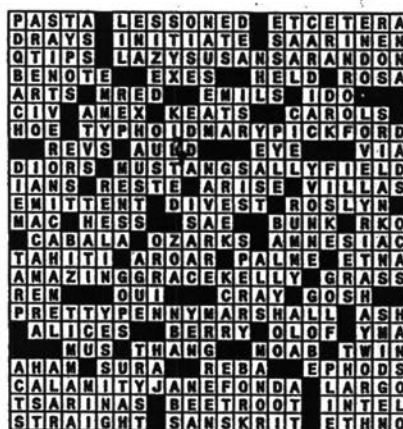
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port the long-term solutions — the development of a system of national performance standards in public schools, family policies to reinforce the learning system in the schools, a national system of school-to-work transition and the promotion of city-suburban integration and cooperation. The short-term solutions, which range from job information and placement centers to the creation of W.P.A.-style jobs, are more relevant to low-income people, but they are the kinds of opportunity-enhancing programs that Americans of all racial and class backgrounds tend to support.

Although my policy framework is designed to appeal to broad segments of the population, I firmly believe that if adopted, it would alleviate a good deal of the economic and social distress currently plaguing the inner cities. The immediate problem of the disappearance of work in many inner-city neighborhoods would be confronted. The employment base in these neighborhoods would be increased immediately by the newly created jobs, and income levels would rise because of the expansion of the earned-income tax credit. Programs like universal health care and day care

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OF AUGUST 11, 1996



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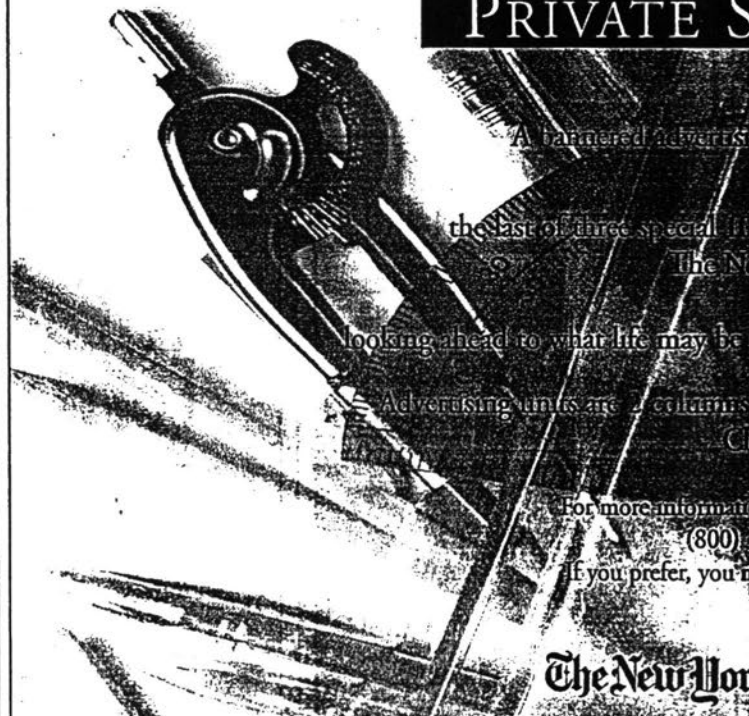


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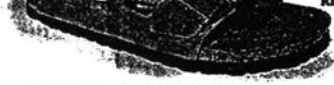
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would increase the attractiveness of low-wage jobs and "make work pay."

Increasing the employment base would have an enormous positive impact on the social organization of ghetto neighborhoods. As more people became employed, crime and drug use would subside; families would be strengthened and welfare receipt would decline significantly; ghetto-related culture and behavior, no longer sustained and nourished by persistent joblessness, would gradually fade. As more people became employed and gained work experience, they would have a better chance of finding jobs in the private sector when they became available. The attitudes of employers toward inner-city workers would change, partly because the employers would be dealing with job applicants who had steady work experience and would furnish references from their previous supervisors.

This is not to suggest that all the jobless individuals from the inner-city ghetto would take advantage of these employment opportunities. Some have responded to persistent joblessness by abusing alcohol and drugs, and these handicaps will affect their overall job performance, including showing up for work on time or on a consistent basis. But such people represent only a small proportion of inner-city workers. Most of them are ready, willing, able and anxious to hold a steady job.

The long-term solutions that I have advanced would reduce the likelihood that a new generation of jobless workers will be produced from the youngsters now in school and preschool. We must break the cycle of joblessness and improve the youngsters' preparation for the new labor market in the global economy.

My framework for long-term and immediate solutions is based on the notion that the problems of jobless ghettos cannot be separated from those of the rest of the nation. Although these solutions have wide-ranging application and would alleviate the economic distress of many Americans, their impact on jobless ghettos would be profound. Their most important contribution would be their effect on the children of the ghetto, who would be able to anticipate a future of economic mobility and harbor the hopes and aspirations that for so many of their fellow citizens help define the American way of life. ■

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FROM: Debbie Bird

SUBJECT: 3 page partial birth abortion letter

DATE: 8/21.

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 4

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 7, 1996

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

Dear Dr. Henry:

I have received the June 5 letter that you and a number of past Presidents of the Southern Baptist Convention sent me concerning H.R. 1833, legislation banning a certain abortion procedure, commonly referred to as partial birth abortion. I understand that you are distressed about my veto of that bill. Indeed, I realize that a great many people of good faith -- and of all faiths -- are sincerely perplexed.

Regrettably, my views on this legislation have been widely misrepresented and misunderstood. Therefore, I want to take this opportunity to set forth my position as clearly and directly as I can.

Let me say first that I am against late-term abortions and have long opposed them, except, as the Supreme Court requires, where necessary to protect the life or health of the mother. As Governor of Arkansas, I signed into law a bill that barred third trimester abortions, with an appropriate exception for life or health, and I would sign a bill to do the same thing at the federal level if it were presented to me.

The particular procedure aimed at in H.R. 1833 poses a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I studied and prayed about for many months. Indeed, when I first heard a description of this procedure, I anticipated that I would support the bill. But after I studied the matter and learned more about it, I came to believe that this rarely used procedure is justifiable as a last resort when doctors judge it necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious consequences to her health.

In April, I was joined in the White House by five women who desperately wanted to have their babies and were devastated to learn that their babies had fatal conditions and would not live.

These women wanted anything other than an abortion, but were advised by their doctors that this procedure was their best chance to avert the risk of death or grave harm which, in some cases, would have included an inability to bear children. These women gave moving, powerful testimony. For them, this was not about choice. It was not about choosing against having a child. Their babies were certain to perish before, during or shortly after birth. The only question was how much grave damage they were going to suffer. One of them described the serious risks to her health that she faced, including the possibility of hemorrhaging, a ruptured cervix and loss of her ability to bear children in the future. She talked of her predicament:

"Our little boy had...hydrocephaly. All the doctors told us there was no hope. We asked about in utero surgery, about shunts to remove the fluid, but there was absolutely nothing we could do. I cannot express the pain we still feel. This was our precious little baby, and he was being taken from us before we even had him. This was not our choice, for not only was our son going to die, but the complications of the pregnancy put my health in danger, as well."

Some have raised the question whether this procedure is ever most appropriate as a matter of medical practice. The best answer comes from the medical community, which broadly supports the continued availability of this procedure in cases where a woman's serious health interests are at stake. In those rare cases, I believe a woman's doctors should have the option to determine, in the best exercise of their medical judgment, that the procedure is indeed necessary.

The problem with H.R. 1833 is that it provides an exception to the ban on this procedure only when a doctor is convinced that a woman's life is at risk, but not when the doctor is sure that she faces real, grave risks to her health.

Let me be clear. I do not contend that this procedure, today, is always used in circumstances that meet my standard. The procedure may well be used in situations where a woman's serious health interests are not at risk. But I do not support such uses, I do not defend them, and I would sign appropriate legislation banning them.

At the same time, I cannot and will not countenance a ban on this procedure in those cases where it represents the best hope for a woman to avoid serious risks to her health. Some may believe it morally superior to compel a woman to endure serious risks to her health -- including the possible loss of her ability to bear children -- in order to deliver a baby who is already dead or about to die. But I am not among them.

I also understand that many who support this bill believe that any health exception is, as you suggest, a "loophole...to include any reason the mother so desires," such as youth, emotional stress, financial hardship or inconvenience.

That is not the kind of exception I support. I support an exception that takes effect only where a woman faces real, serious adverse health consequences. Some have cited cases where fraudulent health reasons are relied upon as an excuse -- excuses I could never condone. But people of good faith must recognize that there are also cases where the health risks facing a woman are deadly serious and real. It is in those cases that I believe an exception to the general ban on the procedure should be allowed.

Further, I reject the view of those who suggest that it is impossible to draft a bill imposing real, stringent limits on the use of this procedure -- a bill making crystal clear that the procedure may be used only in cases where a woman risks death or serious damage to her health, and in no other case. I know that it is not beyond the ingenuity of Congress, working together in a bipartisan manner, to fashion such a bill.

That is why I implored Congress, by letter dated February 28 and in my veto message, to add a limited exemption for the small number of compelling cases where use of the procedure is necessary to avoid serious health consequences. Congress ignored my proposal and did so, I am afraid, because too many there prefer creating a political issue to solving a human problem. But I repeat my offer: if Congress will produce a bill that meets the concerns outlined in this letter, I will sign it promptly.

In short, I do not support the use of this procedure on demand or on the strength of mild or fraudulent health complaints. But I do believe that it is wrong to abandon women, like the women I spoke with, whose doctors advise them that they need the procedure to avoid serious injury. That, in my judgment, would be the true inhumanity.

I continue to hope that a solution can be reached on this painful issue. I hope as well that the deep dialogue between my Administration and people of faith can continue with regard to the broad array of issues on which we have worked and are working together. Thank you again for your letter. I hope that you now have a better understanding of my position.

Sincerely,



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STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Today I am pleased to sign into law H.R. 3680, the "War Crimes Act of 1996." This bill, in furtherance of the Geneva Conventions of 1949, extends U.S. criminal jurisdiction over certain war crimes and provides the United States with clearer authority to prosecute violations of the laws of war.

Most grave breaches of the Conventions are already subject to U.S. prosecution if committed in the United States and many -- such as hostage taking, terrorism or genocide -- could be prosecuted even if committed abroad. However, many other crimes which would be considered grave breaches of the Conventions could not be prosecuted in United States courts. This legislation is designed to help fill that gap. It authorizes the prosecution of war criminals if they are found in or extradited to the United States. It applies to U.S. nationals or members of the Armed Forces who are perpetrators or victims of war crimes. It would apply, for example, in the case of American civilians subjected to war crimes in an overseas conflict.

This legislation represents an important reaffirmation of American leadership in the development of the law for the protection of victims of war.

In keeping with this leadership role, however, we can and should do even more to strengthen the law in this area. To that end, my Administration is committed to working with the Congress to expand the scope of this legislation. This expansion should address: (1) war crimes committed by any person who comes within the jurisdiction of the United States courts, including crimes committed by non-U.S. persons against non-U.S. victims;

(2) cases involving other serious war crimes not covered by H.R. 3680, such as those prohibited by The Hague Conventions of 1907; and (3) cases involving acts to be made criminal under the recently improved landmines protocol of the Convention on Conventional Weapons. This broadening of the law would not require the United States to exercise jurisdiction in any particular case, but would provide the authority to do so in the national interest.

This bill and the expansions we seek have been endorsed by the American Red Cross, which has had an important role to play in this area ever since its founder Clara Barton took the lead in securing U.S. ratification of the first Geneva Convention. The International Committee of the Red Cross has also voiced its support for our efforts to broaden the scope of this legislation.

In sum, this bill serves important goals and is a significant step forward. Now we should build on this progress and seek further improvements in promoting respect for the laws of war and in reinforcing protections for the victims of war.

THE WHITE HOUSE,

8/21/96
tyson copied

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 15, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/21/96

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is memo from Bob Rubin on economic sanctions and a cover note on the same subject from Laura.

Bob's memo raises concerns about the problematic effect of frequent recourse to economic sanctions. He is troubled by use of both basic kinds of sanctions -- those restricting the activities of our own companies (e.g., barring U.S. investment in a given country); and those imposing penalties on foreign countries who engage in activity with a third, targeted country (e.g., Libya or Iran). Bob argues that we should raise the bar as we consider sanctions in the future and limit their use to exceptional circumstances.

Laura agrees with Bob and attaches a letter from Mike Armstrong and Elizabeth Coleman, Chair and Vice Chair of your Export Council, who urge the creation of a bi-partisan, government-private sector commission to review sanctions policy. Laura notes that your security and economic advisors are divided on the wisdom of a commission.

Tony Lake advises that there is a PDD on sanctions policy working its way through the interagency process and that a PDD should be ready for your review sometime in September.

Todd Stern

OK but I think
the Populism idea
has some merit
BS

CL
T. Lake also

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 7, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/21/96

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Laura D'Andrea Tyson *Laura D. Tyson*

SUBJECT: Unilateral Economic Sanctions

I share the concern expressed by Robert Rubin in the attached memo about the costs of repeated use of unilateral economic sanctions in U.S. foreign policy. Unilateral economic sanctions cannot be a foreign policy tool of first resort without posing a significant threat to our economic interest and to the commonly-held principles of extraterritoriality that we expect other nations to observe.

I have also attached a letter to you from the Chair and Vice-Chair of your Export Council. They highlight the economic costs of our sanctions measures and urge creation of a bi-partisan, joint government/private commission to assess the costs and benefits of economic sanctions, and to make appropriate recommendations for policy changes. Although there are some risks in the idea of a commission, particularly one that would report before the election, it would be one way to build a case with the Congress for the more cautious use of unilateral sanctions during your next term. I believe your security and economic advisors are divided on the wisdom of a commission, so we will prepare a draft response to the attached letter that reflects this diversity of views.

I know that several of your economic advisors would like the opportunity to discuss the issue of unilateral economic sanctions with you if you are interested and can find the time to do so during this hectic period.

ATTACHMENTS

Tab A Memo from Secretary Rubin
Tab B Letter from President's Export Council

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

96 AUG 7, PM 2: 53

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

August 7, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Robert E. Rubin *R. E. R.*

There may well be circumstances where sanctions are appropriate, however, I am convinced that their cumulative effect will be to do real harm to our economic interests. It is easy to lose sight of these long-run costs when sanctions are considered on a case-by-case basis. Therefore, I think we should raise the bar as we consider future sanction actions and reserve their use for exceptional circumstances.

There are two basic types of unilateral economic sanctions: (1) those which restrict the commercial activities of our own companies, and (2) those which impose penalties on foreign companies engaging in commercial activities with the country against which our sanctions policy is directed. These types of sanctions work harm upon our economic interests in different ways.

The first type of unilateral sanction operates as a kind of self-imposed commercial handicap. We forbid U.S. exports of certain goods or services, or U.S. investments in a country, as an expression of disapproval for the policies of that country. We may also freeze the assets of foreign persons associated with the country or a specific regime. We may hope that other nations follow our example, but they rarely do, at least to the extent of prohibiting similar transactions by their companies. Thus, in essence, we cede the market for these sales or investments to foreign companies, often from allied nations.

The direct costs of these sanctions are relatively easy to see, even if precise calculations may at times be difficult. However, there are also hidden and probably far greater costs, the cumulative effects of which follow from repeated use or threat of use of economic sanctions. As foreign companies become aware that the United States resorts to sanctions fairly often, they become a factor that can weigh against contracts with U.S. companies which require ongoing purchases. Despite our firms competitive advantage in aerospace, Airbus Industries, for example, has halved the U.S. content of its planes to under 10%, reportedly in order to avoid the threshold for reexport provisions on U.S.-content goods destined for countries on which we have foreign policy export controls. U.S. companies are seen as less reliable suppliers because of government-imposed measures.

I also have a particular concern that repeatedly resorting to freezing assets of foreigners in U.S. financial institutions will make them a less attractive home for investments. In today's markets, investors need very little reason to choose Zurich or London or Tokyo over New York as the locale for their bank accounts or their point of purchase of debt or equity instruments.

The second type of sanction has gained particular notoriety with the passage of the Helms-Burton and Iran-Libya sanctions bills.

Here we punish foreign companies in the first instance, but it is only a matter of time before our companies are subject to counter-sanctions abroad. We are also exposed to arguments that our actions are inconsistent with commonly held principles of extraterritoriality. Indeed, action of this sort may encourage similar, detrimental actions by other countries against our companies, about which we would certainly complain vociferously. Moreover, I am afraid that these types of sanctions may eventually undermine, rather than enhance, efforts to obtain cooperation from our allies, who will not wish to appear to buckle under our very public pressure.

There are instances where unilateral economic sanctions are warranted by the severity of the threat posed by a target nation such as Iran. We may be willing to bear economic costs in an effort to bring pressure upon companies that do business with Iran, or upon the regime directly. But by and large, the threats posed by target nations are not that high, particularly in light of the frequently modest prospects for success of the sanctions.

I hope we will not soon confront another sanctions bill in the Congress, but I fear otherwise. It sometimes seems that proposals for economic sanctions have become almost a reflexive response in cases where the behavior of the target nation does not threaten U.S. interests in such a way as to justify military or other action. I think we need to be cautious, deliberate, and far more mindful of their long-term economic costs in considering such proposals.

cc: Laura Tyson

THE PRESIDENT'S EXPORT COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

June 28, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

Your Export Council is submitting herewith a recommendation aimed at developing a better base of knowledge for the formation of an economic sanctions policy. Although it is recognized generally that our national security, foreign policy, and national economic security interests are inseparable, actions to deal with proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, support of terrorism, and abuse of human rights in the Post Cold War period increasingly involve unilateral economic sanctions.

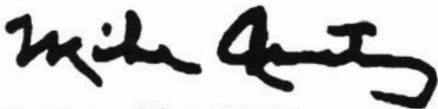
The enclosed "white paper" suggests that the costs of unilateral economic sanctions are becoming more important to the economic security of our nation. The climate under which sanctions typically are chosen make reasoned debate and consideration of potentially more effective but less dramatic and "visible" measures impossible. Therefore, we have concluded that it is essential to develop an improved knowledge base to guide sanctions policies and to create a better informed public.

Specifically, we recommend that you, in consultation with appropriate Members of Congress, appoint a balanced, bi-partisan panel of government (including the Departments of Commerce, State, Defense and Labor) and private sector experts to:

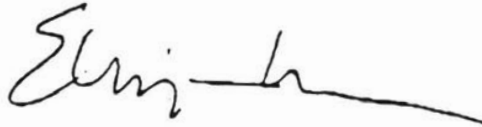
1. Direct a comprehensive assessment of the laws and regulations, costs, benefits, and practices pertinent to economic sanctions.
2. Recommend policies to guide the use of economic sanctions for the future.
3. Propose a program of communications to assure that policy makers and the public are appropriately informed.

We recommend also that you request the International Trade Commission, or other non-partisan body with comparable economic resources and expertise, to work with the Panel in designing the economic cost and impact assessment to conduct the study of costs and impacts, and provide a report to the Panel for its use in completing its report and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

Sincerely,



C. Michael Armstrong
Chairman



Elizabeth Coleman
Vice Chairman

Enclosure

UNILATERAL ECONOMIC SANCTIONS: ARE WE GETTING WHAT WE PAY FOR?

Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, support of international terrorism and abuse of human rights by third world emerging nations have become higher priority concerns for U.S. foreign policy in the Post Cold War era. Since these matters are so antithetical to our national values, traditional diplomacy and constructive engagement typically fail to capture our sense of urgency and outrage. Decisive military solutions, on the other hand, are neither politically nor economically feasible because vital national security interests seldom are perceived to be at stake. Thus, the search for alternate approaches leads most often to the selection of economic sanctions and, frequently, to the United States going it alone.

The costs and benefits of using our international trading relationships as weapons for such purposes in the modern political and economic environment are not well understood. There is a need for a better base of knowledge on which to form economic sanctions policy.

National leaders are coming face to face with the realization that our national security, national economic security and foreign policy interests are inseparable.

"We must elevate America's economic security as a primary goal of our foreign policy...[F]or too long we have made economics the poor cousin of our foreign policy..."

Secretary of State Warren Christopher
January 1993

Trade has increased from 13 percent of the value of U.S. GDP in 1970 to 30 percent in 1995. Indeed U.S. exports are growing at an increasingly rapid rate compared to the economy as a whole.

U.S. EXPORT GROWTH PROJECTION: 9.5 PERCENT PER YEAR

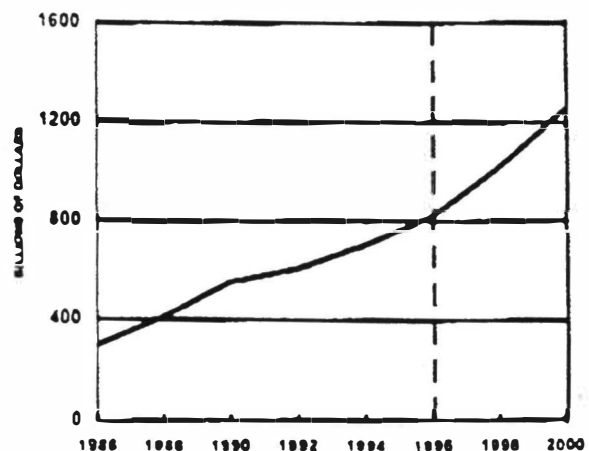


Figure 1
Source: International Trade Administration,
U.S. Department of Commerce

High technology industry sectors depend on the international marketplace to provide the economies of scale essential to their global competitiveness; and Secretary Perry's post Cold War defense strategy relies increasingly on these commercially driven dual-use technologies to provide the battlefield advantage needed by our military.



"The key technology [military commanders] want is information technology and it is being developed at a breathtaking pace, but not by the Defense Department. It is being developed by commercial computer and telecommunications companies..."

Secretary of Defense William J. Perry, "A Defense Strategy for the Post Cold War World" March 4, 1996

Secretary Mickey Kantor noted recently that globalization and interdependence of the world's economies are here to stay, and that expanding trade is critical to creating good, high-wage jobs. The 11 million Americans who owe their jobs to exports are earning, on average, 13 to 17 percent more than their neighbors in non-trade jobs. (Figure 2)

Exporting Plants Pay Higher Wages

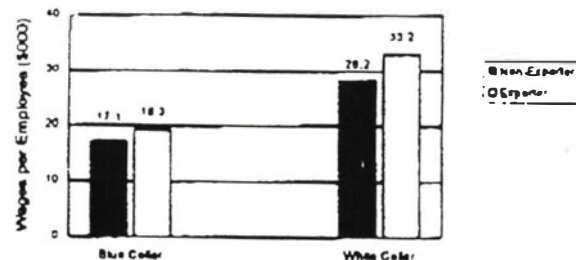


Figure 2

Source: "Why Exports Matter: MORE!" Institute for International Economics and The Manufacturing Institute
U.S. Census Bureau, Center for Economic Studies

Growth in real incomes and living standards depends heavily on trade. The U.S. economy is relatively mature and its population is near zero growth. The same goes for our historic trading partners. The opportunity for growth is offered by the big emerging markets (BEMs) of the world, which already are taking a larger share of our exports than either the European Union or Japan. By the year 2000 they are expected to exceed the combined total of the EU and Japan. (Figure 3)

U.S. Exports to BEMs, European Union, Japan

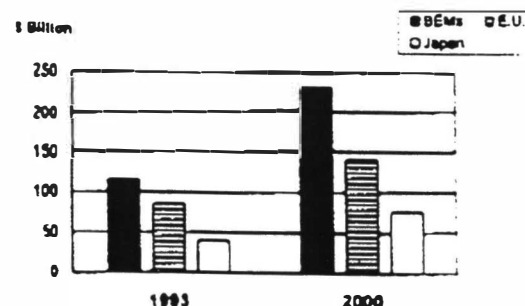


Figure 3

Source: Department of Commerce

But these dynamic emerging market countries also pose the greatest challenges to geopolitical stability and our foreign policy interests.

- Many perceive a need for independent defense capability as the protective shields of the superpowers have come down, and as they desire to project their influence and images of success as nations;
- Some lack the democratic processes and respect for the human rights of their citizens required to meet international norms.

The Policy Dilemma

U.S. policymakers perceive a paucity of options for dealing with such matters when major military action is unjustified.

- When a target country's economy and national security are not dependent on the United States, diplomacy and constructive engagement hold less promise of success, and yet they carry a high political risk here at home. However, the Framework Agreement with North Korea is proving that we are able to get effective results when a high priority, high risk effort is put forward. That rogue country's dangerous nuclear program has been frozen since 1994 when the Agreement was signed.
- Even though unilateral economic sanctions generally are seen as ineffective in achieving the desired change in the target country's policies, such sanctions have become the weapon of choice because:

- They have no visible effect on the budget deficit (i.e., they are "off budget");
- They immediately suggest national resolve to deal tangibly with unacceptable actions by the targeted nation.

Default to Sanctions?

The International Institute for Economics (IIE) reported in 1990 that the use of economic sanctions by the United States reached frenetic levels in the 1970s and 1980s. The success rate fell from 50 percent in the 1950s and 1960s to 17 percent. The average U.S. sanction's effect on the target nation's economy fell to less than one percent of GNP. One possible explanation noted was the decline in trade linkage between the United States and the target countries. From a competitive point of view, it is especially significant that the U.S. rate of applying economic sanctions was triple that of the E. U. and Japan combined.

The IIE reported in 1995 that unilateral sanctions have been applied somewhat less in the 1990s. However, a countertrend is noted in legislative activity which "suggests that the lessons of the 1970s and 1980s have yet to be learned. It appears that domestic politics will continue to outweigh U.S. commercial or even foreign policy interests in some cases."

Restriction of trade and financial relations are imposed under a variety of case specific and omnibus statutes, and additional laws currently are proposed.

Others also have questioned whether unilateral sanctions generally are ineffective

in achieving more than ephemeral domestic political objectives. The GAO reported (GAO/NSIAD-86-172), that effectiveness in denying specific items or forcing change in the target country's policies is not required by the Export Administration Act.

- U.S. foreign policy goals may be limited to making a political statement or sending signals "distancing" ourselves from another country's behavior.
- Ending sanctions is difficult because the act of removal itself signals approval of the target country's behavior.
- Costs take the form of U.S. business and jobs turned over to foreign competitors.

Costs

Costs to the United States of unilateral economic sanctions are both direct and indirect -- and they clearly are quite large.

One of the largest single sector-specific unilateral sanction is that which prevents U.S. firms from competing with French, German, Canadian and other foreign companies to supply nuclear-powered electricity generating plants to China. This sanction is imposed unilaterally for the purpose of penalizing China for abuse of human rights and weapons proliferation. Unfortunately, its effectiveness in influencing China's policies is limited since the foreign competitors offer comparable capability and have moved ahead toward fulfilling China's nuclear power requirements.

Only the U.S. Bans Nuclear Suppliers from China Market

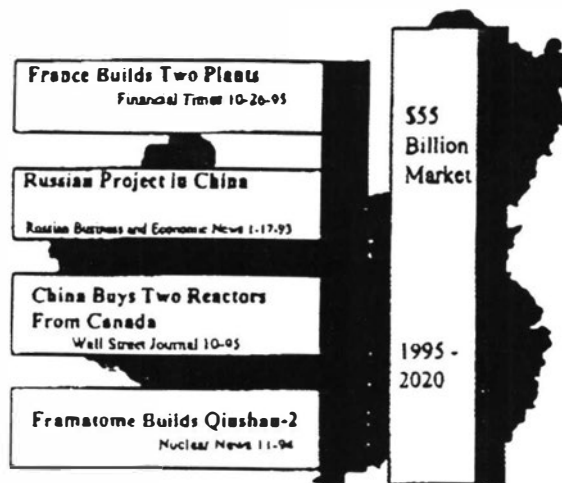
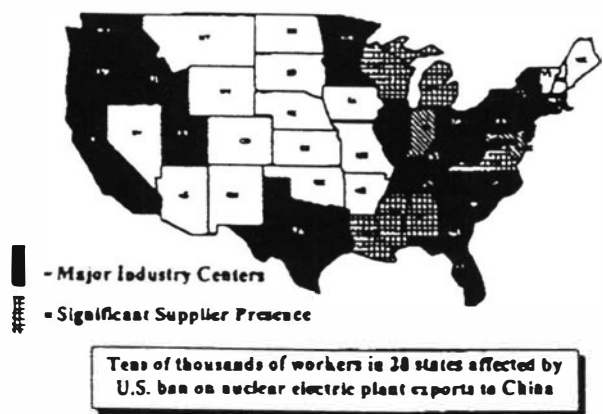


Figure 4
Source: China National Nuclear Corporation

The China nuclear power market is the only one that can support the U.S. commercial nuclear industry in the near to mid term. Tens of thousands of well-paying U.S. jobs across 28 states are potentially affected.

Nuclear Energy Related Jobs



Source: US Nuclear Industry

The critical policy issue for the United States is that continued denial of access to this \$50 billion market will result in the gradual elimination of the trained personnel

base now supporting more than 100 U.S. nuclear power plants and the nuclear Navy. Also of broad significance is that China's nuclear program will not benefit from the world's most advanced nuclear power safety standards.

The Council on Competitiveness evaluated specific export control cases reported by industry in 1994. Unilateral sanctions resulted in \$2.5 billion in denied exports of commercial on-highway trucks and communications satellites.

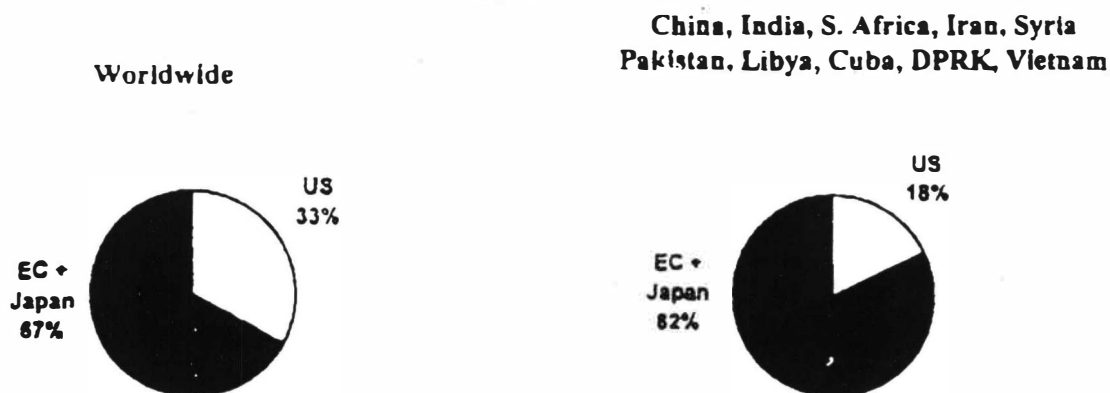
In comparison with worldwide performance against the EC and Japan, the U.S. shortfall in merchandise exports to 10 U.S.-sanctioned countries in 1992 was \$11 billion. (Figure 5)

Indirect costs of unilateral sanctions are larger but even more difficult to assess. In the same way as an ordinary consumer

avoids buying a durable good, such as an automobile or an appliance, from a company that has a reputation for unreliable service and parts supply, foreign purchasers avoid becoming dependent on global suppliers who represent a political risk.

- Where Airbus Industrie once relied solely on U.S. engines, two of the latest three Airbus aircraft now offer non-U.S. engines.
- In the period following the Soviet grain and pipeline embargoes, many U.S. manufacturers were informed by European firms that they were avoiding key U.S. parts and components for their products except where substitutes were unavailable. And the damage to the export market for U.S. agriculture was significant.

Comparison of U.S. with E.C. and Japanese Merchandise Exports 1992



**Shortfall of U.S. Exports to 10 Sanctioned Countries --
\$11 Billion and 220,000 US Jobs**

Figure 5
Source: IMF, 1993

- China and India hedge against potential commercial aircraft sanctions by maintaining a significant share of European and Russian aircraft in their fleets.
- The extraterritorial extension of U.S. law to carry out unilateral sanctions where our international trading partners disagree as to the purpose or approach is particularly damaging to U.S. competitiveness.

The Soviet pipeline embargo was a painful example. Foreign firms were prohibited from supplying the pipeline if they used U.S.-origin goods, or if they were subsidiaries of U.S. firms.

One U.S. turbine manufacturer had produced the high-tech components for machines being made by foreign licensees. These components, which licensees had not been able to build for themselves, could not be shipped. But key European governments effectively forced their citizens to proceed with pipeline contracts in the face of blacklisting by the U.S. government. As a result of this confrontation among the allies, the U.S. was forced to withdraw the sanction. Meanwhile, the U.S. turbine manufacturer had been forced to give over to its foreign licensees complete independence in production of turbine components. This firm and other U.S. suppliers sustained permanent damage in the global market. Foreign competition gained an unearned boost and thousands of good U.S. jobs were destroyed.

- Now further extensions of extra-territoriality are being employed in the

hope of forcing the allies into cooperating with our unilateral actions against Cuba, Iran and Libya. Secondary boycotts of the type employed by the Arab League against Israel are proposed for Iran and Libya. Ironically, a U.S. person's cooperation with such foreign boycotts is prohibited by U.S. law. Foreign manufacturers may be forced to choose between risking the U.S. sanctions and breaking the laws of their own countries. There is a significant danger here of even stronger retaliatory action than in the Soviet pipeline case. The losers, again, will be U.S. suppliers and U.S. workers -- not the target country.

- There are numerous statutory "trip wires" where a Presidential determination sets off mandatory economic sanctions against another government's actions. For example:

A Presidential determination that China has contributed substantially to Pakistan's missile capabilities would require a ban on all export licenses as well as on all imports from Chinese government entities relating to electronics, military aircraft, missiles and space systems. Intelligence leaks reported by the press indicate that such action has been considered. This type of action could result in a complete shutdown in trade relations with China.

Ex-Im has estimated that implementation of the Nuclear Proliferation Prevention Act against China for supplying centrifuge components to Pakistan would affect

potentially \$10 billion worth of U.S. commercial projects.

A similar level of project activity is exposed in Indonesia where past news reports of human rights violations have raised concerns that Ex-Im sanctions mandated by the Foreign Assistance Act might be imposed.

The State Department uses authority under the Arms Export Control Act to deny trade approvals involving items on the U.S. Munitions List for certain countries. Since the Munitions List encompasses substantial commercial goods and technologies, such foreign policy embargoes often have unintended consequences. The \$1.5 billion sale of commercial satellites to China mentioned earlier had to be denied because of the embargo relating to Tiananmen Square.

When the President fails to certify that a foreign government is cooperating satisfactorily with the United States in its war on drugs, Ex-Im Bank funding for projects in that country must be stopped. The recent decertification of Columbia automatically stops U.S. participation in up to \$1 billion worth of projects in that country.

Potential decertification of Mexico, currently proposed by members of the Senate, would impact \$6.8 billion worth of current public and private exposure there.

Conclusions

The impact of unilateral economic sanctions on the broad national interests of the United States must be understood clearly. It is extremely difficult to deal effectively with this issue for several reasons.

- The costs generally are not borne directly by the U.S. government. Direct costs usually are focused on limited industry sectors and geographic areas, and indirect costs, while likely to be larger, are complicated and difficult to prove in the short term.
- The imposition of sanctions invariably is undertaken in the "heat of passion" toward offending governments. Such conditions invite demagoguery and, in turn, media attention. Reasoned debate on sanctions in this climate is impossible. Such conditions also reduce the political attractiveness of using incentives such as economic aid, regional security assurances or access to international financing. The experience of the Framework Agreement with No. Korea is both illustrative and instructive.
- No Administration and no Congress will accept meaningful limits on their ability to act unilaterally against other nations when they perceive a threat to U.S. national interests.

Thus, if we are to avoid significant, unnecessary damage to U.S. economic security, an improved knowledge base to guide sanctions policies, and a better informed public is required.

copy to
Liz Montoya THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

TIME OF TRANSMISSION

TIME OF RECEIPT

88 AUG 11 9:17
**WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM**

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PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE
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ROUTINE

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MESSAGE NO.: SR211

CLASSIFICATION: unclassified

TOTAL: 4

PAGES INCLUDING COVERS

FROM: Phil Caplan
(NAME)

6 2102
(PHONE NUMBER)

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(ROOM NO.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION: _____

<u>TO (AGENCY)</u>	<u>DELIVER TO</u>	<u>DEPT/ROOM NO.</u>	<u>PHONE NUMBER</u>
<u>WV</u>	<u>Bruce Lindsey</u>	<u>(FOR THE PRESIDENT/ACTION)</u>	

REMARKS: Mr. President: This is the first set of appointments to the "Gore Commission" on airline security. Per-Bob Nash, the VP's office and Presidential Personnel are working on the rest of the names, which will be forwarded to you shortly.

18 1392

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

96 AUG 14 08:57

August 12, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8/21/96

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Bob J. Nash, Assistant to the President and
Director of Presidential Personnel

RE: WHITE HOUSE COMMISSION ON AVIATION SAFETY AND
SECURITY (PA)

I. BACKGROUND

In wake of the tragic accidents witnessed by the country and the continuous reports regarding airport security, you announced in July the creation of the White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security. The Commission will be responsible for conducting a comprehensive study to determine the status of U.S. aviation security and safety and the steps that are needed to improve the U.S. situation. The study will encompass both domestic and international aviation.

The Commission will be required to deliver various reports that will include recommendations for governmental action. The Commission has six months to complete this study unless circumstances require the time be extended.

II. DISCUSSION

The Commission will consist of not more than 25 members appointed by the President. The Vice President will serve as the Chairman of the Commission. Members will be drawn from all sectors affected by or have expertise in the issues addressed by the Commission. Members appointed from the private sector will serve in an advisory capacity and are not subject to the normal conflict of interest restrictions.

III. RECOMMENDATION

I recommend the appointment of the following individuals:

GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES

FEDERICO PEÑA, Democrat of Colorado, to serve as Member of the White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security, vice new position. Mr. Peña is the Secretary of the U.S. Department of Transportation

Approve: ✓ Disapprove: _____

JIM HALL, Democrat of Tennessee, to serve as Member of the White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security, vice new position. Mr. Hall is Chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board

Approve: ✓ Disapprove: _____

LOUIS FREEH, Democrat of New York, to serve as Member of the White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security, vice new position. Mr. Freeh is the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice.

Approve: ✓ Disapprove: _____

JOHN DEUTCH, Democrat of Massachusetts, to serve as Member of the White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security, vice new position. Mr. Deutch is the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Approve: ✓ Disapprove: _____

PUBLIC MEMBERS

JOHN MICHAEL LOH, Democrat of District of Columbia, to serve as Member of the White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security. General Loh is the former commander of the Air Combat Command, U.S. Air Force.

Approve: ✓ Disapprove: _____

608

WILLIAM T. COLEMAN, Democrat of District of Columbia, to serve as Member of the White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security, vice new position. Mr. Coleman is a former Secretary of Transportation: he served under President Ford.

Approve: ✓ Disapprove: _____

VICTORIA CUMMOCK, Democrat of Florida, to serve as Member of the White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security, vice new position. Ms. Cummock is the President of the organization that represents Families of Pan Am 103 Lockerbie.

Approve: ✓ Disapprove: _____

BN:nr

8-21-96
Strect
Hawley
Hernreich copied

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 20, 1996

996 THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

MR. PRESIDENT:

9/21/96

A response is being prepared for this resignation letter from Martin Baily.

Todd Stern

Todd Stern



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

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8/21/96

MEMBER

96 AUG 19 AM 11:59
August 19, 1996

Dear Mr. President:

It is with many regrets that I hereby resign my position as a Member of the Council of Economic Advisers, effective August 30, 1996. I view it as a great privilege to have served you in this capacity for the past 2 years.

Since you took office, the U.S. economy has performed extraordinarily well. As a result, I have had an easy job reporting outstanding news month after month. You deserve much of the credit for the economy's performance, and the American people clearly have begun to recognize that. The signs for the future look very good. (If only those trade numbers had been a little better...but these should turn around during your second term.)

One of the pleasures of being a Member of the Council of Economic Advisers is the opportunity to work with outstanding colleagues. Laura Tyson brought me to the Council and got me off to a flying start on the job, taking me to a WEB briefing in the Oval Office on my first day. You should get credit for spotting Laura's exceptional talents nearly 4 years ago and seeing what an asset she would be to the Administration and the country. Joe Stiglitz has been a wonderful Chairman, full of energy, ideas, and enthusiasm. I have learned much from him. Alicia Munnell brought experience and insight, and we have had the fun of working together on many projects. Many of the staff of the Council change every year and we have been fortunate in having an outstanding group of people, incredibly dedicated, and hardworking.

I am looking forward to my new position, but I will carry away great memories of being able to meet with you and of serving as a member of your economic team. Thank you for this opportunity.

Respectfully yours,

Martin N. Baily

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/21/96

96 AUG 20 All : 47

August 20, 1996

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT & ANNE HAWLEY

SUBJECT: SCHEDULING DECISIONS

CC: EVELYN LIEBERMAN

See Summary

ACCEPT

Date of Event:

Description of Event:

8/20/96

Minimum Wage Bill Signing, South Lawn

8/20/96

Conference Call With California High-Tech CEOs

The CEOs will be gathered at Adobe Systems in San Jose. The purpose of this call is to receive the endorsement of more than 40 high-tech CEOs primarily based in Silicon Valley.

8/21/96

Meeting With NEC Principals

8/21/96

Brief Meeting/Photo With Ambassador Itamar Rabinovich of Israel

8/21/96

Kennedy-Kassebaum Bill Signing

8/22/96

Photo With Newly Appointed Ambassador Wyche Fowler

9/10/96

Speech to the Southern Governors' Association Summer Meeting, Kansas City, MO.

tbd

White House Ceremony Honoring the Winners of the Presidential Medal of Freedom

PENDING

Date of Event:

Description of Event:

9/1/96 - 9/3/96

Speech to the National Guard Association, Washington, DC

9/2/96 - 9/6/96

Keynote Address to the National Baptist Convention, Orlando, FLA.

9/7/97

Christening Ceremony For the Aircraft Carrier USS Harry S. Truman, Newport News, VA.

9/19/96 - 9/21/96

Speech to the Society of Professional Journalists, Crystal City, VA.

9/23/96 - 9/28/96

Satellite to the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers' Convention, Chicago, IL.

REGRET

Date of Event:

Description of Event:

8/29/96

Visit the New Headquarters of the Chicago Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), Chicago, IL.

Due to constraints on your schedule, we are not able to schedule this meeting while you are in Chicago. We are currently looking into a conference call with the FOP Endorsement Committee.

8/29/96

Drop By the Closing Lunch of the National Democratic Institute's (NDI) International Visitor's Forum, Chicago, IL.

We are working on sending a surrogate to this event.

9/1/96

Attend the "Concert For Humanity" Celebrating Habitat For Humanity's 20th Anniversary, Atlanta, GA.

You are tentatively scheduled to have down time in Arkansas on this day.

9/8/96

Present a New Emmy Award For Excellence in Educational Programming, Los Angeles, CA

9/24/96 - 9/25/96

Keynote Address at the *Business Week* Symposium of CEOs, Washington, DC

You are currently scheduled to be traveling on both of these days.

Can Up Do this?

Can Up or MK or B Rubin do

August 1996

* Presidential Calendar

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday																																																																																				
July <table> <tr><td>S</td><td>M</td><td>T</td><td>W</td><td>T</td><td>F</td><td>S</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td></tr> <tr><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10</td><td>11</td><td>12</td><td>13</td></tr> <tr><td>14</td><td>15</td><td>16</td><td>17</td><td>18</td><td>19</td><td>20</td></tr> <tr><td>21</td><td>22</td><td>23</td><td>24</td><td>25</td><td>26</td><td>27</td></tr> <tr><td>28</td><td>29</td><td>30</td><td>31</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> </table>		S	M	T	W	T	F	S		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31				September <table> <tr><td>S</td><td>M</td><td>T</td><td>W</td><td>T</td><td>F</td><td>S</td></tr> <tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td></tr> <tr><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10</td><td>11</td><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>14</td></tr> <tr><td>15</td><td>16</td><td>17</td><td>18</td><td>19</td><td>20</td><td>21</td></tr> <tr><td>22</td><td>23</td><td>24</td><td>25</td><td>26</td><td>27</td><td>28</td></tr> <tr><td>29</td><td>30</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> </table>		S	M	T	W	T	F	S	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30						1 Economic Statement Hold 1 Hour Videos, Off Complex (30 min) 2 DNC Dinners, Off Complex	2 Coffee VP Lunch "No Sweat" Message Event Meeting w/ President Tudjman Down @ 2:00 pm Hold For Family Time Evening Off U.S. Olympics in Atlanta	3 (Hold Evening NH) Live Radio Address Pesticide Bill Signing
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4 Day & Evening Off Closing Ceremonies	5 Foreign Policy Speech, DC HOLD AFTERNOON Movie Night	6 Paralympic Torch Ceremony Meetingw/ Prime Minister of Sweden DNC Coffee Drop By Mtg. w/ Arab American Community Leadership Bill Signing (T) Interview w/ Readers Digest Hold Evening	7 WH Ceremony Honoring U.S. Olympic Teams Bill Signing (T) DNC Dinner, San Jose RON San Jose	8 Satellite Message Event, Salinas, CA Message Event, Los Angeles DCCC Fundraiser, Los Angeles RON Los Angeles	9 Tape Radio Address Depart For Vacation VACATION	10																																																																																				
11	12 Message Event, Yellowstone	13 Energy Mtg & Bill Signing, WY	14	15 Opening Ceremony of the Paraly...	16 Tape Radio Address	17 RON DC																																																																																				
VACATION																																																																																										
18 New York City RON NY	19 President's Birthday MEG Birthday Tennessee Travel RON DC	20 Down Until 11 am Minimum Wage Bill Signing Speech Prep Hold Evening	21 Coffee Ken. / Kass. Bill Signing Interview w/ Money Magazine Speech Prep 2 DNC Dinners, Off Complex	22 Coffee VP Lunch Event (T) Interview w/ Barbara Walters Speech Prep Evening Off	23 Coffee/Intern Photo Military Departure Photos Phone Interview (30 min) Tape Radio Address Hold For Possible Bill Signing Speech Prep Evening Off	24 Day & Evening Off																																																																																				
25 Hold For Travel 1/2 Day	26 Hold For Travel	27 Hold For Travel	28 Arrive Chicago	29 DNC Post Convention Gala, Chicago	30 Hold For Travel Depart Chicago	31 Hold For Travel Live Radio Address																																																																																				
Democratic Convention in Chicago																																																																																										

September 1996

* Presidential Calendar

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
1 Hold For Travel	2 Labor Day Events (T)	3 Hold For Travel to Green Bay, WI (T) & Pittsburgh, PA (T) (Hold Evening for NH)	4 Office Day, DC Hold For Family Time VP Lunch Hold 1 Hour DC Dinner	5 Hold For Travel Knoxville, TN (T), Jacksonville, FL (T), Miami, FL (T) DSCC Dinner Miami, FL. RON Miami, FL	6 DNC Lunch Orlando, FL. Tape Radio Address Hold For Travel, Tampa, FL (T) RON WH	7 Day & Evening Off
8 Day & Evening Off	9 Office Day Hold Evening for Family Time	10 Hold For Travel Kansas City, MO (T) & St. Louis, MO (T) DNC Lunch, Kansas City DNC Dinner St. Louis RON St. Louis, MO (T)	11 Hold For Travel Denver or Pueblo, CO (T) & Reno, NV (T) & San Francisco, CA (T) DNC Dinner Palo Alto, CA (T) RON Palo Alto, CA (T)	12 Hold For Travel Santa Barbara or Fresno or Sacramento, CA (T) & Orange Co., CA (T) & Los Ange- les, CA (T) DNC Dinner Los Angeles	13 Down Until 3pm Meeting w/ the VP Tape Radio Address Hold 1 Hour Evening Off Rosh Hashanah Begins @ Sun Do.	14 Day Off CBC Dinner (T) DNC Dinner (T) Rosh Hashanah
15 Harkin Event, Iowa (T) Hold For Travel Minneapolis, MN (T) & Des Moines, IO (T) RON LaCross, WI	16 Hold For Wausau, WI (T) & Detroit, MI (T) Michigan Levin / Coor. Camp. Dinner (T) RON Detroit, MI (T)	17 Hold For Travel Grand Rapids, MI (T) & Flint, MI (T) & Chicago, IL (T) DNC / Durbin Dinner, Chicago (T)	18 DNC Dinner Seattle, WA (T)	19 DNC Dinner Portland, OR, (T)	20 Office Day, DC Tape Radio Address VP Lunch Hold 1 Hour Evening Off	21 Day Off DNC Gala, DC
22 Day & Evening Off Yom Kippur Begins @ Sun Down	23 Office Day, DC Evening Off Yom Kippur	24 UN General Assembly, New York City (T) Hold Evening For Family Time	25 Presidential Debate @ Washington University, St. Louis, MO. (T) Hold For Signing Ceremony, DC (4 Principals) (T) DNC Dinner, Philadelphia (T) Saxophone Club, Philadelphia (T)	26 Down Until 12pm Office Day, DC VP Lunch Hold 1 Hour DNC Dinner (T) DSCC Gala, DC (T)	27 Tape Radio Address Texas Travel (T) DNC Texas Dinner (T) RON Rhode Island (T)	28 Providence, R.I. Lunch (T) Kerry Dinner, Boston (T) DNC Dinner, Boston (T) RON CT. (T)
29 Connecticut Travel (T) DNC / Torricelli Dinner, NJ. (T)	30 Day & Evening Off					

August

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October

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October 1996

* Presidential Calendar

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
		1 Office Day, DC	2 2 DNC Dinners, Off Complex (T)	3 Office Day, DC VP Lunch Hold 1 Hour	4	5 Live Radio Address Day & Evening Off
6 DEBATE PREP Miami, FL. Dinner (T)	7 DEBATE PREP	8 DEBATE PREP	9 VP Debate @ Hartford Civic Cen... Presidential Debate @ Bayfront Center, St. Petersburg, FL. (T)	10	11	12 Live Radio Address Day & Evening Off
13 DEBATE PREP	14 Columbus Day Observed DEBATE PREP	15 DEBATE PREP	16 Presidential Debate @ University of San Diego, CA. (T)	17	18	19 Live Radio Address Day & Evening Off
20 Day & Evening Off	21	22	23	24 United Nations Day	25	26 Live Radio Address Day & Evening Off
27 Day & Evening Off	28	29	30	31 Halloween	September S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 November S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	

November 1996

** Presidential Calendar*

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
					1	2
3	4	5 ELECTION DAY	6	7	8	9
10	11 Veteran's Day, Arlington Cemetery	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24 APEC Conference, Manilla	25 APEC Conference, Manilla	26	27	28 Thanksgiving	29	30

October						
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December						
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29	30	31				

August 1996

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

SUNDAY

MONDAY

TUESDAY

WEDNESDAY

THURSDAY

FRIDAY

SATURDAY

				1 Boca Raton, FL (C/G) RON: Wash DC	2 Orlando, FL (ABA) RON: Orlando, FL Adoption Foundation Mtg	3 Orlando, FL RON: Wash DC
4	5	6	7 US Olympic Athletes (WH)	8	9	10
					VACATION	
11	12 Yellow Stone Nat'l Park	13	14	15	16	17
			Republican Convention			
VACATION						
18 New York, NY (C/G)	19 POTUS' B-day Memphis, TN	20	21	22	23	24
25	26 Women's Suff. Day	27	28	29	30	31
					TRAVEL	
Democratic Convention						

July

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September

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29	30					

September 1996

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
1	2 <i>Labor Day</i>	3	4 Ethnic Slide Show DC Gala [T]	5	6	7
TRAVEL						
8	9	10	11 Los Angeles, CA (Int'l Children's Conf.) Arts & Crafts Exhibit	12 Los Angeles, CA (Streisand Concert)	13	14 <i>Rosh Hashanah</i>
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22 <i>Autumn begins</i>	23 <i>Yom Kippur</i>	24	25	26	27	28
29	30					
NY (UN General Assembly)						

August

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October

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October 1996

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
		1	2	3	4	5 New York, NY (Roosevelt Statue) [T]
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14 Columbus Day (Observed)	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
World Series		World Series				World Series
27 Daylight Savings-- set back 1 hour	28	29	30	31 Halloween		
World Series						

September

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November 1996

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
					1	2
3	4	5 <i>Election Day</i>	6	7	8	9
10	11 <i>Veterans Day</i>	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28 <i>Thanksgiving</i>	29	30

October						
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December						
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Sunday

Monday

Tuesday

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Saturday

July						
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September						
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ig Ceremonies. Summer Olympics Atlanta	5 POTUS foreign policy speech VP Down	6 Karenn's B-Day Note: WH Paralympic torch Note: Paralympic Torch WH VP Down Hold Evening / 30mnRK/HM	7 Note: POTUS Olympic photo POTUS San Jose VP Down	8 POTUS San Jose / LA VP Down	9 POTUS LA VP Down	10 Note: POTUS down 9-18 Smithsonian 150th Anni VP Down August / Labor Day Recess
	12 VP Down	13 VP Down	14 Book event w/MEG DC 7:3p VP Down	15 Goldin meeting Gore Commission 1 hour Letter Carrier Satellite MEG RON NYC Speech prep Atlanta Paralympics event	16 Cisneros meeting DNC visit Gore Commission 1 hour Press time 1 hour Speech prep	17 Note: Paralympics/Atlanta 16-26 Speech prep - DC VP/MEG Tennessee
August / Labor Day Recess						
ay Gala NYC/Nashville eting	19 Church reconstruction event MEG/POTUS B-Day VP/MEG Tennessee	20 DNC DC dinner POTUS speech prep 2 hours Hold Evening / 30mnRK/HM	21 Oyster Bay DNC dinner POTUS speech prep 2 hours VFW Louisville/Long Island	22 Convention prep meeting Gore Commission 1 hour Lunch with POTUS O'Leary Meeting POTUS speech prep 2 hours	23 Convention prep meeting POTUS speech prep 2 hours	24 Gores depart for Chicago
August / Labor Day Recess						
	26	27	28	29	30 Depart Chicago	31 August / Labor Day Recess

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	2 Labor Day	3 VP Down	4 Amb Mondale NSA Lunch w/ POTUS Hold 1 hour + HM/RK mtg	5 DC dinner - 2 VP in office DC	6	7 NPR 3rd Anniversary
August / Labor Day Recess						
	9	10 NH primary	11	12	13 Meeting w/ POTUS Rosh Hashanah sun down Hold 1 hour + HM/RK mtg	14 Rosh Hashanah VP Down
August / Labor Day Recess						
Ill to IL Convention (T) Note: Hisp Her month - Oct15 Rosh Hashanah Down	16 Baltimore dinner	17 New York dinner/sax	18 NIKE Challenge	19	20 Lunch w/ POTUS Hold 1 hour + HM/RK mtg	21
m Kippur sun down	23 Yom Kippur VP in office DC	24	25	26 Lunch w/ POTUS Note: PCAST in DC Hold 1 hour + HM/RK mtg	27	28 Sukkot
ot	30 Mrs. Aitcheson's Birthday					

August						
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October 1990
VP BLOCK: FOR DISTRIBUTION

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
		1 Roosevelt history month	2 POTUS 2 DC dinners	3 Lunch w/ POTUS Hold 1 hour + HM/RK mtg	4	5
rs. Gore Sr's B-Day Mc: Red Mass 10:00am	7	8 Note: Jesse Jackson 55 bday	9 Pres Debate (T)	10	11 POTUS/HRC Anniversary	12
	14 Columbus Day Observed	15 Sine Die Adjournment (T)	16 Pres Debate (T)	17	18	19 Albert's B-Day
	21	22	23	24 UN Day	25	26 HRC B-Day
ght savings back one hour	28	29	30 Thanksgiving	31 Trick or Treat NAVOBS		

September

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November

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