

~~Chron~~

—

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96 OCT 2 P3:12

September 30, 1996

cc
Jeff Secy
Can you get
answers asap
to these questions?
M

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

Via Facsimile: 202.456.2983

10-2-96

Send to ~~Don~~ Don

to Geo (Pasc) Yes _____
Someone on DPC No _____
SKM should call Matter.
Close friend of POTUS C

the country and is a world leader in the field of organ transplantation, especially liver transplantation. As a result of the passage of the National Organ Transplant Act in 1984, the control of donation, allocation and distribution of life-saving organs is placed in the Organ Procurement and Transplantation Network (OPTN) subject to supervision and review by DHHS. The OPTN is operated under contract with DHHS by the United Network for Organ Sharing (UNOS), a private entity. UNOS has 430 members, 276 of which are transplant centers, including UPMC. The other members of UNOS include organ procurement organizations, other medical organizations, 11 voluntary health organizations, and only 6 members of the general public. Decisions at UNOS are made on the "one-member, one-vote" rule. Thus, transplant centers (not the patients) control the decision making.

UNOS has adopted voluntary policies dealing with the operations of the OPTN (including how organs are allocated to waiting patients), but notwithstanding repeated Congressional criticism of foot dragging, DHHS has never adopted any binding regulations. DHHS began working on regulations in late 1989. In late 1990, UNOS, without DHHS's review or comment, eliminated the STAT priority for allocating livers to the sickest patients wherever located in favor of allocating most livers using the current geography-limited system. UPMC complained in writing to former DHHS Secretary Sullivan in March, 1991, to no avail. Shortly before you took office, DHHS was reportedly prepared to issue regulations adopting the then-existing system based on small geographic areas.

At the urging of Congress and others, your DHHS appointees began looking at the issues again in 1993. DHHS published proposed regulations in September, 1994, seeking comment from the transplant community. The preamble to those proposed regulations specifically asked for comment on the organ allocation policies of UNOS as in effect after the 1990 change and stated that "the present organ allocation policies ... raise difficult issues." UPMC and others submitted comments and proposed alternative allocation systems in December, 1994. Although DHHS stated in the preamble to the proposed regulation, "[t]he process is being initiated to allow the earliest possible adoption of final allocation policies ...", after two years DHHS has still not made any decisions on the issue. UPMC believes that DHHS must move quickly to change the current organ allocation policy because patients are dying while waiting for a liver transplant who would not otherwise die if the existing organ allocation system were changed.

The current liver allocation policy works as follows:

1. Patients are assigned to a Status depending upon their medical condition, as determined by the physician, with Status 1 being the sickest patients (in intensive care with a life expectancy of 7 days or less); Status 2 being patients who are continuously hospitalized. Status 3 are patients who are homebound, and Status 4 patients are the least sick.

2. Geographically, the United States is divided into 69 organ procurement organization (OPO) service areas which are aggregated into 11 UNOS regions.

3. Livers are allocated first to Status 1 through 4 patients in the OPO service area; if not accepted within the OPO service area, they are allocated to Status 1 through 4 patients in the UNOS region; and finally to Status 1 through 4 patients anywhere in the country outside the region.

The effect of the current policy is to allow a Status 3 or 4 (non-hospitalized) patient to receive a donated liver, instead of using that organ to transplant a Status 1 or 2 patient who, by definition, is near death, simply because the Status 3 or 4 patient is on the waiting list of a transplant center near where the liver is donated. After development of the University of Wisconsin solution almost 10 years ago, a donated liver can be preserved and shipped anywhere in the country by commercial airline (12 to 18 hours) and still be viable for transplantation.

Several viable alternatives to the current system have been proposed by UPMC and others. The proposal made by UPMC would allocate the livers first to a compatible Status 1 in the local OPO service area, then to a compatible Status 1 anywhere in the country; if there is no compatible Status 1 patient, the organ would be offered first to a compatible Status 2 patient in the OPO service area and then to a compatible Status 2 patient anywhere in the country, and so on for Status 3 and 4 patients. This proposal would allocate the livers to the sickest patients in the largest possible geographic area where the organ can be transported and remain in good condition to be transplanted.

Another proposal would allocate donated livers to compatible hospitalized patients (Status 1 and 2) first and then to compatible non-hospitalized patients ("In-Patient First system"). This proposal maintains the "local-region-national" geographic limits of the current system, but insures that patients who have the greatest risk of dying without a transplant, have the first opportunity to receive a compatible liver.

Consultants for UNOS and for UPMC have developed computer models for liver allocation and have published results from these models for various liver allocation proposals. All of those results have indicated that total deaths among liver transplant patients and recipients are less under the UPMC proposal than under the current system. The UNOS models have indicated that between 30 and 50 lives are saved each year under the UPMC proposal, while the modeling done by UPMC consultants indicates that in excess of 100 lives would be saved per year. The results for the In-Patient First proposal are very similar.

At the present time, there are significant disparities among waiting times for similar liver patients at different transplant centers around the country. The disparities are so great that some patients can wait 4 or 5 times longer for an available organ as similar patients in other parts of the country. The results from the UNOS model and from the UPMC model indicate that the disparity between the waiting times for similarly situated patients at different centers is reduced significantly under the UPMC allocation proposal, and under the In-Patient First system.

The current system has another consequence. The large disparity in waiting times for a liver transplant induces many patients to list at a small transplant center (35 or fewer transplants per year) in hopes of receiving a liver sooner. Approximately 65% of liver transplant centers are in this category. Unfortunately, a 1994 OPTN study showed that the risk of death for transplants at such small centers was 1.6 times greater than the risk of death at centers performing more than 35 liver transplants per year.

Personnel at DHHS are aware of these studies. Nevertheless, there appears to be a genuine reluctance to move forward with the formulation of an organ allocation policy. UNOS, as an organization made up mostly of small transplant centers, seems content to stay with the existing policy since it benefits a large number of the member centers. Although, the UNOS Board recently proposed for comment by its members some minor modifications to the current system, results from the UNOS and UPMC models suggest that such changes, which are now under final consideration by the UNOS Board, are not an improvement over the current system. However, the existing liver

allocation policy does not benefit patients waiting for liver transplants either. The results of all of the studies indicate that more patients die annually under the existing system than under the UPMC or In-Patient First alternatives, neither of which the UNOS Board is currently considering, and that there is greater disparity of waiting times among patients with similar medical conditions under the existing policy than under either of those proposed alternative allocation systems.

UPMC believes that DHHS should move forward immediately to develop and promulgate the actual organ allocation policy. If DHHS gives more weight to the interests of patients than transplant centers, the new liver allocation system will: (1) allow the patient to choose the transplant center; and, (2) direct the organs to the neediest patients wherever located. The current system is described in comments recently submitted by the University of Nebraska Medical Center at a UNOS forum:

"... the policy mandates that describe liver allocation are not patient-directed, but remain entitlement programs serving transplantation centers rather than patients in a direct and monitorable fashion."

Does DHHS want to endorse this type of policy? DHHS must make the decision on liver allocation policy. UNOS has shown that it cannot, or will not. At present, everything is in limbo, with no reasonable prospects for change, and, by default, the existing system remains in place.

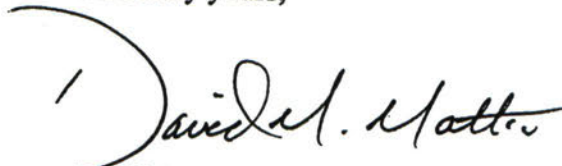
I recognize your tremendously busy schedule and the significant issues that you must face each day. I also know that you maintain a deep and abiding concern for the health and well-being of all of our citizens and are committed to the principles of fairness and a responsive and responsible government. I ask for your assistance in insuring that DHHS moves immediately to adopt regulations for the OPTN that will protect those patients facing imminent death while awaiting transplants and be fair and equitable to all patients.

I have taken the liberty of attaching to this letter a few questions, the answers to which will focus attention on the important

President William J. Clinton
September 30, 1996
Page 6

policy issues that need to be resolved. Thank you very much for your assistance, and I remain

Sincerely yours,



David M. Matter

Questions

1. What projections or data has DHHS prepared or compiled which compare patient lives saved by Status, pre- and post-transplant, for the current liver allocation system, the UNOS Board proposed changes, the UPMC proposal and the In-Patient First proposal?
2. What projections or data has DHHS prepared or compiled which compare total patient life years saved by Status, pre-and post-transplant, for the current liver allocation system, the UNOS Board proposed changes, the UPMC proposal and the In-Patient First proposal?
3. What projections or data has DHHS prepared or compiled which compare disparities in waiting times by Status by UNOS region, pre- and post-transplant, for the current liver allocation system, the UNOS Board proposed changes, the UPMC proposal and the In-Patient First proposal?
4. If the In-Patient First proposal will save more patient lives, increase total patient life years, and equalize waiting times for patients in a similar medical status across the country when compared to the current system, are there demonstrated negative effects to patients of such proposal which outweigh the benefits?
5. If the UPMC proposal will save more patient lives, increase total patient life years, and equalize waiting times for patients in a similar medical status across the country when compared to the current system, are there demonstrated negative effects to patients of such proposal which outweigh the benefits?
6. DHHS has data which indicate significant differences in risk of mortality for liver patients, pre- and post-transplant, between centers performing more than 35 transplants per year and those performing fewer than 12 transplants. Are there demonstrated medical benefits to patients to encourage patients to choose to be transplanted at high risk centers?

7. Of those centers performing fewer than 35 liver transplants per year, how many are approved for participation in Medicare, Medicaid, VA or other federal government programs for reimbursement for liver transplants?
8. How many centers are performing fewer than 12 liver transplants per year, and are any of those centers approved for participation in Medicare, Medicaid, VA or other federal government programs for reimbursement for liver transplants?
9. Has DHHS established any criteria for determining when the mortality rate at a liver transplant center is unacceptable so that the center may not participate in government reimbursement programs or receive livers for transplant?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

96 OCT 2 P5:11

October 2, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Wendy Smith

In preparation for your trip to Fort Worth, I worked with former Speaker Jim Wright's office in obtaining economic information for your speech. They have been so gracious as to send me an advance copy of an op-ed which is scheduled to appear in Sunday's Fort Worth Star Telegram. I thought you would very much enjoy reading it.

Good luck on Sunday!

Wendy Smith
10/2/96

JIM DORSKIND:

please coordinate
the reply.

MAGNANIMOUS AND PRESIDENTIAL

By former Speaker Jim Wright

October 6, 1996

"No, no. Don't boo them. They're welcome here. This is America. Everybody's welcome here." It was President Bill Clinton in Fort Worth, calming enthusiastic supporters who were jeering protesters carrying signs on the outskirts of the mammoth outdoor rally.

The president's gentle rebuke, silencing his partisan defenders, was instinctive, part of the man. Clinton's soothing words of welcome to a little band of sneering tormentors seemed genuine. "Magnanimous" was the adjective used by a New York Times reporter. A student in my political science class at Texas Christian University called the act "presidential."

My mind went back to an episode that occurred in 1890. I read of it while in my senior high school year. As related by biographer Sam Acheson, Joseph Weldon Bailey, then only 27, was seeking his first election to Congress in the North Texas district later served by Sam Rayburn.

Bailey ran against a veteran public official many years his senior, Judge Silas Hare. The two debated at McKinney, Texas. The crowd was noisily pro-Bailey. As Hare rose to speak, catcalls and jeers greeted his opening remarks. The hectoring finally became so loud that Hare's speech was rendered inaudible.

At this point, Bailey rose and spread his arms for silence. "Free speech, my fellow countrymen, is one of the sacred guarantees embedded in the Constitution!" insisted Joe Bailey. The crowd fell silent, chastened enough to allow Bailey's opponent to continue. But Hare was so shaken by the event, and by Bailey's generous intercession in his behalf that, according to the biographer, the elder man finally slammed his notes on the table and withdrew from the race.

An episode of identifiable magnanimity, no less than one of ugliness or horror, tends to burn itself into one's memory. Fifteen years after I read Acheson's book, Joe Bailey, *The Last Democrat*, I was running for my first term in Congress. A few days before the election, candidates spoke to a large crowd at the Weatherford football stadium. Some of my partisans began to interrupt my opponent, Wingate Lucas, with boos. Instinctively, the Bailey episode reverberating in my mind, I stood and asked them to give him a polite hearing.

Joe Bailey was Sam Rayburn's hero and mentor, as Rayburn was mine. Rayburn once repeated for my benefit some words of advice Bailey gave him earlier in his career. "Don't ever think, just because someone's on the other side of a political issue from you, that he's a sorry son of a bitch. Nine times out of ten, if you get to know him, you'll find he's not!"

Magnanimous: A word we hear too infrequently, a quality too seldom observed. Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary defines it as "noble in mind... rising above pettiness or meanness; generous in overlooking injury or insult." Maybe my student had it right. It's part of what we include in the word presidential.

Whether President Clinton had actually seen the most egregious of the signs against which his partisans were protesting is questionable. From where I stood on the platform, I could not make out the wording two blocks away. The next day's papers showed photographs of two poster-board figures of the president and first lady, erected by protesters. On his image was painted "DRAFT DODGER," on hers "BANK ROBBER." If the president had seen the one

slandering his wife, his remarks possibly might have been less charitable. On one occasion he coldly reprimanded House Majority Leader Dick Armey in person for an ungentlemanly comment about Hillary.

Even the most presidential chief executives have had trouble tolerating insults to their wives. Ronald Reagan, who put up with Don Regan as Treasury Secretary for years, fired him abruptly when Regan said something disparaging about the first lady, Nancy. Eisenhower once hotly upbraided a photographer for putting his hands on Mamie while trying to pose her for a picture. Andrew Jackson was said to have forgiven all his enemies save those who'd spoken ill of his wife, Rachel.

Sam Houston in 1832 apologized to the House in abject humility for having manhandled a member named Stanberry who'd insulted his honor. Yet he never tolerated a word of reproach against his first wife, Eliza, who divorced him. "She is blameless," Houston said. He resigned as governor of Tennessee rather than discuss the divorce. On leaving office and Nashville, Houston gave stern notice: "If any wretch utters so much as a whisper against Mrs. Houston, I will return and write the libel in his heart's blood!"

The public will never lose its thirst for heroes. It is hard to be one these days in public life. An act of genuine gentleness, of magnanimity, of noblesse oblige may not be recognized, nor even appreciated by everyone. Some of my generation, whose mothers tediously defined and enshrined the word gentleman in the deep recesses of our minds, may attach more significance to the quality it describes than today's trendsetters think it deserves.

But President Clinton made me proud of him that Friday in Fort Worth's Sundance Square. For hundreds of young people, he set an example of civility. Maybe some of them will be inspired by it as Rayburn was by Bailey and I by Rayburn. Bill Clinton wore a white hat that day. He was presidential.

A Talk With Bill Clinton

The President shows himself to be at once confident about what we should do to better life for the next generations and guarded about how much we can achieve toward that end

A FEW months ago editors from this magazine interviewed President Bill Clinton in the White House for just under an hour. The physical setting for dealing with a President is usually grander than that for encountering most other politicians, and theoretically calmer. The typical congressional office is cramped enough that an interviewer can hear aides yelling in the next room. "Yeah, he'll get right back to you—he'll be done with his three o'clock in a minute." The Oval Office, in contrast, is the only uncramped area in the otherwise jam-packed suite of offices in the West Wing of the White House, and one is meant upon stepping into it to be struck by its sense of space and serenity.

Any competent politician knows how to act as if the visitor of the moment were the most fascinating human specimen imaginable. But all around a President are people looking at their wrist-watches, a photographer snapping official mementos of the meeting, someone recording every word the President utters in interview situations, and a variety of other assistants whose interest in the visitor begins and ends with whether he or she will get out of there on time.

We encountered Bill Clinton at the end of a day (June 25) that was an extreme example of the meter-is-running nature of his life. Earlier Clinton had met with the Presidents of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—an event that was no doubt front-page news in the Baltic States but was barely mentioned in the United States. Soon afterward he had a similar meeting with the President of Uzbekistan. The next morning he was scheduled to travel to France for the annual G-7 meeting of leaders of major industrial nations.

Then, around four o'clock that afternoon, news arrived of the terrorist bombing in Saudi Arabia that killed nineteen American soldiers. Through the late afternoon Clinton met to discuss the bombing with his national-security team. Shortly after six there was an announcement in the press room that the President himself—not some representative or press secretary—would make a statement. The room came alive as camera crews

checked their equipment, technicians brought in a giant lectern (which resembled a huge coffin stood on end) and hung the presidential seal on the front of it, and correspondents did teaser broadcasts to say that news was about to be made. At 6:25 a small door near the lectern opened and the President entered—along with the Vice President, the Secretary of Defense, the White House chief of staff, the national security adviser, and assorted other officials whose presence underscored the solemnity of the event. Clinton read a brief, stern statement admonishing the

terrorists, which ended "America takes care of our own. Those who did it must not go unpunished." Without taking questions he walked out of the room.

At 6:40 he walked into the Oval Office, where he found . . . us. Much like the leaders of the Baltic nations and Uzbekistan, we were hoping in the time allotted to steer President Clinton's attention toward issues that mattered a lot to us—in this case,

his views on long-term economic challenges. As Clinton sat down to talk with us, an aide handed him a sheaf of briefing papers that covered the issues we seemed likely to focus on and the themes he should stress. Clinton glanced at it for a second and set it on a table. People used to mock Ronald Rea-



by James Fallows

gan's dictum that memos for the President should be boiled down to one page. His idea makes more sense when one sees how much time a President actually has to read and reflect.

Journalists interviewing politicians are often surprised to find that they sound smart. Politicians are made to seem buffoons when presented in television sound bites. Also, they spend much of their lives boning up on issues and explaining the positions they take—the very skills that are on display in most interviews. There are exceptions: Ronald Reagan, Gerald Ford, and Edward Kennedy have been known for coming across in conversation as affable rather than insightful—to say nothing of Dan Quayle. But politicians as varied as Richard Nixon, Jimmy Carter, Newt Gingrich, and Lyndon Johnson all got ahead partly by persuading people in

*Clinton was most
animated in talking of
similarities and
differences between
this turn of the century
and the last one.*

small groups that they were figures of complexity and depth.

Bill Clinton has this skill. During the first ten or fifteen minutes of our interview he seemed logy and understandably preoccupied. But when we went back and read it on paper, even that part of his conversation was surprisingly coherent; and after he woke up, he had the sort of zip usually associated with his informal TV appearances. By the end of the interview, when we had turned off the tape recorders and were being given the evil eye by staffers and Secret Service agents, he was in his familiar but-tonholing mode, standing a little closer than other people do, looming over us with his size and heft and almost but not quite putting his hands on our shoulders—in general, being the complete communicator.

The substance of Clinton's comments was not quite as reassuring and upbeat as his manner, or as politicians are ultimately required to seem. He talked in detailed and enthusiastic terms about steps he thought would help the country weather its upcoming economic transition—brought about by the global economy, the rise of computers, the ever-growing gap between rewards for highly skilled and for unskilled workers. But beneath his action plan seemed to be a fatalistic awareness that this transition would be wrenching, like the one a century ago that accompanied the rise of unions and mass production. Like Newt Gingrich or Jack Kemp, Clinton is brimming with specific policy ideas. But Gingrich and Kemp suggest, in tone more than in words, that once their reforms—tax cuts, empowerment zones—are in place, everything will be great. Clinton's implied argument, more appealing to a historian's or a journalist's sensibilities, is that things never work out perfectly, but modest changes can make a difference in the long run.

On only two issues did Clinton give answers that were either artfully evasive or simply conventional. The evasion concerned, of course, Social Security. The question was not whether the program costs too much or gives too many of its benefits to people who don't need them. Rather, it was whether the payroll tax that funds Social Security has become another source of economic unfairness in America, taking as it does the biggest tax bite, proportionally, from the people with the lowest incomes.

Clinton dealt with this in a way that avoided the flat-earthism of saying that nothing is wrong with Social Security without being suicidally specific about exactly what should be done. He said, "What I think about Social Security is that we've always done whatever it took to preserve the program in a way that was healthy for the economy. We've always done it in a bipartisan fashion." The vehicle for doing so, he made clear, was a bipartisan commission that would give both parties cover for doing what had to be done—just what happened in 1983, when the previous set of Social Security changes was passed.

Clinton's conventional answer concerned budget deficits. Since the day he took office, they have blighted his life.

Having run in 1992 on a two-part economic platform—cutting spending in general and raising some taxes to reduce the deficit, while increasing spending for education, job training, public works, and other "investment" accounts—Clinton discovered during his first year in office that fighting the deficit was driving out nearly every other goal. (The logic ran like this: bigger deficits might cause inflation; fear of inflation would cause the Federal Reserve to raise interest rates; fear of high interest rates would cause the bond and stock markets to crash; fear of these crashes made the Clinton Administration drop most of its investment agenda.) After Republicans took control of Congress last year, they tried to push through budget plans and constitutional amendments requiring that the budget deficit shrink to zero within seven years. These efforts failed—but the trend of budget deficits nonetheless changed dramatically during Clinton's term. Relatively speaking, U.S. deficits in the late 1980s were the largest among all industrial nations. Now they are the smallest. Some economists therefore argue—as Thomas I. Palley and Robert A. Levine did in the July *Atlantic*—that a continued effort to eliminate the deficit has become more dangerous than the deficit itself, and that America could again make Herbert Hoover's error of holding down spending when spending could produce growth.

"I basically don't agree with those economists, frankly," Clinton said when asked about this theory. "You could argue that the problem is solved. We have an operating surplus—our budget would have been in balance the past two years, with a surplus, were it not for the interest on the debt run up in the twelve years before I took office." But, he added half sincerely, "there is no point in crying over spilled milk." It is still important to keep the deficit down, so that interest rates will remain low and the private economy can create as many jobs as possible. This, he said, will do more good for more working Americans than would government spending or even tax cuts, which could raise the deficit.

The subjects that made the President animated involved the long-term economic trends with which the victor in this election—and the victors in the next

few presidential elections—will have to cope. One of these is the continuing polarization of both American society and the American economy. When running in 1992 Clinton constantly pointed out that the rich were getting richer, the poor were getting poorer, and the middle class was melting away. Since America didn't have "a person to spare," he said, it was crucial to redirect economic and educational forces so that more people would have a fair chance to compete. Yet during his time in office the polarization has continued. We asked whether anything could stop it—in particular, the education and job-training programs he seemed to present almost as a panacea for any undesirable consequences of world economic trends.

Clinton's answers were both activist and, again, fatalistic. When asked whether an emphasis on education would lead

have the right sort of economic strategy—pro-growth, pro-jobs strategy—you can at least give real growth to people in the middle and below." As for inequality in the longer run, he said, "Now, on the education thing, the reason I tell you I don't know is because I don't think we've done enough to know that. For example, a lot of these benefits from education come in the form not only of individual opportunities but also of increasing productivity, and that takes place over a long period of time. But I do believe we could get some rapid gains for the bottom half of the wage [distribution], maybe for the bottom sixty percent, if we could accelerate things like the passage of the GI Bill for America's workers, which I have been proposing for a long time, so that every worker would in effect have an account with the federal government. Instead of having to figure out which of seventy programs you might be qualified for, you just get a voucher if you're unemployed or underemployed that you can take to a training facility.

"Also, I assume we'll have to wait beyond the election, but if we can make the thirteenth and fourteenth years of education in effect as universal as high school education is today, I think that would make a profound difference. And if we started by getting people who are in the work force now to come back and do this, with the tax-credit proposal, I think the likelihood that those people's incomes would go up is very, very high. These community colleges are almost infinitely expandable, you know, and they are by definition related to the emerging economies in the areas they serve."

Clinton also talked at length about the importance of "democratizing technology"—essentially, making sure that computers and similar advances are made available to the broadest possible group of Americans, rather than becoming another means of enriching the rich. Showing his usual love of examples drawn from recent travels, he described a computer project he had seen in Union City, New Jersey. The students at this school come mainly from immigrant families with per capita incomes well below the state average. The school system put computer equipment donated by Bell Atlantic in parents' homes and trained them to use the software, largely for

communication. "You had first-generation immigrant parents with their children learning to E-mail the principal and the teachers and find out how the kids were doing," Clinton said. "Two years later this school has an attendance rate that is better than the state average and test scores above the state average in one of the wealthiest states in America. That has to have an impact on the earnings prospects for those young people. If that will work for children, the same thing will work for adults."

It is very difficult to imagine Bob Dole talking in comparable detail about the factors that determine economic growth and inequality. The economic policy Dole embraced just before he selected Jack Kemp as his running mate—a 15 percent tax cut across the board—grows straight from the supply-side belief that politicians should not discuss economic details at all but should concentrate on cutting taxes. Clinton's economic perspective differs sharply from that of classic Republican supply-siders like Phil Gramm and Steve Forbes, or of techno-optimists like Newt Gingrich and John Naisbitt. Clinton's has a tragic element: economic change could create victims and leave people behind, rather than lifting every boat on a rising tide. Yet Clinton's prescriptions, as he discussed them with us, had a surprisingly Benjamin Franklinesque emphasis on individual self-help. Making health coverage and pensions transportable from job to job will help people who already have an investment in today's system, but will do little for the growing army of part-time workers and those too badly educated to seem employable at all. Nevertheless, vouchers for training programs will help workers with gumption, and the emphasis on community colleges may be more important for U.S. productivity than the traditional stress on big-time research institutions: community colleges are where the vaunted retraining of the work force can take place.

Unlike, say, Pat Buchanan, Clinton did not sound as if the United States had a choice about being changed by the global economy. "We don't want to get into a position where we are trying to guarantee the preservation of the past," he said. "That's what President Charles de Gaulle was trying to deal with in France." In France, Clinton pointed out, overall growth has

On the economy: "We don't want to get into a position where we are trying to guarantee the preservation of the past."

to a more equal society, he said, "The truth is, no one knows the answer to that." In one modest way, he said, the trend toward inequality had been corrected: the income of the poorest 20 percent of Americans had recently begun to rise, rather than actually falling, as it had for the previous fifteen years. (This, he said, was owing mainly to the budget plan he proposed in 1993, which roughly doubled the Earned Income Tax Credit—a kind of income-tax rebate for low-income workers.) "The inequality is still pronounced and increasing," he said, "because [incomes] in the upper twenty percent, and indeed the upper five percent and the upper one percent, are growing even faster than those in the middle and at the bottom. But at least [incomes at the bottom] are starting to grow again. So that suggests that if you

surged for the past three years, but the unemployment rate has stuck at 12 percent, "because in effect they have tried to guarantee a social safety net that doesn't fit with the vibrancy and the dynamism of the world. There has always been some churning in this economy. There's always been some vibrancy in it, and some winners and losers. We shouldn't be trying to freeze the past, but we should be trying to ease people's path to another future."

"Ease"—not "ensure" or "promise" or "preserve." It is a longer-term, more modest, and probably more realistic prospect than he offered four years ago.

■ ■ ■

The other main theme in the discussion was the interaction among energy use, global environmental effects, and long-term economic growth. During the 1992 campaign Clinton never managed

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to portray himself as the environmentalist in the race. In the Democratic primaries Paul Tsongas recommended an energy-conserving gasoline tax, which Clinton opposed. In the general election Clinton had to fend off George Bush's attacks on his environmental record in Arkansas, and he always looked less ecologically aware than his running mate, Al Gore. But after last year's Republican Congress took what proved to be an unpopular stance against environmental regulation, environmental protection became an important distinguishing theme for the Democrats. In environmental matters as in economics, the President argued, the country should start dealing now with international problems that will become acute if they are ignored—for example, the impact that bringing more than a billion Chi-

nese into the automobile age will have on air quality and energy supply.

As a starting point, he said, "in the next four years we ought to do more in research generally"—a significant view, in light of Congress's attempt to shrink the federal research budget. "We ought to do more in biomedical research, both through public spending and through continued efforts to reform the FDA and accelerate the right kind of movement of biomedical products to the market. I think we ought to do more in energy and environmental research—much more. I believe that if we don't do this, if we don't find some technological fixes that make the energy we have go further and also do less damage in terms of greenhouse gases, we're going to pay a significant price. We're way underinvesting in research and technology, I believe."

Clinton said that he did not think the United States or the world faces an impending energy shortage, mainly because in this country and elsewhere there are still "vast resources of natural gas, which the market so far has kept at such low prices that a lot of it hasn't been recovered." But in the long run, he said, it will be important both to develop energy supplies and to improve conservation techniques, so as to "guarantee that Americans will have the energy they need and the world will be able to breathe its air."

Clinton said that he will try to make the case for "a dramatic increase" in research spending by "elevating the argument that I've been making that economics is a part of our national security." The classic example of this strategy is Dwight Eisenhower's promotion of federal aid to schools and a new national road system in the guise of national defense. "Whether I can be as successful in doing that as President Eisenhower was in saying, 'Look, we've got to have an interstate highway system, because it takes the army too long to go from one coast to the other,' remains to be seen," Clinton said. "But I believe that we can. I'm certainly going to try."

If he is re-elected, Clinton's attempts to make this argument may demand a further refinement in his skills and strategic view. He was at his most animated near the end of our discussion, in talking of similarities and differences between this turn of the century and the

one a hundred years ago. Labor turmoil, boom-and-bust economies, ethnic changes wrought by immigration, and other shocks of that era eventually gave rise to the Progressive movement. One could make a very compelling case, Clinton said, that the aftershocks from the previous turn of the century reached beyond the New Deal and the Second World War, so that the economic reforms of the Progressive era were consolidated in a panoply of labor-relations laws and the growth of an education and research establishment, symbolized by the GI Bill and the post-Sputnik research boom.

"This era is analogous to that era in the following ways," he said. "We're changing our industrial paradigm—we're going from the industrial age to an information-technology age, from the Cold War to a global society. That paradigm change has brought enormous changes in the way people work and live. It is attended by a large increase in immigration and an increasing diversity in America, with all the tensions that that brings. There are vast fortunes being made—people are having opportunities they never dreamed of. But a lot of people have been dislocated."

The difference between the eras, he said, is that America's middle class is now larger and is protected by an extensive social safety net. And "it is not as clear to people that there is a single law that the government in Washington can pass that will make everything all right. But if we do the right things, and we stay at it with a consistency and a discipline over a period of years, I think we have a chance to go through this transformation with less disruption than we had then, and more quickly—more quickly, not quickly."

At the end of the hour it was clear that the President thought he had answers to some of the country's basic economic questions. But even if his answers are the right ones, will he be able to explain them to the public? Can he persuade Congress, voters, taxpayers, to go along? When asked how he could rhetorically prepare the country to "stay at it" and "do the right things" to manage these transformations, the President said little beyond that he would do his best but didn't have a clue. We may see him continue to learn on the job. ☼

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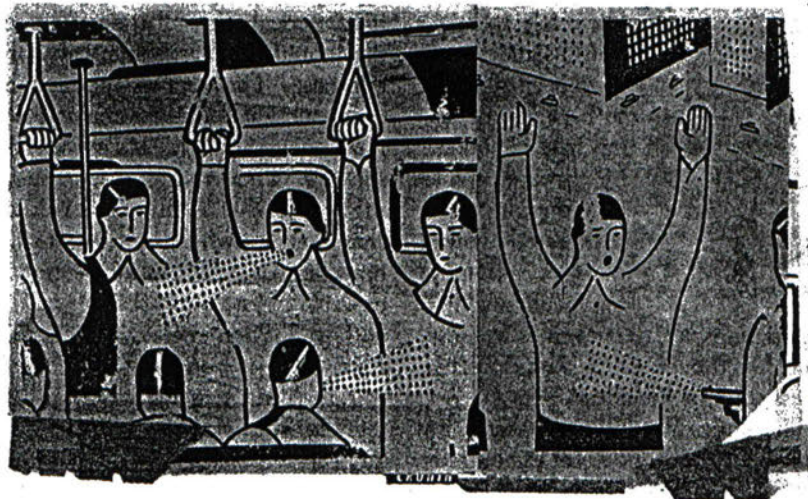
THE TIPPING POINT

Why is the city suddenly so much safer—could it be that crime really is an epidemic?

BY MALCOLM GLADWELL

As you drive east on Atlantic Avenue, through the part of New York City that the Police Department refers to as Brooklyn North, the neighborhoods slowly start to empty out: the genteel brownstones of the western part of Brooklyn give way to sprawling housing projects and vacant lots. Bedford-

strange and unprecedented transformation. According to the preliminary crime statistics released by the F.B.I. earlier this month, New York has a citywide violent-crime rate that now ranks it a hundred and thirty-sixth among major American cities, on a par with Boise, Idaho. Car thefts have fallen to seventy-one thou-



Catching violence: one of the hottest ideas in criminal research today.

Stuyvesant is followed by Bushwick, then by Brownsville, and, finally, by East New York, home of the Seventy-fifth Precinct, a 5.6-square-mile tract where some of the poorest people in the city live. East New York is not a place of office buildings or parks and banks, just graffiti-covered bodegas and hair salons and auto shops. It is an economically desperate community destined, by most accounts, to get more desperate in the years ahead—which makes what has happened there over the past two and a half years all the more miraculous. In 1993, there were a hundred and twenty-six homicides in the Seven-Five, as the police call it. Last year, there were forty-four. There is probably no other place in the country where violent crime has declined so far, so fast.

Once the symbol of urban violence, New York City is in the midst of a

sand, down from a hundred and fifty thousand as recently as six years ago. Burglaries have fallen from more than two hundred thousand in the early nineteen-eighties to just under seventy-five thousand in 1995. Homicides are now at the level of the early seventies, nearly half of what they were in 1990. Over the past two and a half years, every precinct in the city has recorded double-digit decreases in violent crime. Nowhere, however, have the decreases been sharper than Brooklyn North, in neighborhoods that not long ago were all but written off to drugs and violence. On the streets of the Seven-Five today, it is possible to see signs of everyday life that would have been unthinkable in the early nineties. There are now ordinary people on the streets at dusk—small children riding their bicycles, old people on benches and stoops, people coming out of the subways alone. "There

was a time when it wasn't uncommon to hear rapid fire, like you would hear somewhere in the jungle in Vietnam," Inspector Edward A. Mezzadri, who commands the Seventy-fifth Precinct, told me. "You would hear that in Bed-Stuy and Brownsville and, particularly, East New York all the time. I don't hear the gunfire anymore. I've been at this job one year and twelve days. The other night when I was going to the garage to get my car, I heard my first volley. That was my first time."

But what accounts for the drop in crime rates? William J. Bratton—who as the New York City Police Commissioner presided over much of the decline from the fall of 1994 until his resignation, this spring—argues that his new policing strategies made the difference: he cites more coordination between divisions of the N.Y.P.D., more accountability from precinct commanders, more arrests for gun possession, more sophisticated computer-aided analysis of crime patterns, more aggressive crime prevention. In the Seven-Five, Mezzadri has a team of officers who go around and break up the groups of young men who congregate on street corners, drinking, getting high, and playing dice—and so remove what was once a frequent source of violent confrontations. He says that he has stepped up random "safety checks" on the streets, looking for drunk drivers or stolen cars. And he says that streamlined internal procedures mean that he can now move against drug-selling sites in a matter of days, where it used to take weeks. "It's aggressive policing," he says. "It's a no-nonsense attitude. Persistence is not just a word, it's a way of life."

All these changes make good sense. But how does breaking up dice games and streamlining bureaucracy cut murder rates by two-thirds? Many criminologists have taken a broader view, arguing that changes in crime reflect fundamental demographic and social trends—for example, the decline and stabilization of the crack trade, the aging of the population, and longer prison sentences, which have kept hard-core offenders off the streets. Yet these trends are neither particularly new nor unique to New York City; they don't account for why the crime rate has dropped so suddenly here and now. Furthermore, whatever good they have done is surely offset, at least in part, by the economic devastation visited on places like

Brownsville and East New York in recent years by successive rounds of federal, state, and city social-spending cuts.

It's not that there is any shortage of explanations, then, for what has happened in New York City. It's that there is a puzzling gap between the scale of the demographic and policing changes that are supposed to have affected places like the Seven-Five and, on the other hand, the scale of the decrease in crime there. The size of that gap suggests that violent crime doesn't behave the way we expect it to behave. It suggests that we need a new way of thinking about crime, which is why it may be time to turn to an idea that has begun to attract serious attention in the social sciences: the idea that social problems behave like infectious agents. It may sound odd to talk about the things people do as analogous to the diseases they catch. And yet the idea has all kinds of fascinating implications. What if homicide, which we often casually refer to as an epidemic, actually *is* an epidemic, and moves through populations the way the flu bug does? Would that explain the rise and sudden decline of homicide in Brooklyn North?

WHEN social scientists talk about epidemics, they mean something very specific. Epidemics have their own set of rules. Suppose, for example, that one summer a thousand tourists come to Manhattan from Canada carrying an untreatable strain of twenty-four-hour flu. The virus has a two-percent infection rate, which is to say that one out of every fifty people who come into close contact with someone carrying it catches the bug himself. Let's say that fifty is also exactly the number of people the average Manhattanite—in the course of riding the subways and mingling with colleagues at work—comes into contact with every day. What we have, then, given the recovery rate, is a disease in equilibrium. Every day, each carrier passes on the virus to a new person. And the next day those thousand newly infected people pass on the virus to another thousand people, so that throughout the rest of the summer and the fall the flu chugs along at a steady but unspectacular clip.

But then comes the Christmas season. The subways and buses get more crowded with tourists and shoppers, and instead of running into an even fifty peo-

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CORRECTION

In the "European Waterways" special advertising section (April 22, 1996), Istanbul was incorrectly identified as being located at the entrance to Marmaris Bay. Istanbul is, in fact, located along the Bosphorus Strait. Marmaris Bay is found along the Lycian Coast of the Mediterranean Sea.

Additionally, travelers wishing to charter a gulet (Turkey's indigenous sea-going vessel) can do so on the Lycian Coast of Turkey, not in the Marmara Sea as was mentioned in the section. For information on Turkey, contact the Turkish Tourist Office at 1-212-687-2194.

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BIRTHDREAM

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I wanted no one to see her,
not even the father. I wanted my privacy
to put her back inside me,
back through the glop of the birth neck,
into the bluish glue my body had made
for her for seven months. It was not time,
she must wait, come back
when the animal had been outgrown. I held her briefly
in my arms, stroked her tail before
we parted, her eyes
nursing the dark moons.

She was never my daughter, and yet
she brought
her own wild light
into the room so that when I opened my eyes
at daybreak
the first thing I saw was snow
spinning small
shoulders in the windows.

The last I saw of her.

—LAURIE KUTCHINS

ple a day, the average Manhattanite now has close contact with, say, fifty-five people a day. That may not sound like much of a difference, but for our flu bug it is critical. All of a sudden, one out of every ten people with the virus will pass it on not just to one new person but to two. The thousand carriers run into fifty-five thousand people now, and at a two-percent infection rate that translates into eleven hundred new cases the following day. Some of those eleven hundred will also pass on the virus to more than one person, so that by Day Three there are twelve hundred and ten Manhattanites with the flu and by Day Four thirteen hundred and thirty-one, and by the end of the week there are nearly two thousand, and so on up, the figure getting higher every day, until Manhattan has a full-blown flu epidemic on its hands by Christmas Day.

In the language of epidemiologists, fifty is the "tipping point" in this epidemic, the point at which an ordinary and stable phenomenon—a low-level flu outbreak—can turn into a public-health crisis. Every epidemic has its tipping point,

and to fight an epidemic you need to understand what that point is. Take AIDS, for example. Since the late eighties, the number of people in the United States who die of AIDS every year has been steady at forty thousand, which is exactly the same as the number of people who are estimated to become infected with H.I.V. every year. In other words, AIDS is in the same self-perpetuating phase that our Canadian flu was in, early on; on the average, each person who dies of AIDS infects, in the course of his or her lifetime, one new person.

That puts us at a critical juncture. If the number of new infections increases just a bit—if the average H.I.V. carrier passes on the virus to slightly more than one person—then the epidemic can tip upward just as dramatically as our flu did when the number of exposed people went from fifty to fifty-five. On the other hand, even a small decrease in new infections can cause the epidemic to nose-dive. It would be as if the number of people exposed to our flu were cut from fifty to forty-five a day—a change that within a week would push the number of

flu victims down to four hundred and seventy-eight.

Nobody really knows what the tipping point for reducing AIDS may be. Donald Des Jarlais, an epidemiologist at Beth Israel Hospital, in Manhattan, estimates that halving new infections to twenty thousand a year would be ideal. Even cutting it to thirty thousand, he says, would probably be enough. The point is that it's not some completely unattainable number. "I think people think that to beat AIDS everybody has to either be sexually abstinent or use a clean needle or a condom all the time," Des Jarlais said. "But you don't really need to completely eliminate risk. If over time you can just cut the number of people capable of transmitting the virus, then our present behavior-change programs could potentially eradicate the disease in this country."

That's the surprising thing about epidemics. They don't behave the way we think they will behave. Suppose, for example, that the number of new H.I.V. infections each year was a hundred thousand, and by some heroic AIDS-education effort you managed to cut that in half. You would expect the size of the epidemic to also be cut in half, right? This is what scientists call a linear assumption—the expectation that every extra increment of effort will produce a corresponding improvement in result. But epidemics aren't linear. Improvement does not correspond directly to effort. All that matters is the tipping point, and because fifty thousand is still above that point, all these heroics will come to naught. The epidemic would still rise. This is the fundamental lesson of non-linearity. When it comes to fighting epidemics, small changes—like bringing new infections down to thirty thousand from forty thousand—can have huge effects. And large changes—like reducing new infections to fifty thousand from a hundred thousand—can have small effects. It all depends on when and how the changes are made.

The reason this seems surprising is that human beings prefer to think in linear terms. Many expectant mothers, for example, stop drinking entirely, because they've heard that heavy alcohol use carries a high risk of damaging the fetus. They make the perfectly understandable linear assumption that if high doses of alcohol carry a high risk, then low doses

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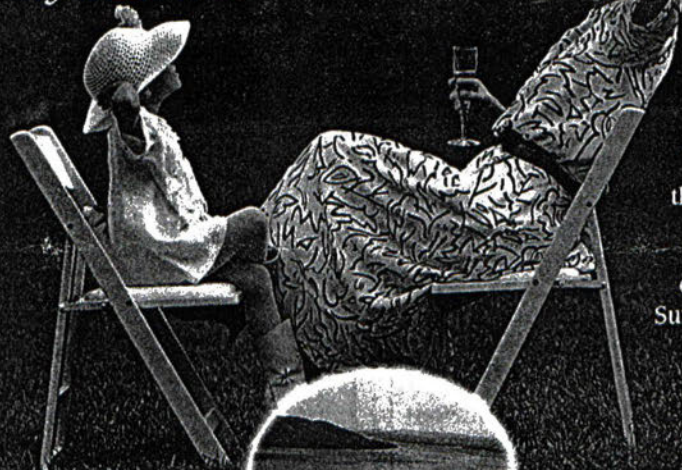
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must carry a low—but still unacceptable—risk. The problem is that fetal-alcohol syndrome isn't linear. According to one study, none of the sixteen problems associated with fetal-alcohol syndrome show up until a pregnant woman starts regularly consuming more than three drinks a day. But try telling that to a neurotic nineties couple.

I can remember struggling with these same theoretical questions as a child, when I tried to pour ketchup on my dinner. Like all children encountering this problem for the first time, I assumed that the solution was linear: that steadily increasing hits on the base of the bottle would yield steadily increasing amounts of ketchup out the other end. Not so, my father said, and he recited a ditty that, for me, remains the most concise statement of the fundamental nonlinearity of everyday life:

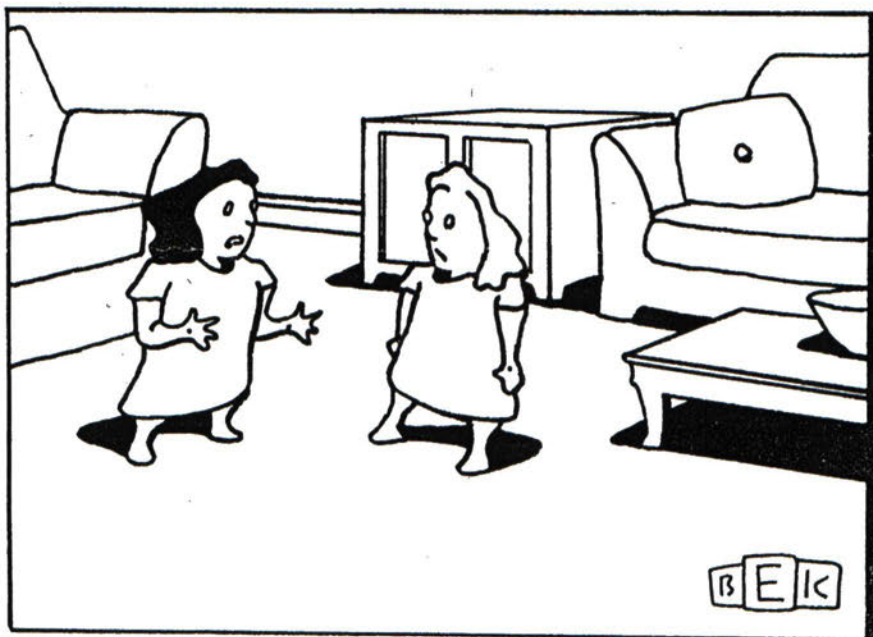
Tomato ketchup in a bottle—
None will come and then the lot'll.

WHAT does this have to do with the murder rate in Brooklyn? Quite a bit, as it turns out, because in recent years social scientists have started to apply the theory of epidemics to human behavior. The foundational work in this field was done in the early seventies by the economist Thomas Schelling, then at Harvard University, who argued that "white flight" was a tipping-point phenomenon. Since that time, sociologists

have actually gone to specific neighborhoods and figured out what the local tipping point is. A racist white neighborhood, for example, might empty out when blacks reach five per cent of the population. A liberal white neighborhood, on the other hand, might not tip until blacks make up forty or fifty per cent. George Galster, of the Urban Institute, in Washington, argues that the same patterns hold for attempts by governments or developers to turn a bad neighborhood around. "You get nothing until you reach the threshold," he says, "then you get boom."

Another researcher, David Rowe, a psychologist at the University of Arizona, uses epidemic theory to explain things like rates of sexual intercourse among teenagers. If you take a group of thirteen-year-old virgins and follow them throughout their teen-age years, Rowe says, the pattern in which they first have sex will look like an epidemic curve. Non-virginity starts out at a low level, and then, at a certain point, it spreads from the precocious to the others as if it were a virus.

Some of the most fascinating work, however, comes from Jonathan Crane, a sociologist at the University of Illinois. In a 1991 study in the *American Journal of Sociology*, Crane looked at the effect the number of role models in a community—the professionals, managers, teachers whom the Census Bureau has defined as "high status"—has on the lives of teen-



BEK

"All he did was stick gum in my hair, and now I have to put up with all this innuendo."

agers in the same neighborhood. His answer was surprising. He found little difference in teen-pregnancy rates or school-dropout rates in neighborhoods with between forty and five per cent of high-status workers. But when the number of professionals dropped below five per cent, the problems exploded. For black school kids, for example, as the percentage of high-status workers falls just 2.2 percentage points—from 5.6 per cent to 3.4 per cent—dropout rates more than double. At the same tipping point, the rates of child-bearing for teen-age girls—which barely move at all up to that point—nearly double as well.

The point made by both Crane and Rowe is not simply that social problems are contagious—that non-virgins spread sex to virgins and that when neighborhoods decline good kids become infected by the attitudes of dropouts and teen-age mothers. Their point is that teen-age sex and dropping out of school are contagious in the same way that an infectious disease is contagious. Crane's study essentially means that at the five-per-cent tipping point neighborhoods go from relatively functional to wildly dysfunctional virtually overnight. There is no steady decline: a little change has a huge effect. The neighborhoods below the tipping point look like they've been hit by the Ebola virus.

It is possible to read in these case studies a lesson about the fate of modern liberalism. Liberals have been powerless in recent years to counter the argument that their policy prescriptions don't work. A program that spends, say, an extra thousand dollars to educate inner-city kids gets cut by Congress because it doesn't raise reading scores. But if reading problems are nonlinear, the failure of the program doesn't mean—as conservatives might argue—that spending extra money on inner-city kids is wasted. It may mean that we need to spend even more money on these kids so that we can hit their tipping point. Hence liberalism's crisis. Can you imagine explaining the link between tipping points and big government to Newt Gingrich? Epidemic theory, George Galster says, "greatly complicates the execution of public policy. . . . You work, and you work, and you work, and if you haven't quite reached the threshold you don't seem to get any payoff. That's a very tough situation to sustain politically."

At the same time, tipping points give the lie to conservative policies of benign

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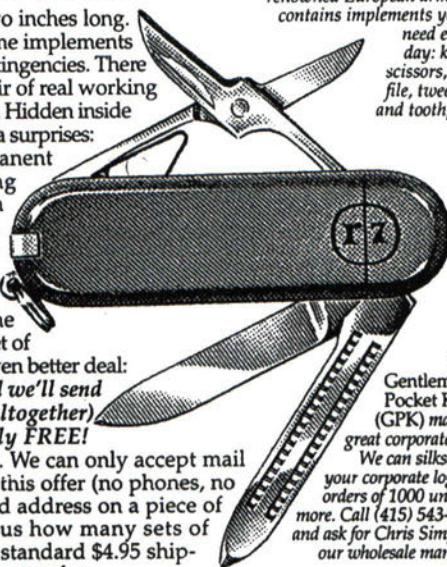
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neglect. In New York City, for example, one round of cuts in, say, subway maintenance is justified with the observation that the previous round of cuts didn't seem to have any adverse consequences. But that's small comfort. With epidemic problems, as with ketchup, nothing comes and then the lot'll.

EPIDEMIC theory, in other words, should change the way we think about whether and why social programs work. Now for the critical question: Should it change the way we think about violent crime as well? This is what a few epidemiologists at the Centers for Disease Control, in Atlanta, suggested thirteen years ago, and at the time no one took them particularly seriously. "There was just a small group of us in an old converted bathroom in the sub-basement of Building Three at C.D.C.," Mark L. Rosenberg, who heads the Centers' violence group today, says. "Even within C.D.C., we were viewed as a fringe group. We had seven people and our budget was two hundred thousand dollars. People were very skeptical." But that was before Rosenberg's group began looking at things like suicide and gunshot wounds in ways that had never quite occurred to anyone else. Today, bringing epidemiological techniques to bear on violence is one of the hottest ideas in criminal research. "We've got a hundred and ten people and a budget of twenty-two million dollars," Rosenberg says. "There is interest in this all around the world now."

The public-health approach to crime doesn't hold that all crime acts like infectious disease. Clearly, there are neighborhoods where crime is simply endemic—where the appropriate medical analogy for homicide is not something as volatile as AIDS but cancer, a disease that singles out its victims steadily and implacably. There are, however, times and places where the epidemic model seems to make perfect sense. In the United States between the early sixties and the early seventies, the homicide rate doubled. In Stockholm between 1950 and 1970, rape went up three hundred per cent; murder and attempted murder went up six hundred per cent, and robberies a thousand per cent. That's not cancer, that's AIDS.

An even better example is the way that gangs spread guns and violence. "Once crime reaches a certain level, a lot of the

gang violence we see is reciprocal," Robert Sampson, a sociologist at the University of Chicago, says. "Acts of violence lead to further acts of violence. You get defensive gun ownership. You get retaliation. There is a nonlinear phenomenon. With a gang shooting, you have a particular act, then a counter-response. It's sort of like an arms race. It can blow up very quickly."

How quickly? Between 1982 and 1992, the number of gang-related homicides in Los Angeles County handled by the L.A.P.D. and the County Sheriff's Department went from a hundred and fifty-eight to six hundred and eighteen. A more interesting number, however, is the proportion of those murders which resulted from drive-by shootings. Between 1979 and 1986, that number fluctuated, according to no particular pattern, between twenty-two and fifty-one: the phenomenon, an epidemiologist would say, was in equilibrium. Then, in 1987, the death toll from drive-bys climbed to fifty-seven, the next year to seventy-one, and the year after that to a hundred and ten; by 1992, it had reached two hundred and eleven. At somewhere between fifty and seventy homicides, the idea of drive-by shootings in L.A. had become epidemic. It tipped. When these results were published last fall in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, the paper was entitled "The Epidemic of Gang-Related Homicides in Los Angeles County from 1979 Through 1994." The choice of the word "epidemic" was not metaphorical. "If this were a disease," H. Range Hutson, the physician who was the leading author on the study, says, "you would see the government rushing down here to assess what infectious organism is causing all these injuries and deaths."

Some of the best new ideas in preventing violence borrow heavily from the principles of epidemic theory. Take, for example, the so-called "broken window" hypothesis that has been used around the country as the justification for cracking down on "quality of life" crimes like public urination and drinking. In a famous experiment conducted twenty-seven years

ago by the Stanford University psychologist Philip Zimbardo, a car was parked on a street in Palo Alto, where it sat untouched for a week. At the same time, Zimbardo had an identical car parked in a roughly comparable neighborhood in the Bronx, only in this case the license plates were removed and the hood was propped open. Within a day, it was stripped. Then, in a final twist, Zimbardo smashed one of the Palo Alto car's windows with a sledgehammer. Within a few hours, that car, too, was destroyed. Zimbardo's point was that disorder invites even more disorder—that a small deviation from the norm can set into motion a cascade of vandalism and criminality. The broken window was the tipping point.

The broken-window hypothesis was the inspiration for the cleanup of the subway system conducted by the New York City Transit Authority in the late eighties and early nineties. Why was the Transit Authority so intent on removing graffiti from every car and cracking down on the people who leaped over turnstiles without paying? Because those two "trivial" problems were thought to be tipping points—broken windows—that invited far more serious crimes. It is worth noting that not only did this strategy seem to work—since 1990, felonies have fallen more than fifty per cent—but one of its architects was the then chief of the Transit Police, William Bratton, who was later to take his ideas about preventing crime to the city as a whole when he became head of the New York Police Department.

Which brings us to North Brooklyn and the Seventy-fifth Precinct. In the Seven-Five, there are now slightly more officers than before. They stop more cars. They confiscate more guns. They chase away more street-corner loiterers. They shut down more drug markets. They have made a series of what seem, when measured against the extraordinary decline in murders, to be small changes. But it is the nature of nonlinear phenomena that sometimes the most modest of changes can bring about enormous effects. What happened to the murder rate may not be such a mystery in the end. Perhaps what William Bratton and Inspector Mezzadri have done is the equivalent of repairing the broken window or preventing that critical ten or fifteen thousand new H.I.V. infections. Perhaps Brooklyn—and with it New York City—has tipped. ♦



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-3-96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 2, 1996

MR. PRESIDENT:

In the attached memo, Mack asks for your reaction to having GSA, rather than Congress, name a federal building under construction in Atlanta after Sam Nunn. The building will be dedicated on October 24. Rep. John Lewis, Mayor Bill Campbell, Dave Barram and Nunn are scheduled to speak.

Mack reports Nunn is resistant to congressional action. Under these circumstances, John Hilley advises that having GSA do this would not be a good idea.

In addition, while the GSA administrator does have the authority to name a building, it is GSA's firm policy to defer to Congress. Only once during our Administration has GSA named a building without legislation -- an Arizona immigration center named for Sen. DeConcini. In that case, the relevant Congressional committees asked GSA to do this because of time constraints.

Todd Stern
Phil Caplan

Well (disagree)
Tim Contrails Gypsy
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very significant & Cong
can't do it by Oct 24 -
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

96 SEP 17 P6:03

September 17, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MACK McLARTY

I had lunch with Gordon Giffin this week. We discussed a number of matters, including Billy Payne's first major speech since the Olympics to the Atlanta Commerce Club, which is made up of the CEOs of major business enterprises in Atlanta and the Southeast. I talked to Billy this morning, and he will make the attached commentary and will add to it in his own personal style. Sometimes we do get the credit that is deserved.

During the course of our lunch, Gordon raised the issue about naming the new federal building in Atlanta the Sam Nunn Federal Building. As I understand it, the dedication is to take place sometime next month. I think Governor Miller already has made a formal request to name the building after Sam. According to Gordon, all of the Georgia delegation, including John Lewis and Speaker Gingrich, are fully supportive of the building being named after Sam.

Gordon's assessment is that this can only happen by congressional action, which Sam will resist, or by GSA action. This would be a nice touch to conclude Sam's Senate career (the Richard Russell building is across the street, as I understand it), but I wanted to get a sense of your feelings before I explore the matter further. Let me know what your reaction is.

Thanks.



Attachment

One of the most gratifying experiences for me was the outstanding support we received from the Clinton Administration. President Clinton recognized early on that the Centennial Games were important not only to Atlanta but to the country as well. He took a personal interest in us from the beginning and through his leadership and the involvement of Vice President Gore and the Interagency Task Force, the Administration was a critically important partner with us in planning and staging the Games. I got to know him well during this time and developed a high personal regard for him and a great appreciation for his strong support.

NATIONLINE

Environmentalists fail to stop dead-wood logging

Environmental activists failed to prove that clearing dead and dying timber from redwood groves in California's Headwaters Forest will harm marbled murrelets, an endangered species, a federal judge in Philadelphia ruled Wednesday. The Environmental Protection Information Center was denied an injunction against Pacific Lumber Co., which owns the forest. For several weeks opponents have been protesting at the company in Carlotia, Calif.



Kim: Won't be released on bond

SPY CASE: There's "overwhelming" evidence that civilian naval intelligence analyst Robert Kim, 56, gave classified documents to agents of his native South Korea, a federal judge said in reversing a magistrate's decision to release Kim on bond. Judge Leonie Brinkema in Alexandria, Va., said Kim is a flight risk. He faces up to 10 years in prison. Prosecutors said additional charges may be filed that could bring a life sentence.

NEW POLICE PHONE NUMBER: Baltimore unveiled the nation's first 311 telephone number for nonemergency calls that clog the 911 system. "We can't keep callers on hold because someone's cat's up a tree," said Lt. Gov. Kathleen Kennedy Townsend. Calls to the new number can be treated as 911 calls if it's an emergency.

ALSO WEDNESDAY ...

► **FAMILY SLAIN:** Texas authorities were seeking security guard Virgil Martinez, 28, of Houston, on charges he shot to death his ex-girlfriend, Veronica Fuentes, 27, her two young children and her boyfriend, John Gomez, 18. In all, they were shot 30 times at her home in rural Pearland.

► **TROOPERS TO THE RESCUE:** Up to 80 Connecticut state troopers are patrolling Bridgeport streets to help end drug-related violence that killed 10 people the past two weeks. Gov. John Rowland sent in the troopers to aid city and federal officers go after gang leaders and illegal guns.

In New York, an innocent kiss

For the second time this fall, school officials are at the center of a controversy over whether first- or second-grade boys should be suspended for kissing a classmate.



De'Andre: What's all the fuss about?

New York school authorities Wednesday cut short a five-day suspension of 7-year-old De'Andre Dearing, who was being punished for kissing a second-grade classmate and yanking a button off her skirt because he was thinking of his favorite book, *Corduroy*, a teddy bear who's missing a button. School officials in the Far Rockaway district of Queens said De'Andre can return today, after missing three days. "They're putting adult views in children's minds," said his mother, Erica White. His uncle, Joe Armsted, said

De'Andre doesn't know about sexuality. "He loved her, she's pretty, he kissed her, and he's a child. He doesn't understand why everybody's making a fuss," Armsted said.

► In Lexington, N.C., ridiculed around the world last week for suspending a 6-year-old who kissed a classmate on the cheek, officials will consider changing their sexual harassment policy to reflect age considerations. But they haven't apologized for suspending the first-grader, Johnathan Prevette, and making him miss an ice cream party.

► A \$500,000 jury award Tuesday to a girl who was harassed by a sixth-grade classmate in Antioch, Calif., is excessive, school officials said. The jury faulted the district for not stopping the torment. "It's not a little boy kissing a little girl on the cheek. This was outrageous harassment," said the family's lawyer, Sandra Springs. She said the boy's actions, during the 1993-1994 school year, included constant vulgarities, lewd insults about the girl's body and threats to beat her up and even kill her. School officials say there wasn't enough evidence to take action. "We clearly have a social issue which, as a society, we're going to have to address," said Superintendent Alan Newell.

Written by Paul Leavitt. Contributing: Bill Varner and Shannon Tangonan.

AIR CRASH LISTS: To help quickly notify U.S. relatives of victims of foreign air disasters, seven major U.S. carriers agreed to give the State Department passenger lists within three hours of an accident. The seven — American, Continental, Delta, Northwest, TWA, United and USAir — carry most of the international air traffic originating in the USA. The Transportation Department is developing a separate rule for domestic crashes. Families have complained that airlines are slow to release passenger lists.

TRAFFIC TICKET DISPARITY: The South Carolina Highway Patrol is changing record-keeping in the wake of a study that found black motorists get 34% of traffic tickets that the patrol writes, although less than 25% of state drivers are black. The 75% who are white get only 62% of citations, *The Charlotte Observer* study found. Patrol officials said troopers now will designate the race, sex and age of everyone stopped, whether or not they get a ticket.

NO THREAT: Stephanie Honore, 17, was angry that President Clinton didn't answer her four letters about AIDS, education, animal protection and the environment. So the Ohio teen wrote another, saying, "I wished I had a bomb to blow up the White House." That brought the Secret Service to her home. But agents in Columbus say she didn't have any criminal intent and won't be charged. She vows to keep writing, but with softer language.

CRIME DOG BLOWS BUST: Drug charges against Larry and Ruth Sheldon of Greenville, Ky., were dropped Tuesday because a Missouri state police drug-sniffing dog didn't have a search warrant or the driver's consent when he jumped into their car in May 1995. Police who pulled the car over for a broken taillight found 105 pounds of marijuana, but a judge in Booneville ruled it inadmissible.

BOUNTY SLAYING: Donald McDougall, who was nearly paroled in 1992 from a 34-year sentence for the torture and starvation death of a 5-year-old girl, was killed in a Florida prison Tuesday night hours after he left protective custody. McDougall, 40, was put in the secure cell at Avon Park Correctional Institution last week after a radio station aired a caller's \$1,000 bounty on McDougall during a show marking the anniversary of the girl's death, prison officials said. They said McDougall rejoined the general prison population Tuesday at his request. He was fatally beaten with a steel bar in a recreation area. Arba Earl Barr, 33, serving 114 years for robbery and aggravated battery, was charged with murder.



McDougall: Had tortured 5-year-old

USA
TODAY

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1996

Jim
Any further to
this?
Fm

**BILL
HARBERT INTERNATIONAL
CONSTRUCTION, INC.**

September 24, 1996

Ms. Nancy Hernreich
Director of Oval Office Operations
Immediate Office of the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Hernreich:

I know the President is very busy these days with the campaign. However, I would appreciate very much if you would pass the enclosed letter to the President at an appropriate time.

Thanks for your assistance.

Regards



R. Alan Hall

**BILL
HARBERT** INTERNATIONAL
CONSTRUCTION, INC.

96 OCT 2 P1:12

September 24, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

Last week you announced new actions by the Tre more portable and retirement more secure. I war believe as you do that there should be a strong c secure retirement. You have demonstrated American worker during your term. I appreciate your leadership in building sound fiscal policy for the American working families.

Most Americans, I am sure, share my feelings that your inspired acts of leadership will be remembered as some of the finest moments of executive leadership this nation has ever had. I shall attempt to make whatever contributions I can to the success of your undertakings.

I am proud to be among the Office of Public Liaison's small business group. I just returned from Washington, DC after attending the Minority Business Conference hosted by the State Department. I signed on to the Clinton - Gore '96 team in the Spring of 1995 as the campaign was just organizing.

I wish you the very best in the upcoming campaign and offer my assistance in any way needed. I do however ask a personal favor. Since it is unlikely I will ever attend a rose garden bill signing ceremony will you make an exception and send me a Presidential pen and autographed picture. I would be forever grateful.

Regards,



Alan Hall
Vice President and
Chief Financial Officer

10-2-96

Send to Donkin

Yes ☒

No ☐

no pen, but picture
+ copy of remarks

Seeds of Peace

PREPARING TOMORROW'S LEADERS / A TRAINING GROUP

1177 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS
FLOOR 36, NEW YORK, NY 10036
TEL: 212-221-1100
FAX: 212-221-5803
E-MAIL: SEEDSPEACE@AOL.COM

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President/Founder
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Stanley Walzer

October 1, 1996

The Honorable Jay Footlik
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Jay:

I want you to read the attached which we just received from an Israeli "seed."

It sums up what we are all about, particularly at a moment of crisis like this.

Please give me your response to this and the other material.

Sincerely,

John Wallach

John Wallach
President

10-2-96

Send to Dorskind?

Yes ☒
no ☐

Coordinate w/WSC?

Yes ☒
no ☐
C.

"In this entire assembly, no one is more important than the group of Israeli and Arab children who are seated here with us today."



For them we must realize the prophecy of Isaiah, that the cry of violence shall no more be heard in your land, nor wreck nor ruin within your borders."

*Sara Ehrman
sent for the
President. She
thought he
would like to
see them.
He hasn't yet -*

October 1st, 1996.
Jerusalem.

Fax 001 972 2 6797192

Dear Mcredith,

How are you?

There are some problems with my E-mail, so I'm sending you this letter by fax as well.

Thanks for your E-mail.

Things here, as you know, are quite bad, even though it seems like order is more or less restored.

When everything started I felt very confused. I watched TV and saw Palestinian soldiers shouting at Israeli soldiers and I couldn't understand it. I felt like my mind was divided into two parts. One part felt protected and secure when I saw the soldiers and tanks getting ready to go into the territories, that part of me felt that we should teach the Palestinians a lesson and show them how powerful we are. But there was another part, a part which was created only after my involvement with Seeds Of Peace, felt that what was happening was wrong, that war is wrong. That part felt very bad when I saw Palestinian kids injured, that part knew that there must be another way, a better way.

But most of the people don't have a second part.

I pray that Benjamin Nethanyahu and Yasser Arafat have that second part, I know Rabin did.

I really didn't know what I should do. I called and faxed some of my Palestinian friends and some of them called me. It felt good to hear a Palestinian asking me how I was and if everyone in my family is OK. It gave me hope.

Only now I can really understand how important Seeds Of Peace is, how strong was its effect on me. It was strong enough to change me, to create a new, better part inside me, to give me hope when most of the people have already begun to lose it.

Yours,

Daniel Shinar

U/LB

P.S

I heard that Bobbie is coming to NY, please send her, and John my regards.



Oct. 1, 1996

5:18PM

No. 6947

P. 1/5

Seeds of Peace

PREPARING TOMORROW'S LEADERS / A TRAINING GROUND FOR PEACE



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Mohammed Wahby
Stanley Waisner

URGENT

October 1, 1996

**The Honorable Jay Footlik
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.**

Dear Jay:

Please find enclosed a joint statement that was drafted by more than 100 of the Seeds of Peace teenagers in Israel, the Palestinian Authority, Jordan and Egypt, and respective statements by each delegation.

They used their computers and e-mailed each other for the last 48 hours to accomplish this feat.

I would be very grateful if you could bring these to the attention of President Clinton and of each of the visiting heads of state.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

**John Wallach
President**

"In this entire assembly, no one is more important than the group of Israeli and Arab children who are seated here with us today."



For them we must realize the prophecy of Isaiah, that the cry of violence shall no more be heard in your land, nor wreck nor ruin within your borders."

4:57 PM 10/1/96 Via E-Mail

**Seeing only black and white is to be blind
nto to understand
not to listen
not to communicate
not to trust.**

**The colours can be seen only by the one who
can listen
can grasp
can hope
can respect
can believe.**

**Seeds of Peace has opened our eyes.
We have learned to know and respect each other as people.
We call you, our leaders, to open the eyes of
our nations and show them the colours
because we, Seeds of Peace, don't want to be ever blind again!**

-- Delegations of Seeds of Peace

Honorable Leaders.

During the last few days, we have seen horrible sights of violence and fear.

Those outrageous events which have brought up awful feelings from the past - feelings that we have always attempted to forget.

In face of the present plight, we must see peace as our superior goal and we shall work through the pathway in fraternity, understanding and communication. We see the following summit as one of the most beneficial approaches that will help to accomplish a premanent concurrence.

On behalf of the Israeli youth we call you, our leaders, to carry on the peace process. We have passed through one hundred years of war, hatred, violence, distrust and terror. Now it's our turn to say ENOUGH!!!

**peace,
the Israeli delegations
of "Seeds of Peace"**

11:15 PM 10/1/96 Via E-Mail

Dear President Arafat (Abu Ammar),

We are the children of the intifada, and our childhood was stolen from us by the occupation. We grew up in fear and insecurity, not knowing when our schools would be closed down, or which one of our friends would be beaten up, imprisoned or killed next. We never went to movies or parks or theaters, because they were all closed down, and life was not safe. It was not fun either.

We wanted to be like other children; we wanted to have the right to laugh and play and have fun. We wanted to be able to go shopping, swimming, hiking--and all of the things that we knew other children somewhere else in the world were doing. We hated the occupation and we hated the Israelis. But you were our hero, our "father" who would lead us to freedom. When we went out on demonstrations we chanted for you, for the PLO, and for the free state of Palestine that you would get us, because we were all part of the struggle for freedom.

When you signed the agreement in Washington, we danced and sang and waved olive branches. Now we will have peace, we thought. But life has become more difficult. We feel that we are living in a prison, and the Israelis are behaving like occupiers again. We cannot go to Jerusalem or lead normal lives. We are proud of our police, but they too were shot by the Israeli soldiers last week. Many people, some our age, were killed or wounded. We joined the Seeds of Peace and met many Israelis our age who also wanted peace. What went wrong? We ask you to be brave and strong, to make peace for us so we can have normal lives. Although we were robbed of our childhood, we want our children in the future to have a happy childhood. Please, Abu Ammar, don't let them destroy what you have built. We know it is difficult, but we are with you. You can get us our freedom, our independent state, and our liberated Jerusalem. Be strong and brave for all of us, for only the brave can make real peace.

-- From the Palestinian delegation in the Seeds of Peace Program

DISTINGUISHED LEADERS,

FOR THE PAST FEW DAYS WE HAVE BEEN WATCHING THE NEWS WITH GREAT CONCERN AND FEAR. WHAT'S GOING TO HAPPEN NEXT IN THE MIDDLE EAST ? WHAT IF WE SEE ONE OF OUR FRIENDS LYING ON THE GROUND DYING FROM A BULLET OR STRUCK BY A ROCK?

THE SITUATION IS HORRIFYING AND THE THOUGHT IS TERRIBLE. WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE LAST FEW DAYS IS A TIME DURING WHICH JUSTICE HAS NOT BEEN SERVED, AND THE RIGHTS OF MANY HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED. THE VIOLATION OF THE PEACE PROCESS AND THE ACTIONS THAT OPPOSE THE TREATIES BETWEEN THE CONFLICTING PARTIES, IN ADDITION TO THE VIOLATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS' RESOLUTIONS ON THE ISSUE, WERE ENOUGH TO CAUSE A NEW "INTIFADA" IN THE MIDDLE EAST..

THIS SUMMIT IS ESSENTIAL IN ORDER TO RETURN TO THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS, AND THAT IS OUR UNITED GOAL. WE WANT A REAL AND JUST PEACE IN ORDER TO PREVENT THE REOCCURANCE OF THE PREVIOUS EVENTS, AS WE HAVE HAD ENOUGH OF VIOLENCE AND BLOODSHED.

VIOLENCE PRODUCES MORE VIOLENCE, HOSTILITY AND ANGER. ON BEHALF OF ALL EGYPTIAN YOUTH WE ASK YOU TO REACH A COMPROMISE. A FAST SOLUTION TO SAVE US FROM THE POTENTIAL DISASTER. WE SUPPORT YOU, AND WE ARE BEHIND YOU FOR EVERY STEP OF THIS LONG AND HARD PATH. AND AT THE SAME TIME WE RAISE OUR HANDS TO THE GOD OF MOSLEMS, JEWS, AND CHRISTIANS, ASKING HIM TO AID US IN OUR ARDIOUS JOURNEY.

**EGYPTIAN DELEGATIONS
" SEEDS OF PEACE "**



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Patricia A. Barr, Vice President
Robert J. Brand, Vice President
Rabbi Bruce Warsh
Laurel W. Eisner, Sec

Los Angeles Office
Mark Rosenblum, Founder and
Political Director
Linda Gail, Director of U.S. Operations
Ahava Schandlin, Director

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Jerry Freedman, Hobush,
Regional Director
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Washington, DC Office
and APN Center for Israeli
Peace and Security
Gail Pressberg, Director
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202/728-1893
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Bernard Reisman
Henry Rosenthal
John Ruskay
Rabbi Chaim Sender-Feller
Charles E. Silberman
Ruth Cummings Sorenson
Gloria Steinem
Lawrence H. Tribe
Henry Varenberg
Rabbi Sheila Pe'ez Weinberg
Paula Weinstein
Leon Wieseltier
Rabbi Cary Yales
Peter Yarrow
Steven Zipperstein
David Zucker

For Immediate Release
September 30, 1996

Clinton Applauded for "Courageous" Leadership

Surveys Demonstrate Four-Fold American Jewish Support for Peace Process

WASHINGTON--In congratulating President Clinton for convening the Middle East Peace Summit, Americans for Peace Now (APN) has applauded what it calls the President's "courageous and unflagging effort to achieve a comprehensive regional peace."

"Recent polls show that the President's determination that both the Israelis and Palestinians must fulfill their commitments is right in step with the opinions of the American Jewish community," said Mark Rosenblum, the founder and political director of Americans for Peace Now.

A September 1996 poll, conducted by presidential pollsters Penn and Schoen and Associates, revealed that American Jews support the continued implementation of the current peace process by a 4-1 margin. 94% believe that continuing the Middle East peace process is important to both the United States and the US-Israeli relationship.

"American Jews' overwhelming support for the current process is not based solely on an idyllic conviction that peace is better than war. In the three years since the signing of the Oslo Accords, we have accumulated cold, hard evidence to this effect," says Rosenblum. "The peace process has improved Israel's overall security, contributed to its economic growth, and reversed its diplomatic isolation."

If the summit is to be successful in putting the peace process back on track and deterring further violence, it must achieve tangible advances that both leaders can hold up for their people as indicators of what lies ahead if peace is pursued in earnest," says Gail Pressberg, Washington director of Americans for Peace Now.

"Prime Minister Netanyahu must demonstrate that he will promptly implement those aspects of the peace agreements that Israel has already signed with the Palestinian Authority—namely, redeployment of Israeli forces from Hebron, other scheduled redeployments from areas in the West Bank, and the revocation of final status negotiations," says Pressberg.

"For his part, President Yasser Arafat must give firm assurances, and take demonstrative action, that he will bring the Palestinian police force under his control. No Israeli—regardless of political belief—can tolerate the Palestinian police's use of force against Israeli soldiers or citizens," says Pressberg.

Rosenblum says, "This current state of fragility should enhance American Jewish support for the peace process, not the opposite. It reminds us of what we stand to lose, of where we'll go if we don't go forward."

Americans for Peace Now is a national grassroots organization of American Zionist committed to peace and security for Israel. Together with Shalom Achshav (Peace Now)—Israel's premier peace advocates—Americans for Peace Now builds public understanding and support for efforts to achieve a lasting and secure peace in the Middle East. For more information, please contact Jessica Rosenblum at (202) 547-3577.

###

Poll: Israeli Public Attitudes Toward the Recent Israeli-Palestinian Crisis

Conducted on September 30, 1996 by Shvakim Panorama Marketing Co., 521 respondents.

Question: Do you favor or oppose the continuation of the implementation of the Oslo Accords?

Favor of continuation: 79.5%

Oppose: 20.5%

Question: In your opinion, was it wise to open the tunnel at the time chosen by the government?

Yes, it was wise: 46%

It was not wise: 54%

Question: Should the tunnel be left open or closed in response to the events that took place and world pressure on Israel?

Leave open: 60.5%

Close: 39.5%

Question: Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the functioning of Netanyahu in the wake of the opening of the tunnel and the events of recent days in the West Bank and Gaza?

Satisfied: 43%

Not satisfied: 57%

Question: Who in your opinion gained more in this crisis?

Netanyahu: 36.5%

Arafat: 63.5%

Question: Do you think rifles should have been given to the Palestinian police in accord with the Oslo accords?

Yes: 34%

No: 66%

וּפְרוּשׁ עָלֵינוּ סוּכַת שְׁלוֹמָךְ
Spread Over Us the Canopy of Thy Peace

(from the Hashkivun prayer)

American Jews Believe: Peace is Good for Israel Peace is Good for America

In overwhelming numbers, American Jews support the Middle East peace process.

*94% of American Jews believe that continuing the peace process is important to the United States and to a strong U.S.-Israel relationship, and 81% support the peace process that is now threatened by renewed violence.**

American Jews understand that the peace process is vital to Israel's well-being and security.

That is why President Clinton's initiative to safeguard and sustain the peace process, sealed on the White House lawn three years ago, is so crucial.

That is why the Administration's effort to bring the parties back together is so welcome today.

And that is why -- during this Sukkot holiday -- American Jews are praying that today's summit of Mideast leaders will bring an end to the violence, a return to the negotiating table, and adherence to the Oslo agreements... so that a true canopy of peace can be spread over Israel and her neighbors.

Israel Policy Forum
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10113

* From a poll conducted by Peter E. Schoen and Associates, released in September 1996.

ISRAEL POLICY FORUM

666 Fifth Avenue, 21st Floor

New York, NY 10103

Tel: 212/245-4227

Fax: 212/245-0517

TO: Jay Footlark

FROM: Jonathan Jacoby

DATE: Oct 1

OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER SHEET: 3

This will appear in tomorrow's
NY Times.

Names of key board
members attached too.

J

ISRAEL POLICY FORUM**SELECTED MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE BOARD****Jack Bendheim**

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Boca Raton, FL

Stanley P. Gold

Beverly Hills, CA

Yonah Goldberg

Bethesda, MD

Alexander Grass

Harrisburg, PA

Michael G. Jesselson

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New York, NY



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OF AMERICA

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October 1, 1996

ב"ה

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RABBI ALEXANDER S. ROSENBERG

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

Dear Mr. President:

A friend of mine, Michael Jesselson, had dinner with the late Prime Minister Yitzchak Rabin, the week after the abortive attempt to free Nachshon Wachsman. Michael consoled the Prime Minister saying that not every hostage rescue attempt can be as successful as Entebbe, Rabin looked up and said, "At Entebbe we lost three soldiers."

While to the world Entebbe is synonymous with a miraculous, heroic rescue, to Yitzchak Rabin, the Prime Minister at the time who ordered that brilliant maneuver, it was also forever etched with the pain of the death of three young soldiers. One of those soldiers was Yoni Netanyahu, Binyamin Netanyahu's brother.

I read in press accounts that the six young Israeli soldiers who were killed in Nablus last Thursday, had their position overrun because they followed their orders not to return fire. Were Yitzchak Rabin alive today, he would have cried for all these young lives, cruelly snuffed out; their dreams and promise never to be realized.

The dream of peace, though fragile, has been nurtured by the United States and especially by your personal involvement and commitment. While I deplore the massive violation of the Oslo accords of Palestinian policemen initiating gunfire against Israeli soldiers, the peace process remains even more vital for Israel's well-being and security.

I applaud you Mr. President for calling the parties together to assure that the precarious situation at hand not unravel, which would be at the terrible cost of so many young lives on both sides, and the burgeoning hope of peace in the region. The Talmud teaches "whoever saves one life it is as if he has saved the full world." I know that all your actions as President have been animated by that spirit.

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Menachem Genack

Todd

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 9-29

Leon Panetta
TO: John Hilkey
Frank Ruines

FROM: Staff Secretary

Jesse Jackson appeal
to get Eleanor Holmes
Norfolk D.C. tax bill
in the Omnibus "CR".
He says in letter he's
going to call POTUS.

cc: M. Foley

1013196

Jim

Should
prepare
response.
Todd

NATIONAL
RAINBOW
COALITION



DATE Sept 26, 1996
TO President William Clinton
FAX # 456-1121
FROM Rejeane Jackson
PHONE # 202 728-1180 X18
OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER PAGE): 3

NATIONAL RAINBOW COALITION

September 26, 1996

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

Dear President Clinton:

As you know, I have been Statehood Senator for the District of Columbia for the past six years, and you have supported the quest of District residents for full citizenship rights. It has been painful to watch the fiscal decline and fall of the capital of the United States since you took office and the outright resistance to the full congressional representation and self government accorded every other jurisdiction that flies the American flag. Imagine how, as governor of Arkansas, you would have responded if your congressional representatives were denied a vote in Congress, even though your residents were second per capita in federal income taxes and had fought and died in every war since the American Revolution. These are the circumstances that made me run for statehood senator. I cannot leave this post this year without trying to take a step that helps to remedy at least part of this moral and civic outrage.

It should be a matter of national shame that the nation's capital is now solvent. Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton has sponsored a bill that may be the only hope for retaining the fiscal viability of Washington, D.C. as a city. Although the four territories have the exact same representation in Congress as the District, they pay no federal income taxes whatsoever. The District of Columbia Economic Recovery Act (DCERA) would provide a progressive tax cut but would leave residents still paying federal income taxes. Thus, the DCERA is not meant to deal with all of the unconscionable denials of basic democratic rights. However, it could well determine whether the city lives or dies.

Only 11.5% of D.C. tax filers earn between \$50,000 and \$100,000, compared with 20% nationally; 83% of D.C. filers earn less than \$30,000. D.C. lost 33,000 residents during the ten years of the 1980s, but in only the first five years of the 1990s, the city has lost 46,000.

The DCERA affords a financial lifeline to a city that is dying by offering a financial incentive to rapidly fleeing residents to remain here. The DCERA is needed to make up for the fact that the

Reverend Jesse L. Jackson, President and Founder
Dennis Rivera, Chairman, Board of Directors

Francisco L. Borges, Treasurer
The Honorable Salima Siler Marriott, Secretary

President William J. Clinton
September 26, 1996
Page 2

District has no state to recycle income from wealthier areas, yet must pay for state functions such as Medicaid (25% of D.C. residents receive Medicaid!); is barred from taxing commuters who use city services; cannot tax most of the land in town because it is federally owned; is severely restricted in private economic development by rigid height and other restrictions; and is prevented from requiring property taxes from special interests, such as the Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Chemical Society. The Norton bill gives progressive reductions according to income, from a 70% reduction (\$15,000 to \$30,000 income) to a 34% reduction (\$200,000 and over).

Congresswoman Norton is struggling to get her bill included in the omnibus continuing resolution, and at least some members of the House and Senate leadership are trying to help her. (More than twice as many Democrats as Republicans have co-sponsored the DCERA in the House.) Obviously, it will be difficult for Eleanor to jump all necessary hurdles, but the bill is by no means dead. However, whether or not you can endorse this measure, I certainly hope you would not send any signal that you would veto the continuing resolution if it were to contain what I believe to be a life or death provision to keep the District of Columbia alive.

I strongly support the DCERA and will continue to support the bill publicly. The 500,000 people I have represented as statehood senator deserve a lot more than they have gotten. In the time of the city's greatest need -- on your watch -- I ask you not to turn your back on its residents, as some of your advisors appear to have done. I will call you myself shortly.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jesse L. Jackson, Jr." The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

Reverend Jesse L. Jackson
President
National Rainbow Coalition

Sample

Chen
Niepote

photo

to printer,
done

Chen

(another 200
photo with
at sent
to me)

ADP

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc: [unclear]

re: [unclear]

cc: her letter to VP / CTS
we showed with her and
her daughter to meet me
when I go to Knoxville
10/10 —

involved. There's nothing more important than
our children.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

15] 2 PS - Please forgive the delay in replying
but I kept your letter and re-read
it several times - Thank you for
what you said and for being open to
change your mind - There is no much
negative comment around today, few
people have the strength and sensitivity
to do it — Bill Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 13, 1996

Ms. Cheri Nieporte
3021 Connie Road
Knoxville, Tennessee 37909

Dear Cheri:

Thank you so much for your warm letter. I was deeply touched by your kind words of encouragement. I hope Charli and her fellow students enjoy the pictures, and I am glad to know that they are learning the importance of civic involvement. Please convey my best wishes to them, and I thank you for caring enough to be involved. There's nothing more important than our children.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

¹⁰ 12 PS - Please forgive the delay in replying but I kept your letter and re-read it several times - Thank you for what you said and for being open to change your mind - There's too much negative comment around today, few people have the strength and sensitivity to do it - Bill Clinton

SAMPLE

Cheri Nieporte
3021 Connie Rd.
Knoxville, TN. 37909

Leanne-
SAMPLE
due 8.26.96

Friday, July 26, 1996

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

Dear President Clinton,

This past week I have had the opportunity to see you in a different light. I have seen you show compassion and love, and I have seen pride and humility in your eyes. I am referring to the families of the victims in the TWA tragedy, and at the opening ceremonies at the Olympics. As I watched your face when the USA teams were brought out, I was struck with the thought that this is the pride that we should expect to see on the face of the President of the United States. You looked the way a father would look if his son had just walked onto the track. I hope my assumption of your feelings are correct. As I watched the news this morning I felt so proud of you for the way you handled the tragic situation of the TWA crash. Your compassion and taking the time to go and comfort these people really meant a lot to them. It gave them hope, and they seemed to feel able to cope a little better. I thank you for that. As I have watched all of this unfold, I have wished there was something or anything that I could do to help them. But because there doesn't seem to be anything I can do, I am thankful that you did what you could.

I have heard many negative things said about you in the last 5 years and for the most part I believed them. I did not vote for you in the last election and until this morning I was not going to vote for you this time. But I have made the decision to learn more about you before that decision becomes final. My husband is a strong Republican, but I will only vote for the man I think is best for the job. This last week has helped me to feel more open minded about you.

I will be helping with the Kids Voting at my children's elementary school this year, and we have been collecting different things from the candidates to put in the voting room. We have an autographed picture of Bob Dole that we are going to hang on the wall and I would like to ask if you could send us an autographed picture of you and your family also. If you can do this would you please sign it to: Charli Nieporte (my daughter). Please mail to the address above.

I would very much like to hear a campaign speech from you, here in Knoxville, if you have the opportunity to come this way.

Sincerely,

Cheri M. Nieporte
Cheri M. Nieporte
3021 Connie Rd.
Knoxville, TN. 37909
423-691-6454



*To Charli
Best Wishes, Bill Clinton 9-13-96*

cc [initials]

E WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 23, 1996

Donna Brunstad
702 Chandler's Wharf
Portland, Maine 04101

Dear Donna:

Thanks for your letter of September 12 and for the update on Eric. You must be so proud of him -- he seems to have followed your example.

Hillary so enjoyed visiting with you last spring. I hope that our paths will soon cross again.

Keep the fires burning for us!

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Bill in Maine
Don - Hope to see you

Manner

G. ERIC BRUNSTAD, JR.

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EMAIL 5994324@MCIMAIL.COM

12 September 1972
702 Chandler's Wharf
Portland, Me 04101

Dear Bill ~

This is the "little blonde kid" from 1971 and '72, that you were surprised belonged to me! I'm very proud of his accomplishments, as you may well imagine. Together with his career successes, he's a devoted father of 2 and a great husband to a Yale Law School educated wife.

I hope you meet him again. You'll like him. He "gets it" - unlike some others we both know.

It was great seeing Hilary in Portland in the Spring. I'm "ballooning in the hinterlands" for you again. Hope to see you soon.

~ Love to Hilary,
Donna Brewster

P.S.: Bill & I love Portland and our life here. We're working for your friend Tom Allen - and of course, Brennan!

G. ERIC BRUNSTAD, JR.

Hebb & Gitlin
One State Street
Hartford, CT 06103
(860) 240-2717

**LEGAL
EMPLOY-
MENT:**

Member, Hebb & Gitlin, Hartford, Connecticut. Insolvency department. August, 1993 to present. Experience and practice in all aspects of bankruptcy and commercial litigation in the bankruptcy, district and appellate courts, as well as the U.S. Supreme Court; bankruptcy advice; negotiations; workouts; international insolvencies; secured transactions; environmental issues in bankruptcy cases; questions of bankruptcy jurisdiction and constitutionality; statutory interpretation; plan negotiation; cram-down disputes; and questions of suretyship law. Concentration in appellate matters. August, 1993 to present.

Associate, Hebb & Gitlin, Hartford, Connecticut. Insolvency department. February, 1992 to July, 1993.

Associate, Robinson & Cole, Hartford, Connecticut. Bankruptcy practice and commercial lending group. September, 1987 to January, 1992.

Law Clerk to the Hon. T. Emmet Clarie, Judge, U.S. District Court, Hartford, Connecticut. September, 1986 to September, 1987.

EDUCATION: The University of Michigan Law School, Ann Arbor, Michigan. J.D. awarded May, 1986. Michigan Law Review, Contributing Editor, 1985-86; Associate Editor, 1984-85.

Connecticut College, New London, Connecticut. B.A. in History and Government awarded May, 1983, magna cum laude. Phi Beta Kappa; Pi Sigma Alpha; Distinction in major for study in History; Distinction in major for study in Government; Dean's List.

**TEACHING
AND OTHER
EXPERI-
ENCE:**

Visiting Lecturer of Law, Yale Law School, New Haven, Connecticut. Appointed to teach three credit bankruptcy course. Spring Term, 1997.

Visiting Lecturer of Law, Yale Law School, New Haven, Connecticut. Appointed to teach three credit seminar on business reorganizations under Chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Code. Spring Term, 1996.

Visiting Lecturer of Law, Yale Law School, New Haven, Connecticut. Appointed to teach three credit bankruptcy course. Spring Term, 1995.

Visiting Lecturer of Law, Yale Law School, New Haven, Connecticut. Appointed to teach three credit seminar on business reorganizations under Chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Code. Spring Term, 1994.

Panelist, CBA 1996 Annual Meeting, Commercial Law and Bankruptcy Section. Discussed recent developments in consumer bankruptcy law. June 3, 1996.

Guest speaker, Stamford Society of Financial Analysts. Spoke on the subject of municipal bankruptcies and their impact on bondholders. November 30, 1995.

Panelist, CBA 1995 Annual Meeting, Commercial Law and Bankruptcy Section. Discussed recent developments in commercial bankruptcy law. June, 1995.

Guest speaker, Commercial Law and Bankruptcy Section of the Connecticut Bar Association. Lectured on the subject of the evolution of cram-down in chapter 11. February, 1995.

Panelist, ABI Fourth Annual Bankruptcy Battleground, New York, New York. Spoke on the subject of current developments in bankruptcy law. February 23, 1994.

Panelist, Connecticut Bar Association program on techniques for acquiring assets from bankruptcy estates. Discussed the subject of sale of assets in bankruptcy. April 23, 1993.

Guest speaker, Commercial Law and Bankruptcy Section of the Connecticut Bar Association. Lectured on the subject of assignments of rents and leases in bankruptcy. October, 1992.

Guest speaker, Yale Law School, New Haven, Connecticut. Lectured on the subject of fraudulent transfers, preferences and lender liability. Fall Term, 1990.

Member, Drafting Subcommittee of the Advisory Committee on Local Rules of Bankruptcy Procedure for the Southern District of New York formed to revise the Local Bankruptcy Rules. February, 1995 to March, 1996.

Member, Committee on Local Rules of Bankruptcy Procedure for the District of Connecticut formed to revise the Local Bankruptcy Rules. October, 1991 to February, 1996.

Participant, Panel of Advisors to the Connecticut Law Revision Commission formed to study, comment and provide recommendations regarding proposed Article 2A on leasing. September, 1987 to September, 1988.

PUBLI-
CATIONS:

Contributing Author, *Collier on Bankruptcy* (revised 15th ed. 1997).

Author, *Appeals of Remand Orders in Bankruptcy: Limiting Litigation Over Where To Litigate and Some Lessons on Statutory Construction*, 5 Journal of Bankruptcy Law and Practice 323-347 (May/June 1996).

Author, *Appeals of Interlocutory Bankruptcy Court orders: Resolution of a Conflict*, 1 Journal of Bankruptcy Law and Practice 475-511 (July/August 1992).

Author, Book Review of *Liberalism and American Constitutional Law* by Rogers M. Smith, 84 Mich. L. Rev. 963 (1986).

REPORTED

CASES:

Things Remembered, Inc. v. Petrarca, 116 S. Ct. 494, 133 L. Ed. 2d 461 (1995) (counsel of record for amicus curiae); Connecticut Nat'l Bank v. Germain, 503 U.S. 249, 112 S. Ct. 1146, 117 L. Ed. 2d 391 (1992) (counsel of record on petition; counsel for petitioner on brief); Aetna Cas. & Sur. Co. v. Georgia Tubing Corp., 1996 U.S. App. LEXIS 20831 (2d Cir. Aug. 19, 1996) (argued); Maxwell Communication Corp. Plc v. Societe Generale (*In re Maxwell Communication Corp., Plc*), 1996 U.S. App. LEXIS 21388 (2d Cir. Aug. 21, 1996) (argued); Aetna Cas. & Sur. Co. v. LTV Steel Company, Inc. (*In re Chateaugay Corp.*), 1996 U.S. App. LEXIS 22397 (2d Cir. Aug. 30, 1996) (argued); *In re Chateaugay Corp.*, 89 F.3d 942 (2d Cir. 1996); Aetna Cas. & Sur. Co. v. United States, 71 F.3d 475 (2d Cir. 1995); Connecticut Nat'l Bank v. Germain (*In re O'Sullivan's Fuel Oil Co., Inc.*), 930 F.2d 1038 (2d Cir. 1991); Connecticut Nat'l Bank v. Germain (*In re O'Sullivan's Fuel Oil Co., Inc.*), 926 F.2d 191 (2d Cir. 1991); Scoran v. Chemical Bank, 905 F.2d 689 (2d Cir. 1990) (argued); Maxwell Communication Corp. Plc v. Societe Generale (*In re Maxwell Communication Corp., Plc*), 186 B.R. 807 (S.D.N.Y. 1995); Aetna Cas. & Sur. Co. v. Georgia Tubing Corp. (*In re Chateaugay Corp.*), 1995 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 10120 (S.D.N.Y. July 20, 1995) (argued); LTV Corp. v. Aetna Cas. & Sur. Co. (*In re Chateaugay Corp.*), 167 B.R. 776 (S.D.N.Y. 1994); *In re Chateaugay Corp.*, 1995 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 8982 (S.D.N.Y. June 28, 1995); Aetna Realty Investors, Inc. v. Monarch Beach Ltd. (*In re Monarch Beach Ltd.*), 166 B.R. 428 (C.D. Cal. 1993); O'Neil v. Orix Credit Alliance, Inc. (*In re Northeastern Contracting Co.*), 187 B.R. 420 (Bankr. D. Conn. 1995); *In re Chateaugay Corp.*, 1993 Bankr. LEXIS 2027 (Bankr. S.D.N.Y. Dec. 28, 1993) (argued); *In re Chateaugay Corp.*, 155 B.R. 625 (Bankr. S.D.N.Y. 1993) (argued); *In re Sansone*, 126 B.R. 16 (Bankr. D. Conn. 1991) (argued); Germain v. Connecticut Nat'l Bank (*In re O'Sullivan's Fuel Oil Co.*), 103 B.R. 388 (Bankr. D. Conn. 1989); *In re NNLC Corp.*, 96 B.R. 7 (Bankr. D. Conn. 1989).

BAR ADMIS- SIONS, AS- SOCIATIONS AND OTHER INTERESTS:

Admitted to Practice: U.S. Supreme Court, 1991; Connecticut Supreme Court, 1986; U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit, 1995; U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, 1989; U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, 1994; U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, 1994; U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit, 1995; U.S. District Court for the District of Connecticut, 1987; U.S. District

Court for the Southern District of New York, 1992; U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York, 1992; New York (App. Div.), 1987; U.S. Court of Federal Claims, 1992.

Member: ABA, ABI, CBA, FBA.

Other interests: Pro bono assignments, legal history, fiction and running.

cc: Gary [unclear]

cc: w/incoming:
Supporter File

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 2, 1996

Sandra Wheatley Wilson
Route 2, Box 171A
Sherman, Texas 75092

Dear Sandra:

Thanks for your note. I'm sorry we missed each other last week, but I'm sure there will be another time. And your name will certainly remain on our lists for any upcoming events with the Class of '64 crowd.

I hope you're doing well and that we'll have a chance to see each other soon. My best to Gary.

Sincerely,

Bin we had a good
trip to Texas.

Res.
Supp. Jife
Dear Bill,
101 St. Charles
64.
Sept. 26, 1996

How exciting that you are going to be in Texas on Friday. I was called and invited by the Democratic Headquarters in Longview and Sherman about going to hear you. Unfortunately I wasn't able to go. It seems I always miss where you are.

Gary and I are building a house on Lake Hamilton in Hot Springs and we were on our way to meet with the builder. We try to do that every other weekend.

Please be assured that we are supporting you and helping with your campaign in getting you re-elected. You are so much better than the other candidates. I don't think you have a problem getting there and neither does most everyone I talk too. We all need to make sure we get out and vote! Please keep my name on the list as I would love to come to your re-election parties as you know how our class loves parties!

I enjoyed pulling up our 50 year birthday party in Hot Springs in August on the Internet this week. It was fun to hear about it again. We missed you not being there.

Hope to see you soon!

Sincerely,

Sandra Wheatley Wilson

Handwritten:

October 2, 1996

Richard C. Levin
Office of the President
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Dear Rick:

Thanks for your letter of September 13 on the importance of university-based research. As you well know, my Administration remains dedicated to nurturing research and education in America. My commitment is and always has been to sustain these high priority investments while making the difficult choices needed to continue our success in deficit reduction. As we begin to work on the fiscal 1998 budget, I will certainly keep your suggestions in mind.

Thanks, too, for sending your very fine remarks on "Preparing for a New Millenium." I'm sure that the address touched many in Yale's Class of 2000, and I hope you will continue to give it wide circulation.

Sincerely,

Bin Laden

YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN CONNECTICUT

Maurer

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

September 13, 1996

*Richard
Levin*

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

Dear Mr. President:

I am very pleased that basic research has received significant attention in recent weeks. The Democratic Platform includes a strong statement about the importance of university-based research, and Americans across the country were moved by Christopher Reeves' stirring remarks about the relevance of basic research to victims of stroke, Parkinson's Disease, HIV infection, and spinal cord injury. The ardent support that you have shown for basic science and engineering is deeply appreciated on this campus.

I respectfully urge you to maintain that commitment as you prepare your budget request for fiscal year 1998. For the past two years I have anxiously watched the continuing debate about Federal spending, and have been particularly troubled by the forecasts of discretionary spending over the longer term. A multi-year freeze on domestic discretionary expenditures would significantly erode the "buying power" of the Federal investment in basic research, and would gradually stifle the stream of technological innovation that is vital to our quality of life and economic security. It is imperative that we secure stable funding over the long term.

* Your fiscal year 1998 budget will send a strong signal, one way or the other, about the long term trend in public investment in science. Federal support for biomedical research has expanded in real terms during the last two years, but the resources provided for fundamental science in physics, mathematics, engineering, and related fields have seen only minimal growth. In other words, the gradual erosion of public financing for some areas of science appears to have begun, and I hope that your next budget will arrest that trend by assigning a high priority to basic research funded through the National Institutes of Health, National Science Foundation, the Department of Energy, and other science agencies. Such a course would help to secure American leadership across the frontiers of science, a goal that you articulated in *Science in the National Interest*.

President Clinton
September 13, 1996
page 2

Mr. President, I continue to be heartened and encouraged by your energetic defense of research and education. I am troubled by the waning public enthusiasm for Federal investment in these areas, and I chose to underscore this problem in my most recent address to Yale's freshman class. I have enclosed a copy for your interest.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely,

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

Richard C. Levin

RCL:rj
Enclosure

Richard C. Levin
Freshman Address
August 31, 1996

Preparing for a New Millennium

You are the fourth incoming class that Dean Brodhead and I have had the pleasure of greeting. I join him in welcoming you to Yale College and in welcoming to the Yale family the parents, relatives, and friends who have accompanied you.

In previous years, Dean Brodhead and I have conspired successfully to differentiate the subjects addressed in our welcoming remarks. But in your case we have both succumbed to the temptation to comment upon what the Dean has called "the astonishing date of your expected graduation." Think of this exception to our normal practice as "variations on an irresistible theme."

Mention of the year 2000 evokes more than the sense of mystery that attaches to round numbers and more than the hope, dread, and strange behavior associated with millenarian movements throughout history. The year of your graduation also compels us, in a way that no other single year in a thousand possibly can, to think about the future. Thus, I would like to talk about two subjects: how you, as entering students, prepare for your futures, and how we, as a nation and a wider world, prepare for the next millennium.

* * * * *

My first observation, bearing on both these subjects, is that we should not flatter ourselves by assuming that we can know very much at all about the future. I recently reviewed the various papers published at the time of Yale's 200th birthday celebration in 1901, and I was struck that among the dozens of distinguished commentators on education and society none anticipated the changes that the 20th century was about to bring.

For example, no one foresaw the extraordinary demographic changes in the population of the University nor did anyone anticipate the enormous shift in the composition of activities undertaken here. No one foresaw that by the end of the century half of the students in Yale College would be women, nearly half of our students would receive financial aid, more than 5% of our undergraduates and more than 25% of our graduate students would come from abroad, and the number of students enrolled in our graduate and professional schools would equal the number of students in Yale College. No one foresaw the extraordinary growth of the sciences as a component of this and other universities: nearly one-quarter of all the University's operating funds now come in the form of external grants to support scientific research. Nor did anyone foresee that the University's physical plant would be almost completely transformed, that more than 90% of the space currently used by the University would be built in the twentieth century.

Such examples of failure to foresee the future, drawn from the history of our university, can be augmented by innumerable examples drawn from other spheres of life. One of my favorites has particular resonance today. In 1876, Western Union, then the nation's largest communications firm, declined an opportunity to acquire the rights to Alexander Graham Bell's patent on a new device because, among other reasons, it was convinced that the telephone would never supplant the telegraph for long distance communications! A colossal misjudgment -- but can anyone sitting here today tell me, with any degree of assurance, whether in thirty years the bulk of our communications will take place over fiber optic cable or the electro-magnetic spectrum, or whether we will use for this purpose computers or television sets? In the last ten years, the development of electronic mail has restored the art of letter-writing, which the ubiquity and ever-declining cost of the telephone had virtually eliminated. Will the advent of two-way video once again make written personal communication disappear?

All this is merely to say that the future is highly unpredictable. But let me say more: this unpredictability carries implications for how you would wisely conduct yourselves these next four years. Most importantly, you should not imagine that your education is in principal measure to be devoted to mastering a specific and substantial body of information, nor should it be focused on developing specific vocational skills. To prepare for an uncertain future you will need to attend to the fundamentals. You should not focus narrowly on acquiring information and developing skills that may become obsolete. You can use these four years to learn how to learn, how to acquire information, how to develop skills. This means learning to listen and read closely, to think critically, to disentangle arguments, to separate truth from untruth. These are capacities that a broad liberal education in the arts and sciences fosters more readily than a narrowly focused technical preparation, and this is the kind of education to which Yale College is committed.

Just as you, as individuals, must prepare for the future, so must the larger society. It would be comforting to conclude that the needs of your generation were being adequately served by the political process, but I have grave doubts about this. I say this not to minimize the importance of the ongoing national debates about values, the proper size and scope of government, and the appropriate rates and structure of income taxation, but merely to call attention to the lack of public focus upon, and dangers inherent in, deficient levels of public investment in the future.

Let me highlight two areas of concern: first, investment in improving our system of primary and secondary education and, second, investment in fundamental scientific research. It is not the slightest exaggeration to say that our society's future level of material well-being depends critically on support for these two activities.

You represent the very best that our system of primary and secondary education can produce, and, indeed, it has been Yale's good fortune to see, year after

year, classes entering with ever-stronger preparation and rising scores on standardized tests (even before re-centering!). But in a society in which access to economic opportunity is open principally to those with adequate literacy and numeracy, too many of our young lack the essential skills for successful careers. Despite the relatively stable performance of the college-bound population on standardized verbal tests, 25% of our 12th graders and 40% of our fourth graders lack the capacity to read at "basic" levels, where "basic" is defined as partial mastery of the skills required to do proficient work at grade level. And, in this age of computers in which familiarity with basic mathematics is ever-more essential in securing and retaining good employment, nine and thirteen year-olds in virtually every developed country in Europe and Asia outperform their U.S. counterparts on standardized mathematics examinations.

Against this background, it is dispiriting to observe the lack of public enthusiasm for investing in education. Indeed, for the past two years, Congress has seriously debated, not a new infusion of resources, but actually closing the Department of Education! Now, it could be reasonably argued that, after several rounds of budget cutting, a significant portion of what the Department of Education has left to do falls into the category of intrusive and unnecessary regulation. But is there not a proper role for Federal support of elementary and secondary education? We need not abandon the well-established principle of local control over public education to recognize the desirability of a nation-wide effort to develop, test, demonstrate, and disseminate innovative and effective ways to teach the basic skills of reading, writing, and mathematics. No state or locality has sufficient incentive to invest adequately in such an effort. There have been some promising initiatives in the private sector, and encouraging these should be part of any solution, but, on the whole, the performance of our schools is too important to be ignored by the Federal government.

The second concern I want to raise about inadequate public investment is less obvious but no less critical to the future. Since the Second World War, America's competitive advantages in world markets, and a substantial fraction of the economic growth experienced here and around the world, have depended upon a steady succession of improvements in technology, newly developed products, and the emergence of entirely new industries, such as televisions, computers, cellular telephones, software, and medical devices and therapies based on biotechnology. These developments are all ultimately traceable to basic scientific research, most of it undertaken in universities and most of it driven by a desire for new knowledge of natural phenomena rather than a quest for results that have immediate practical application.

The time lags from university-based fundamental research to new industrial products are typically long, far longer than an impatient private sector will tolerate, and, often, the ultimate commercial applications of new knowledge are entirely unforeseen when the initial enabling discoveries are made in university laboratories. These very facts have made it difficult for many of our political leaders to appreciate fully the essential linkage between fundamental curiosity-driven research undertaken in universities and the benefits that accrue in terms of human health and economic growth decades later. In recent years, there has been tremendous pressure to reduce government support for research overall and to allocate more of a limited Federal budget toward projects and programs aimed directly at producing commercially useful knowledge. The balanced budget plans under discussion in Congress these past two years call for a 20 to 25 percent reduction in the level of support for basic science by the year 2002.

Reducing investment in fundamental scientific research is an easy target for legislators intent on deficit reduction, because the cost will not be perceptible in our nation's economic performance over the next five or ten years. But, throwing my

caution about forecasting the future to the wind, let me assure you that today's failure to maintain investment in basic science will have a profoundly negative effect on the economic performance of the next twenty-five or fifty years.

Let me tell you the story of Professor William Bennett, who began working in the 1950s on the phenomenon of coherent light. After he came to Yale in 1961, he continued his work on lasers with the support of grants from the U.S. Department of Defense. Professor Bennett says the Russians found it astonishing that the American government funded basic research of this type, research that appeared to lead nowhere in terms of practical or useful application. For many years, the laser was what Professor Bennett calls "a solution looking for a problem."

Today there are so many uses for lasers that it would be impossible to describe them all. Lasers are used to cut cloth, to lay out the foundations of a house, to make micro chips, to pinpoint and treat brain tumors without surgery or irradiation of the whole head. We run lasers into arteries to clear them of plaque.

Last spring I learned that Professor Bennett was at home recovering from treatment for a detached retina. The treatment was accomplished by using precisely the same Argon Ion Laser which he developed at Yale in 1964!

* * * * *

If these reflections on the coming millennium have strayed from the subject of your entry into Yale College, such is the lure of the round number which each of you will bear after your name in future issues of the *Yale Alumni Directory*. I encourage each of you, women and men of the Class of 2000, to partake in such speculation yourself. Think about the future, boldly and often. Think about the possibilities the future holds for you, not only as an individual but as a responsible and committed citizen. I have highlighted some important matters we must act upon now to lighten your burdens in the future. But, ultimately, the future is yours

to shape. Seize the opportunity to use the vast resources of this place to prepare yourself. Welcome to Yale.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

26-Sep-1996 10:52pm

TO: HOWELL_H

FROM: Jack D. Fellows

SUBJECT: Levin Letter

Message Creation Date was at 26-SEP-1996 22:50:00

Helen, I would replace the 2nd sentence, first paragraph (You can be sure.....) with something like the following (I think it gives the President more flexibility and was taken from a previous Clinton response to a univ rep):

My Administration remains dedicated to nurturing research and education in America. This requires making wise Federal investments in these areas and creating the economic climate that fuels private sector investment and private-public partnerships in science and technology. My commitment is and has been to sustain high priority investments in education, the environment, research, and technology while making the difficult choices needed to continue our success in deficit reduction and to reach a balanced budget. I will keep your suggestions in mind as we begin the work on the fiscal year 1998 budget. With your stature and unique background, I urge you to continue to examine and help clarify the best science and technology investments that we can make with out precious national resources.

Maureen,

9/30/96

OMB suggests the
attached change. Sorry it took
so long.

Helen

September 13, 1996

2~

Dear 1~:

Thank you very much for your letter regarding our national commitment to basic scientific research. You and your fellow American Nobel Prize winners, relying on talent, hard work, and our public investment in research and education, have made enormous contributions to this nation's scientific and technological leadership. I pledge to continue the research and education investments needed to preserve that leadership and build upon it for the benefit of future generations.

You have eloquently stressed the importance of the government's "patient" capital for providing the scientific and technological foundation of our continuing prosperity, security, health, and quality of life. My Administration remains dedicated to nurturing science in America. This requires both maintaining federal investments in research and education and creating the economic climate that fuels private-sector investment, as well as private-public partnerships, in science and technology. Our commitment is and has been to sustain priority investments in education, the environment, research, and technology while making the difficult choices needed to continue our success in deficit reduction and to reach a balanced budget.

Your letter emphasized the special importance of maintaining federal funding for university-based research. I share that view. America's research colleges and universities are the bedrock of American leadership in science and technology. As the Nobel Prize awards themselves demonstrate, our universities are without peer in producing new knowledge, stimulating innovation, and training the scientists and engineers who will do so much to shape our future. Research at America's colleges, universities, and medical schools is and will remain a priority for the Administration.

9/30

Maureen,
FYI - an earlier
POHUS letter on same
topic.
S. Cohen

As you know, there have been calls for sharp cutbacks in the investments necessary to sustain America's capacity for leadership in the twenty-first century. We need a national debate about the commitments we must make for our future. Responsible voices must be heard. Given your deep concern about the need to maintain U.S. leadership in science and technology and higher education, and your unique stature, I urge you to examine and help clarify the public policy alternatives facing our nation. The American people deserve the benefit of your analysis and perspective.

We look to you and your colleagues to help promote opportunity for all Americans in a new age of scientific discovery and advancement.

Sincerely,

BC/TS/lynn-efr-lynn-emu (9PGRP)
(nobel.pf)

*celebrating
dinner - with
him to see
him*

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Felicia Gervais
Leonard L. Farber Incorporated
1000 Winter Street
Waltham, Massachusetts 02154

Dear Felicia:

I just wanted to say how sorry I am that we weren't able to spend more time together at dinner last weekend -- I'd been looking forward to visiting with you.

Also, I wanted to thank you for letting me know about your concerns with General McCaffrey. I think if you ever have the chance to get to know him better, you will see the reasons why I chose him to be our Drug Czar and what a very fine job he is doing in this position. He has truly focused and energized our fight in the war on drugs.

Know that your honesty and candor are always appreciated. My best to Chuck.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

*your advice's
were taken -
we need to work on
how we discuss
the war -*



*Maurice
Joddy*

Leonard L. Farber Incorporated

Boston Office:
Bay Colony Corporate Center
1000 Winter Street, Suite 4650
Waltham, Massachusetts 02154-1248
617 / 466-6300
Fax 617 / 466-6310

September 19, 1996

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

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

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

MARKING INITIALS: OB DATE: 7/19/19
2019-0774-S

Dear Bill,

You know usually I write simply to send greetings and kudos, so I hope you'll pardon my, once in awhile, expressing concerns and impressions.

When I was in DC in June for the Presidential Scholars Awards Week, I attended one of the seminars put on by our group for the kids where Barry McCaffrey (your Drug Czar) came to speak to the kids. Admittedly, I don't know much about his background other than he is a retired four star army general which obviously is impressive. But I was anxious to hear what he could possibly say to these kids of interest and importance.

At the time I was disappointed at how he handled the group. While I felt he seemed energetic and committed, his communication skills I thought were quite weak. He really didn't answer any of the kid's questions and due to what it appeared to be a lack of knowledge or discomfort with the realities of how and when people use drugs, he actually alienated the kids. Bear in mind, these aren't typical kids. They are hard working, studious, smart kids so they probably didn't come to the seminar with a pro-drug use mentality. But, nevertheless, I felt they left frustrated with him and not clear on how he could help. I was somewhat disappointed in his communicating skills, but figured it was just a bad day for him.

Earlier this week I read the attached USA Today short interview with him and I again thought he doesn't seem to answer questions or really "get it."

Now I realize that I may be way off base, but my loyalty to you and your Administration provokes me to share my insights with you. Maybe said insights are heightened by some of the feeble hits you're getting on the drug issue. I think the complaints by your opponents in that regard are frankly

FARBER

President William Clinton

September 19, 1996

Page 2

1 ridiculous, but I wonder if your Czar was a better communicator and more believable in his experiences whether he/she might be able to do more/represent your themes in a better way.

1 I feel kind of silly writing to you twice in one week to tell you the first time how terrific I think your Deputy Chief of Staff is and how concerned I am on your Drug Czar...as if you need any more input!?!?! But my loyalty out weighs my humility, so here you have it!

Given all the focus on this area presently, it's not even a change (if you were to agree) that I think you could make now, but maybe it is something to think about in the future. Okay...enough...no more reviews from me for awhile...I promise!!! Chuck and I hope to see you in Boston soon!

Sincerely,



Felicia Gervais
President

FFG/jcl
Attachment

Drug czar: America got too complacent

A recent study that found drug use doubled among 12- to 17-year-olds during the Clinton presidency has focused new attention on the nation's anti-drug policies.

Barry McCaffrey, a retired four-star Army general and the Clinton administration's drug czar, called the study "a reminder of the wreckage of the 1970s" in an interview with USA TODAY reporter Kevin Johnson.

Here are highlights of that interview.

Who is to blame for this surge in teen drug use, and how can it be turned around?

By 1979 (when drug use was at its peak), many faculties at many famous universities ... were stoned. Subway drivers were stoned. The armed forces, a third of it was using drugs. It was a gigantic problem (for) the American workforce. ...

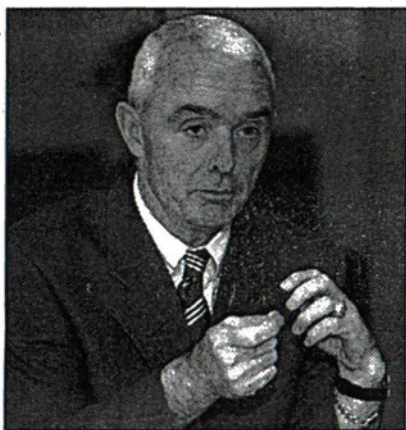
We got scared. We got energized. We created almost 4,000 community anti-drug coalitions. The news media focused on it with a laser intensity. The truth came out.

We dropped drug use by 50% in a remarkably short time — under a decade — for a social movement.

(Then) we took our eye off the ball. Who's 'we'? 'We' starts with parents.

Our polls say half of parents have talked to their children about drugs. Parents say, about 90% of them, they've talked to their kids about drug use. Children say 34% have been talked to by parents about drug use.

We stopped talking about drug use.



By Matt Mordabito, USA TODAY

McCaffrey: The 'we' in the drug awareness problem starts with parents.

Some studies suggest that parents who experimented with drugs during their youth are conflicted about how to advise their children. Do you buy that explanation?

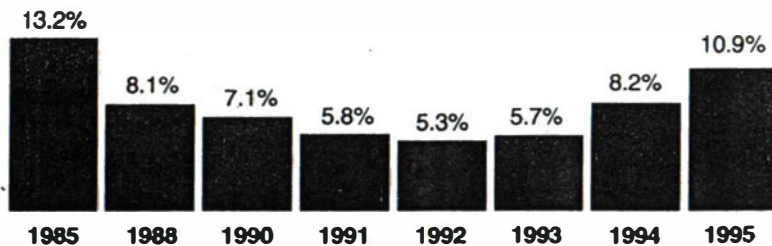
Fifty million (parents) tried drugs and walked away from them. Now they are saying, 'I don't want to use drugs and I don't want my kids to use drugs,' but they are not quite sure how to deal with the issue. They are trying to decide what to do.

Why is that a conflicting point for parents?

I don't think you have to establish your bona fides by laying out everywhere you failed before you talk to your children. (But) there is a still very cunning pro-drug lobby in this

Teen drug use rising again in USA

Teen drug use in the USA, which declined in the late '80s and early '90s, is rising again. Percentage of young people 12 to 17 who said they used illicit drugs within the previous month in each of these years:



Source: National Household Survey on Drug Abuse

By Sam Ward, USA TODAY

country that has made that argument. It's seeped into our culture.

Why did parents and the government stop talking about drugs?

Part of it was the metaphorical war on drugs.

If it's a war on drugs and you haven't won the war, then you must have lost the war. There was a mindlessness to the (media's) reporting on the war on drugs, focusing on body counts and kilograms seized. The story got boring. ...

But the story is youngsters, and the story is drug addiction. The story is this giant (federal) prison population of 1.6 million people, a gulag in America. People ask me how sad I am about that 1.6 million. Ask me about how sad I am about the \$3 per student per head we spend in the U.S. on drug education and prevention, compared with \$40,000 per head in the federal prison system to incarcerate them.

How do you balance the anti-drug philosophies of interdiction vs. education?

You must accept this as a 10-year confrontation with a social, medical, legal issue, as opposed to a military campaign.

You can't just choose one of them to do. Most of the money we spend, this year and five years ago, is not on interdiction. Nine percent of the drug budget is spent on interdiction.

The overwhelming majority is (spent on) prisons and law enforcement. I'm fully supportive of that. I personally don't think you can do decent drug prevention programs or drug treatment programs without the sanction of the law.

But having said that, you can't arrest your way out of the problem. ...

You have to go to the other end of the line and find policies and budgets that are supportive of parents, school teachers, athletic programs, religious programs that do drug prevention for young Americans. ...

We have not adequately made the case for drug education and drug treatment.

Will there be any benefit from injecting this issue into presidential politics?

First of all, I and many others have absolute faith in the judgment of the American people to figure out what's going on. I have been astonished at the change in the nature of the news media reporting on this issue lately.

Because of the sharpened debate and the nature of the argument, I see newspapers and coalitions becoming re-engaged in the issue and focused on the nature of drug education and prevention.

I think the American people will get it if we start talking about it.

► Dole anti-drug plan, 7A

D. Jeffrey Hirschberg

Mr. President
Bill Clinton
Bill Clinton

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10.2.96

VIA HAND DELIVERY AND FAX

September 30, 1996

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

Do it

Dear Mr. President:

Just a note to thank you once again for your leadership in the Mideast peace process. Encouraging that process is critical to Israel's security and important to America.

As you convene the current summit meeting, I trust you will be buoyed by the knowledge that the vast majority of American Jews endorse your involvement.

My thanks and respect,

Best personal regards,

[Signature]

10/2 Todd,
 To Donald, can reply?

✓
 yes

— no
 S

w.

 ERNST & YOUNG LLP

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

TO:	FROM:
Nancy Hernreich	D. Jeffrey Hirschberg (202/327-9382)
COMPANY:	DATE:
The White House	September 30, 1996
FAX NUMBER:	TOTAL NO. OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER:
202-456-2461	2
PHONE NUMBER:	SENDER'S REFERENCE NUMBER:
202-456-6610	
RE:	YOUR REFERENCE NUMBER:
Mideast Peace Process	

☒ URGENT ☐ FOR REVIEW ☐ PLEASE COMMENT ☐ PLEASE REPLY ☐ PLEASE RECYCLE

NOTES/COMMENTS:

Please deliver this letter to the President. Thank you.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5-29 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5-30SUBJECT: President's message for CEG Annual Report

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	McCURRY	☐	☒
PANETTA	☒	☐	McGINTY	☐	☐
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HILLEY	☐	☐	<u>WALDMAN</u>	☒	☐
KLAIN	☐	☐	<u>Div</u>	☒	☐
LAKE	☐	☐	<u>Attie</u>	☒	☐
LINDSEY	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Edits / comments to this office.

RESPONSE:

Note that last 3 sentences are proposed to be used as a cover quote.

Sent to
Peter Umhoefer

10-5-96

T. STERN
edit

DRAFT September 23, 1996

96 SEP 27 PG: 49

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
To the Congress of the United States

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress the [Twenty-fifth] Annual Report on Environmental Quality.

I have long believed that as a nation the most important thing we can do is move ahead into the new century with every child having the chance to live up to his or her God-given potential and live out his or her dreams. In order to do that, our country has to create more opportunity and expect more responsibility from all our citizens. We must help young people get the education and training they need, make our streets safer from crime, help Americans succeed at home and at work, protect our environment for generations to come, and ensure that America remains the strongest force for peace and freedom in the world. Most of all, we must come together as one community to meet our challenges.

Our nation's leaders understood this a quarter-century ago when they launched the modern era of environmental protection with the National Environmental Policy Act. NEPA's authors understood that environmental protection, economic opportunity and social responsibility are interrelated. NEPA determined that the federal government should work in concert with state and local governments and citizens "to create and maintain conditions under which man and nature can exist in productive harmony, and fulfill the social, economic, and other requirements of present and future generations of Americans."

We've made great progress in 25 years as we've sought to live up to that challenge. As we look forward to a new century and another 25 years of environmental progress, we do so with a renewed determination. Maintaining and enhancing our environment, passing on a clean world to future generations, is a sacred obligation of citizenship, ~~and perhaps our ultimate responsibility~~. We all have an interest in clean air, ~~healthy~~ tap water, safe food and protected national treasures. Our environment is, quite literally, our common ground.

Can
p13. get
this back to
CBO.
D.

pure

[I don't think
tap water
can be healthy]

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-3-96

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 11, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Laura D'Andrea Tyson *LD*

SUBJECT: Background for Silicon Valley dinner

Handwritten notes:
Larry
Did not contact with
Guy on what we did as
Secretary - Mr. said
with - Barbara was mad
+ endorsement - other de-
f

John Doerr is interested in using the dinner to engage in a broader discussion about the role that technology can play in meeting America's economic and social challenges, and high-tech initiatives that you should consider launching in a second term.

We think you should ask them for specific suggestions on ways in which government and industry can work together to use information and communications technologies to address national challenges. For example:

- **Life-long learning:** How can we use technology to prepare our children for the workplace of the 21st century, and allow adult workers to continuously upgrade their skills?
- **Health care:** How can technology make our health care system more efficient, and improve the quality of care in underserved urban and rural areas?
- **Building Communities:** How can these technologies be applied so as to contribute to more effective participation by citizens in the political process and more involvement in their communities?

In addition to these broader policy areas, we think that the CEOs are likely to raise the following specific issues:

1. Foreign Sales Corporation credit:

- Larry Ellison has discussed this issue with you repeatedly. Software companies are not currently eligible for the FSC because they often export 1 "master copy" of their software, and allow overseas resellers to make multiple copies of it. This does not qualify as an "export." Secretary Rubin sent you an August 6th memo in which he explained that Treasury does not have the ability to do this administratively. Treasury, however, worked behind the scenes to include this FSC provision in the Small Business Job Protection Act, but this effort was blocked by the Republicans. Treasury was even willing to support the change as a "technical" correction, which eliminated the need for a revenue offset.

2. Encryption:

- The high-tech community believes that our efforts to block the export of strong encryption are futile, will undermine U.S. competitiveness, and are slowing down the development of electronic commerce. National security and law enforcement interests are concerned that widespread, unbreakable encryption will undermine our ability to combat terrorism, drug-smuggling, and other criminal activities.
- [For your information only.] An inter-agency group led by John Deutch has been working to develop policies that will accommodate law enforcement, national security, and business. This group will be meeting with Vice President Gore on Friday to present some policy options.

3. Update on Securities Law Preemption:

- Rep. Lofgren wants to proceed with her proposal this month. Possible vehicles are the Continuing Resolution or the securities law reform bill (the "Fields bill"), which is now in conference and which we support. On the Republican side, Tom Campbell also wants to move something before Congress goes out. Sen. Dodd and Rep. Fazio believe that any action should be postponed until after the referendum.
- We believe that industry groups will push for something this month. They initially had intended to wait until after the election, but they are increasingly concerned that the Democrats will take control of the House and refuse to move any legislation of this kind. They may also have been influenced by reports of your sympathy for their position on preemption.
- You had suggested to John Doerr that any securities law preemption bill should include fixes to the three aspects of the Securities Litigation Reform Act that the Administration objected to last year (and in particular, the pleading standards). White House staff think this is a good idea. If we wish to strike a deal of this kind, we should refrain from endorsing any straight preemption proposal.

4. Targeted capital gains reduction:

- During the 1992 campaign, you pledged to support the Bumpers bill, which called for a targeted capital gains reduction for long-term investments in companies with a market capitalization of under \$100 million. In 1993, the Administration proposed a scaled-down capital gains tax reduction – limited to companies with a market capitalization of \$50 million. There were also a number of restrictions placed on the credit to prevent possible abuse and to limit the benefit of the credit.
- Small, high-tech companies would like you to endorse the original Bumpers bill. This would cost an additional \$700 million.

Cancel -

10-1-96

96 OCT 2 09:29

This young lady
wants magazine
signed by Petrus
+ returned.

Possible to
Autopen ?

12

Okay for Signature by 
Staff Secretary _____
Date _____

10-3-96

Send to
DORSKIND

Dear Betty,

96 OCT 2 AG: 29

Hello. I wanted to take the time to write and say thank you for being so kind to me during my tour of the White House. I'm sorry I couldn't get this letter to you sooner, but I went to Alaska on vacation. (Even though everything there was great, being in the White House and meeting you was my favorite part of summer vacation.)

You may not remember, but I was going to write an article on my trip to Washington D.C. I enclosed the magazine in which my article is published, on page 22. Please let President Clinton know I am a big fan of his, and especially Mrs. Clinton. One day last year, my mom, who is also a lawyer, took me out of school to meet her at the book signing she gave at Joseph-Beth in Lexington, Kentucky. This past week, I talked my mother into letting me stay up late on a school night to watch her speak at the Democratic Convention. I thought she did a great job.

I go to The School for the Creative and Performing Arts, a public school in Lexington that we call a magnet school.

You have to audition to attend, yet everybody in the county is eligible to audition. The school starts in 4th grade and goes through 12th. This is my second year there. We have majors such as visual art, band, ballet, jazz, creative writing, orchestra, drama, and piano,

which we go to 3 to 5 days a week. My major is creative writing. I am very proud of my school, and know that it has already helped me greatly in my writing skills. If I stay in this program, I feel that I could go on to a professional career in writing. I am very excited that this year in school I get to take band. Please tell President Clinton that I have decided that the saxophone would be the instrument for me.

I would also like to thank Mr. Clinton for his support of public schools. At my school, we used to have to practice on keyboards made of cardboard. These are very talented children that could do great things with the right equipment. Our parents have to work very hard so we can have real keyboards and other instruments. So we need the money for very important things. Thank you very much, Mr. Clinton. Please wish him the best of luck in the election.

Sincerely,

Griffin Phillips

P.S. I've included a second magazine in case it would be possible for President Clinton to sign one and return it to me. My address is:

2125 Island Dr.
Lexington, Kentucky
40502

SEPTEMBER 1996

COURIER

OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF THE NATIONAL TOUR ASSOCIATION



**Museums Bring
History to Life**

**Zoos Embrace
Caretaker Role**

**Destination Update:
Idaho/Montana/Wyoming**

D.C. with Dad: More Than a Trip

By **GRIFFIN PHILLIPS**

Editor's note: Griffin Phillips, 10, is the daughter of Hank Phillips, senior vice president of the National Tour Association. She accompanied her father on a recent trip to Washington, D.C., and wrote the following piece, based on her experiences and impressions of the nation's capital. With school-aged children making up a significant customer base for a number of NTA tour operator members, Courier felt the first-hand thoughts of such a young traveler might be of interest to its readers.

I had been promised a trip, just my Dad and me, for two long years. You see, my Dad travels a lot and he said that sometime soon I could go somewhere with him. Well, the opportunity didn't come up that year, or the next. But this year my Dad had to go to Washington, D.C., for a meeting. It would be a short trip, perfect for me!

With Dad being a history nut and political junkie, I was expecting boring, educational stuff. But boy, was I wrong! Boring? No! But many other things? Yes! Fun, exciting, thought provoking, even a little sad, memorable, and educational. All rolled into one trip!

Let me start with the educational parts of the trip, such as the National Archives. Here, there was a display of gifts given to U.S. Presidents, but on to a more educational part — the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. It was amazing to see the actual documents that are the foundation of our country and what make it so great. But I didn't think it was so amazing waiting in line for over thirty minutes, in the stickiest, hottest air I've ever experienced.

When my Dad had to go to his meeting, I went to the Capitol with this really fun lady, Leigh Hales, Jim Santini's assistant. We had a lot of fun. My favorite part was the room under the Rotunda, the Crypt. The room was called this because it was planned for George Washington to be buried there. His wife didn't approve, but the name stuck. That was interesting.

The museums I went to — the

National Museum of American History, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum — were very educational, too. At the American History Museum, one of the exhibits I saw was on Presidents and First Ladies, which was great. I especially liked the Presidential china. I thought it was wonderful to see the china George Washington actually used.

The Holocaust Museum was so sad. Sometimes, when reading a frightening story, you have to stop and think, "Whew! Thank goodness that's just pretend!" But with the Holocaust, you can't do that, because it isn't pretend, it really happened. I think it's just awful.

Another sad thing I saw was the Vietnam Memorial. It was beautiful with its long and shiny black walls, but when you think about it, it's sad because of why it exists. I think the closed off street in front of the White House was sad, again,

because of why it had to happen.

The most exciting part of the trip for me was the White House. My Dad and I got a special tour, thanks to Lynne Walker, who works with my Dad. To get in, we had to go through a guard's gate and wait in the lobby until it was time to go. The lady taking us around, Marilyn Jacarin, was really nice.

First, we met one of the President's photographers. Her name was Sharon. She was sweet to take the time to be so nice to us. She didn't have to do that. We met a few more people, including Billie, a consultant to the Director of the Photography Office, who was also very gracious to me.

The tour then began. First, we went to the Oval Office! It was totally incredible! After that, I got to go in the Cabinet Room and I stood by the President's chair. That was awesome, too. Then we went in the

continued



The chance to pose in front of President Clinton's desk in the Oval Office was a highlight of Griffin Phillips' tour of the White House.

GUEST COLUMN

Press Briefing Room. It was funny, because nothing was happening then, so the small number of reporters who were there were reading, resting, and some were even asleep.

We also saw the Rose Garden, and that was gorgeous. We then saw the Red Room, the Blue Room, the Green Room, and the State Dining Room. We also got to meet the President's secretary, Betty, who was very sweet.

I know I will always remember this

trip. But even more so, I will remember the people. Leigh, Ms. Jacanin, Sharon, Billie and Betty were so kind to me.

One thing that was interesting, that really made me think, was the different things I saw, and how they connected. For instance, the rights the people in our country have (I saw that in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution), people using those rights (I saw that in some protests set up across the street from the White House), and what happens when people don't have those rights (I saw that in the Holocaust Museum). That really makes me think.

The trip was great; totally wonderful! I

still can't believe how many different feelings and experiences you can have when you travel. All in all, the only bad part was the lines ... oh, and going home! ☹

Griffin's Tips For People and Tour Operators Taking Kids on Trips

- Start early, end late — so kids won't be over hyper at night, but will be ready to go in the morning.

- Take kids to different types of places — not just monuments, or not just museums.

- Take them to places that are fun and educational — for example, going to the top of the Washington Monument is fun; reading the plaques while waiting in line at the Washington Monument is educational.

- If where you're going has long lines, bring something to occupy the kids — headphones, books, travel games, etc.

- Give the kids opportunities to meet people — their trip will be even more meaningful.

Everything from



16 National museums and the Zoo, too!
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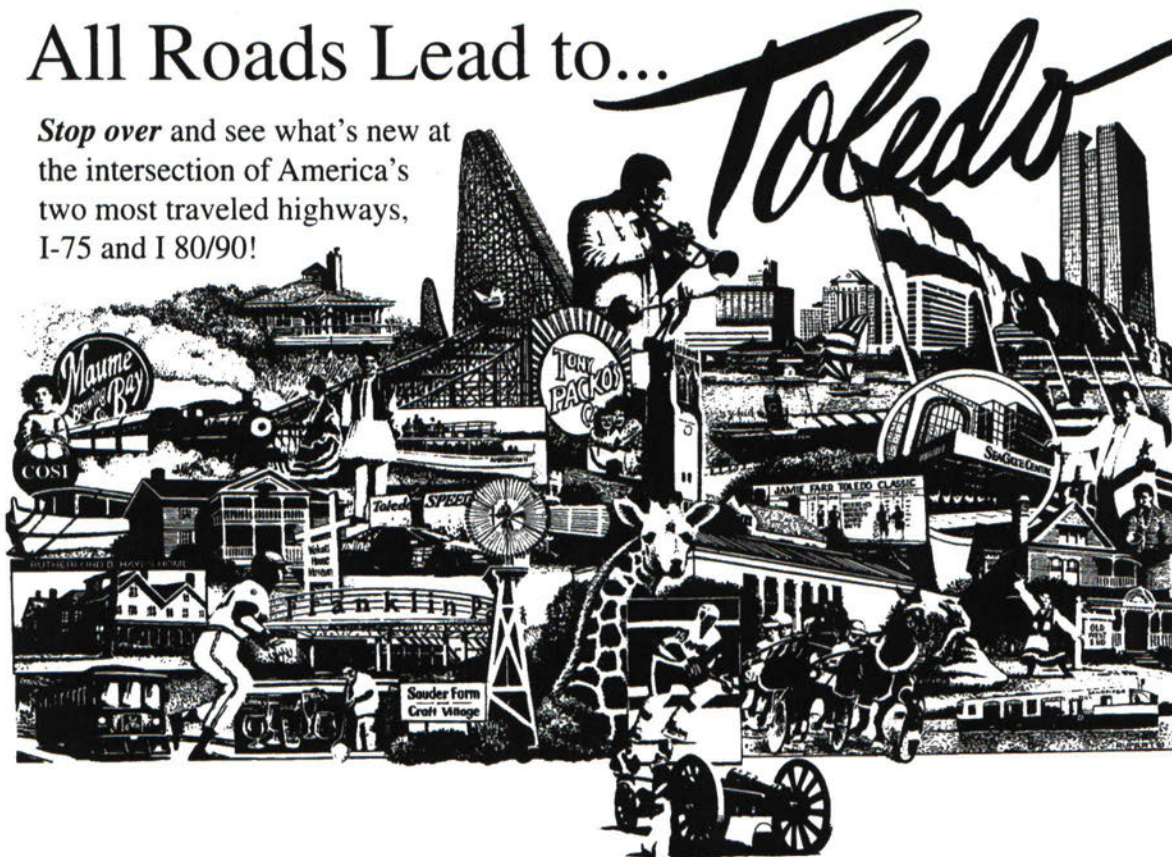
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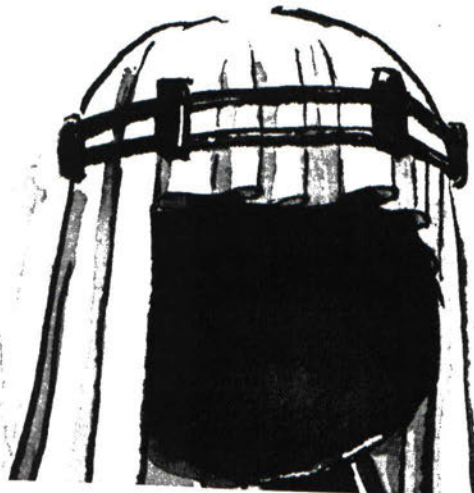
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WHAT PEACE? WHAT PROCESS?

The New Mideast Ballgame



10-3-96

Pages 8-13
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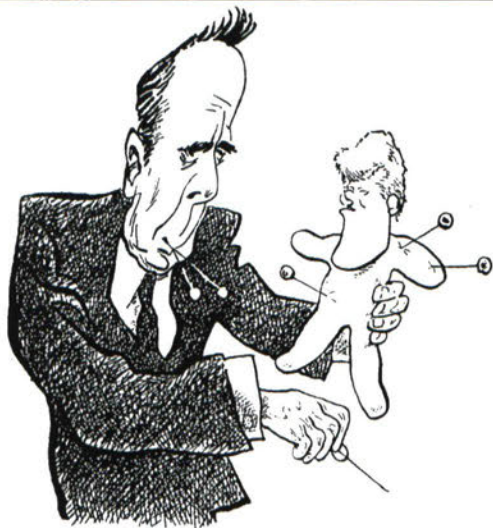
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What peace? What process?

The New Middle East

■ *From the slums of Gaza to the villas of Riyadh, there is a sense of shifting tectonic plates in the Middle East. Since last November's assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, the pace of change has been accelerating—first with the election of hard-liner Benjamin Netanyahu as prime minister, raising fears that the peace process was dead. Then came a summit of Arab leaders in Cairo and growing Palestinian resentment over Yasser Arafat's harsh rule of the autonomous regions. Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, under growing fire as a sponsor of terrorism, was mending fences with Iraq. Jordan's King Hussein polished his links with Israel, hoping to become a major player. And in June, a bomb ripped through U.S. military barracks in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, killing 19 soldiers and underscoring the simmering unrest and Islamist ferment that threatens to ignite the whole Persian Gulf oil patch. Our cover package:*

 **Al-Ahram**
Cairo

Since Benjamin Netanyahu was elected as Israel's prime minister in May, a state of tension has gripped the Middle East, replacing the relative tranquillity that prevailed when the assumption was that a peace process had been set in motion and could eventually deliver. There is a strong sense of *déjà vu*, as the region seems caught in something reminiscent of the cold war.

Everybody is aware that, in legal terms, Netanyahu is in flagrant breach of the basic premises of the peace process. By vowing not to exchange land for peace, he is openly violating the very cornerstone of the entire peace process. [Netanyahu has also angered Arabs by saying that the long-delayed Israeli withdrawal from Hebron would have to be renegotiated. He has suggested that withdrawal from the West Bank town be conditional on the closure of the Palestine Liberation Organization offices in Jerusalem. —WPR] More critical is the climate of tension, hostility, and mutual distrust that he has succeeded in engendering practically overnight in total contradiction of the confidence-building measures that are an indispensable component of any project for peace.

Netanyahu's intransigence has led many to describe him as an anomaly in the new world game, a throwback to the cold war. But before subscribing to this overly simplistic description, it might be useful to ask just what the new world game is. If we take the recent Russian elections—and the emer-

gence of General Aleksandr Lebed as a powerful figure—as an illustration, it is clear that with the decline of ideology, it is authoritarianism, the idea of order in opposition to that of chaos, that is filling the gap.

Netanyahu, like Lebed, is an advocate of military deterrence, which he considers his main card in the negotiations. When he calls for negotiations without the precondition of exchanging land for peace, he is actually demanding that no restrictions be placed on his privileged position as the occupying power, in short, for the ascendancy of might over right. With Netanyahu's accession to power, the name of the game has suddenly changed. It is no longer how to make



Khalil/Al-Quds/Jerusalem

East Ballgame

peace, but how to bully the other parties. This is true in Netanyahu's relations not only with the Arabs but even with the U.S. administration, Israel's closest ally.

Netanyahu knows that his rival, Shimon Peres, was President Bill Clinton's candidate in Israel's general elections. Netanyahu believes that, if the American president could intervene in internal Israeli policies, now Israel's prime minister can use the powerful Jewish lobby in America to intervene in American affairs.

The new Israeli government's bullying tactics with the U.S. have provoked the U.S. to retaliate in kind—but against Egypt, not Israel. The American administration has suddenly discovered that Egypt secretly acquired Scud missiles from North Korea—which, if the allegation proves true, justifies cutting economic aid to Egypt. The issue of Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi's arrival at the Arab summit by plane, in defiance of the flight ban imposed by the United Nations on Libya, has also become a major issue that Egypt is required to explain. Finally, there is the virulent campaign launched by the U.S. against UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali of Egypt. Even if the move to block his reelection was primarily intended to reflect Washington's anger over the release of a UN report saying the Israeli massacre at Qana in southern Lebanon was a deliberate act of cold-blooded murder, it can still be seen only as an unfriendly act by Cairo.

These are not the only signs of a deteriorating situation. The joint Israeli-Turkish air and sea maneuvers have ushered in a new era of regional axes and counter-axes, with Greece and Armenia, and possibly also Iran, coming together in the face of this new threat. At the same time, Netanyahu is sparing no effort to exacerbate inter-Arab divisions, showering Jordan with praise while accusing Syria of fomenting terrorism throughout the region.

By calling June's Arab summit in Cairo, Arab leaders were not only interested in proving to the world that Netanyahu is unlikely to replace his bellicose rhetoric with statesmanship. It was also a way to stand up to the alternative logic in the Arab world that says the peace process was doomed to failure from the start. There is a race between two contradictory logics in the Arab world, that of the Arab regimes that are sticking to the peace line and that of forces that are resorting to violence to protest the manipulation of the Arab world. In this respect, June's explosion in Saudi Arabia is very significant.

—Mohamed Sid-Ahmed, "Al-Ahram Weekly" (semi-official), Cairo, July 4-10, 1996.

Begin Again?

So all those Arabs died in vain. Operation Grapes of Wrath, Israel's assault on southern Lebanon, was a desperate attempt by Shimon Peres to show Israeli voters that, though he was a man of peace, he could be ruthless. But by the narrowest of margins Benjamin Netanyahu was elected prime minister in his place, and there is fear that this means the peace process will falter or even collapse.

That fear just might be unfounded. When hardliner Menachem Begin was elected prime minister in 1977, no one thought that he would withdraw Israeli forces from Sinai. Yet Begin came to believe that peace with Egypt would enable Israel to remain unmolested in Judea and Samaria, or the "ancestral homeland," as he called it.

Unlike Begin, Netanyahu is not obsessed with the Holocaust. Instead, like most Israelis today, he has an American taste for the good life, and that soon may prove a powerful influence on his politics.

He is well aware of the

THE INDEPENDENT

prosperity that the peace process has brought to Israel. It could become the Hong Kong of the Middle East, but it will become a pariah if the peace process is halted.

Netanyahu would thus encounter less opposition than we expect from within his own party if he continues—albeit at a slower pace and in a different style—where Peres left off. He would, however, excite the anathema of the religious parties that supported him. But, although the religious parties may be his Likud party's natural allies, there is nothing now or in the future to prevent Netanyahu from forming a coalition with Labor instead.

The Middle East is the home of miracles, and if a dove like Peres could launch something as vicious as Grapes of Wrath, it is not impossible that a hawk like Netanyahu could have the sense of history to bring the peace process to a satisfactory conclusion.

—Chaim Bermant,
"Independent on Sunday"
(centrist), London,
June 2, 1996.

The New Oppressor Of the Palestinians

ARAFAT'S BITTER EMPIRE

The Guardian

The first person I saw on arriving in Gaza was a Hamas supporter whom I had previously met in south Lebanon, where he and 400 other Islamists were deported by Israel in 1993. He said he had just spent 10 days in jail. "I run a nongovernmental organization, and like others in such charity businesses, I'm a target for Arafat's crooks. I had to stand for 24 hours, hands above my head. . . . They reckoned I had \$50,000 to spare and said: 'If you don't pay up, we'll send you to the State Security Court.' I paid; my family sold their gold. They accuse me of being a thief and take the lot themselves."

But the Hamas man really is a "very big thief," said one of Yasser Arafat's ministers. Then, with a frankness one often finds in the Palestinian president's oldest companions, he went on: "[Arafat] corrupted a whole society with money. Can you imagine him without it now? He's short of it, so he has to use illegal ways."

Here we have a victim of Arafat's Palestinian Authority, which rules Gaza and parts of the West Bank, asserting that Arafat detains, maltreats, or tortures his own citizens, not merely to control but to rob them—and a minister of that authority conceding that the allegations are basically true.

One hears it on all sides: coercion and cash, extortion and patronage lie at the heart of Arafat's state-in-the-making. Whether the president ever has a full-fledged state depends far more on Israel and the U.S. than on himself, but the signs are that, if he did, it would end up as just another unsavory Middle East dictatorship. There are signs too that the Israelis would actively encourage Arafat in this enterprise, the Americans would support what the Israelis want, and the rest of the world, however uneasy, would turn a blind eye.

The preeminence of police and intelligence in the territories was guaranteed from the outset because security—Israel's, not the Palestinians'—was the be-all and end-all of

An Opportunity for Hamas

Hamas struts like a victor through Dura, a town of 35,000 people near Hebron in the West Bank. It is reaping the immediate fruits from the feelings that all plans have been upset and all hopes are in decline, which the Likud party's rise to power in Israel has wrought.

"It's all finished. There's no *intifada*, nothing," several youngsters burst out. The wrongs done by the Palestinian Authority and the heavy shadow cast on the peace process have helped turn Hamas into a real and authentic opposition, almost the only one in the territories.

"The first priority of the

Islamic movement today is to show up the Palestinian Authority in all its nakedness," says Khaled Muhammad Amayiri, a journalist close to Hamas. "The target is to expose the strategies of Israel and Arafat." With Netanyahu announcing the expansion of Jewish settlements in the West Bank, Amayiri says Arafat has six months to reconsider his own policies before the *intifada* will break out again, this time against both him and the Israelis.

"People are fed up with Arafat's regime," Amayiri says. "The Palestinian people are more democratic than their leaders. There is a difference in mentality

between the inhabitants of the West Bank and those who have come from outside, who preach obedience and submission to authority. They don't believe in democracy, in human rights, in liberalism. In their eyes, this is an Israeli disease that has been absorbed by the inhabitants of the West Bank."

Hamas is amorphous enough to adjust itself to the renewed conservative mood. The trend today is to disown the name Hamas, which has inconvenient connotations of extremism and suicidal would-be martyrs, and to restore the organization to its glory days before

1987 and the *intifada*.

Sheik Naab Rajub, Dura's imam, and Amayiri refuse to admit that the rise of the Likud is playing into Hamas's hands. But the unholy alliance between Hamas and the Likud is embedded in Amayiri's vision. "In contrast to [Shimon] Peres, Bibi will not come to Arafat's aid when the time comes for his confrontation with his people," Amayiri says. "He will continue his efforts to turn Arafat into a quisling . . . until he moves him into the unavoidable collision with his people."

—Ada Ushpiz,
"Ha'aretz" (liberal), Tel Aviv, Aug. 9, 1996.



Arab soldier and youth in Gaza: One policeman for every 50 citizens.

the Oslo peace accord. A strong police force was one of the few unequivocal prerogatives the Palestinian Authority was granted.

Under the Oslo accord, a maximum of 12,000 policemen were to constitute the only Palestinian security force. Officially, there are now at least 33,000 "security" men and as many as 40,000 to 50,000, according to Western diplomats. As for security organizations, there are up to 10, if not more. They act as autonomous agencies, without a chain of command or defined responsibility. They compete with one another. All they have in common is their subordination to one man, Arafat, who, playing one against the other, perpetuates his control.

But some, notably the most sinister of them, the Preventative Security Forces, have a strong, potentially superior, allegiance to the Israelis. This group, a home to former collaborators, monitors political opposition to the peace accord. It has its own prisons, perhaps 17 in Gaza alone. "But you just can't keep count because they are opening new ones all the time," says a human-rights activist.

The human-rights activist did not know how many prisoners are held without trial. Around 700 in Gaza, he thought. Most are activists or sympathizers of the radical Palestinian group, Hamas, but, he says, "The newest detention center I heard of is one for businessmen who cheat on their tax returns. Naturally, the security people have more to gain by dealing with them themselves than sending them for trial."

It is through his overgrown public sector, where between half and two thirds of the jobs are security-related, that Arafat has made himself by far the largest employer in Gaza. "This is basically a very law-abiding society," says a diplomat. "Does Arafat really need one policeman to every 50 citizens, when Los Angeles has one to every 2,000?"

The sheer scale of the police force militates against loyalty and efficiency. Most join only because the economy is so bad. But the huge, corrupt bureaucracy is a drain on funds that should be devoted to productive investment. People's resentment increases when Arafat, short of funds, cuts their salaries from around \$350 to \$240 a month.

There are many goodwilled people in Gaza who want the

accord to succeed. The elected council, although heavily backed with Arafat's supporters, is not a rubber stamp, and its handful of highly respected, independent members regard it as their right and duty to turn this embryonic Parliament into the scourge of all that is anti-democratic.

Foreign donors, or their more conscientious representatives, are surreptitious allies of Palestinian reformers. They are constantly inhibited by the knowledge that, in the eyes of the main players, Arafat is vital to the peace process and the "war on terror." So the donors try to tackle him obliquely. For example, individual donor countries no longer want to make contributions to Arafat's security services.

Even the U.S. government has administered a gentle reproach. Its consul general in Jerusalem recently told Arafat that by detaining Iyad al-Sarraj—an academic who said he felt "a hundred times freer during the Israeli occupation"—he was embarrassing his friends. Reports say that Arafat lost his cool and stormed at the consul general, "But you never used to tell me about human rights before!"

—David Hirst, "The Guardian" (liberal), London, July 6, 1996.

Jordan's Bid For a Bigger Role

KING HUSSEIN'S LATEST GAMBIT

afrique
asie

■ June's Arab summit in Cairo was viewed as a rare show of Arab unity. But, according to the following two articles, there are still divisions among the Arab nations—and Israel hopes to exploit them.

King Hussein of Jordan is probably the only Arab head of state who was not really surprised or annoyed by the election of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. A few months before the election, Netanyahu was the official guest at a dinner at the king's palace. Yes, Netanyahu was trying to tell some Israelis, there is an alternative to the Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, and that is dealing directly with Jordan.

Certain Palestinians accuse the king of wanting to reestablish, this time in collusion with the Israeli right, a united Arab kingdom on both banks of the Jordan. In normalizing relations with Jordan, Israel has helped create an

unhealthy competition between the kingdom and the Palestinian Authority (PA).

For his part, King Hussein thinks he can become a major player in a redrawn Middle East. This inordinate ambition has been seen at work in the ridiculous way in which the king managed the Iraqi question. After backing Iraq during the Persian Gulf war, he imprudently set out on a campaign to topple the regime last year, opening his capital to groups opposing Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and putting Jordan's air-force bases at U.S. disposal.

Although Jordan's new orientation may satisfy Washington and Tel Aviv, it displeases Syria, Egypt, and the PA. Egypt thinks the Jordanian government is too lax toward Islamic fundamentalists, and it does not want to allow other states a regional role that would overshadow Egypt's. Syria considers that normalization with Israel has gone too far and has taken the appearance of an "alliance" that may be directed against Damascus. King Hussein has accused Damascus of supporting terrorism in the Middle East.

A major point of friction between King Hussein and Yasser Arafat is Jerusalem. In accepting the Israeli offer to become the guardian of the city's Islamic holy sites, the king sought to complicate future negotiations on the final status of Jerusalem. And Jordan's support of the radical Palestinian opposition group, Hamas, is perceived by the PA as a veritable aggression.

Dismissing the suspicions and insinuations that spurted from all sides, King Hussein has declared, "We do not seek to impose a federation or confederation on the Palestinians." But the accession to power of Netanyahu, who does not hide his preference for the West Bank being linked to Jordan, should put the Palestinians on guard.

—Hamida Naana, "Le Nouvel Afrique Asie" (Third World-oriented monthly), Paris, July-August, 1996.

Partners in Wiles

Despite Syrian President Hafez al-Assad's rejection of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's proposal to resume peace talks between Israel and Syria, at least one senior U.S. official is willing to bet that the Israeli and Syrian delegations will soon meet again.

The optimistic official was asked: What about attaining peace? Ah, he replied, that is something else. Assad and Netanyahu, he said, are not interested in attaining peace, because neither of them is prepared to pay the price for it. Their mutual interest begins and ends with conducting talks.

Assad sees maintaining the talks as an effective tool for keeping Syria off the list of outlaw countries like Iran and Libya. Netanyahu, in turn, wishes to portray himself as one who pursues peace even with Israel's most uncompromising enemies. Netanyahu, the official added, believes that conducting talks with Syria will give him maneuvering room and more flexibility and even allow him to delay implementing the Oslo accord with the Palestinians.

Through the U.S., Netanyahu is focused on the attempt to renew the peace talks with Syria. Meanwhile, he is engaged in separate and secret contacts on his offer for an early arrangement in Lebanon. [Netanyahu has proposed that Israel withdraw from southern Lebanon if Syria guarantees that it will prevent attacks on Israel from that area. Many observers doubt that Syria would agree to an accord over Lebanon that does not also address Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights, which Syria wants returned to its control. —WPR] The Americans, together with some Israelis, are still convinced that the so-called "Lebanon first" proposal will not be accepted by Damascus. But in any event, Netanyahu believes, "Lebanon first" has created cracks in the Arab world, where some leaders question Assad's rejection of the Israeli offer to withdraw from Arab land.

—Chemi Shalev, "Ma'ariv" (centrist), Tel Aviv, Aug. 9, 1996.

'Saudis Know: The Real Foe Is America'

INTERVIEW WITH AN ISLAMIC REBEL

THE INDEPENDENT

■ The Saudi royal family and the United States both regard Osama Bin Ladin as the most formidable opponent of the U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf—and their opinion is justified, says Robert Fisk of "The Independent." A member of a wealthy Saudi family, Bin Ladin is believed to have financed Islamic opposition movements. Despite reports that he is linked to the November bombing of U.S. military offices in Riyadh, he denies any responsibility. The following article is based on Fisk's interview with Bin Ladin.

Osama Bin Ladin is a tall, slim man who towers over Arab mujahedin guerrillas. When we meet in the mountains of Afghanistan, where he and his guerrillas fought the Soviet invasion army of the 1980s, huge insects fly through the night air, settling like burrs on his Saudi robes. Now, determined to overthrow the monarchy in Saudi Arabia and oust the Americans from the kingdom, he is describing the bombings that slaughtered 24 Americans in Riyadh and Dhahran as a symbol of Saudi anger, and the presence of U.S. forces as an "insult" to the Saudi people.

For Bin Ladin, the betrayal of the Saudi people began 24

מדינה

years before his birth, when Abdul Aziz al-Saud proclaimed his kingdom in 1932. "The country was set up for his family," Bin Ladin says. "Then after the discovery of petroleum, the Saudi regime found . . . the money to make people rich and . . . to make them satisfied." But for Bin Ladin the pivotal date was 1990, the year Iraqi President Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait. "This big mistake by the Saudi regime of inviting the American troops revealed their deception. They had given their support to nations that were fighting against Muslims."

Meanwhile, Bin Ladin continues, "The financial crisis happened inside the kingdom, and now all the people there suffer." He pauses to see if I have listened. "The Saudi people have remembered now what the *ulema* [religious authorities] told them, and they realize America is the main reason for their problems. The ordinary man knows that his country is the largest oil producer in the world, yet at the same time he is suffering from taxes and bad services. Now the people understand the speeches of the *ulema* in the mosques—that our country has become an American colony. They act decisively with every action to kick the Americans out of Saudi Arabia. What happened in Riyadh [and Dhahran] is a clear evidence of the huge anger of the Saudi people against America."



Bin Ladin: Waging his war from Afghanistan.

The Saudis now know their real enemy is America.

"I believe that sooner or later the Americans will leave Saudi Arabia and that the war declared by America against the Saudi people means war against all Muslims everywhere. Resistance against America will spread in many, many places in Muslim countries. Our trusted leaders, the *ulema*, have given us a *fatwa* that we must drive out the Americans."

What kind of Arabian Islamic state does Bin Ladin wish to see? Would thieves and murderers still have their heads cut off, for example? All Muslims would love to live under true *Sharia* [Islamic law], Bin Ladin says. A guilty man would only be happy if he was justly punished. Dissident, Bin Ladin may be. But moderate, never.

—Robert Fisk, "The Independent" (centrist),
London, July 10, 1996.

The Chickens Come Home to Roost

Saudi Arabia finds itself besieged by a monster it helped to create. The Saudi regime was once the main backer of Islamic opposition groups in Egypt and elsewhere in the Arab world that it believed could act as buffers against the spread of communist ideology.

It helped finance and encouraged 15,000 volunteers to fight in the Western-backed holy war against the Soviet invaders of Afghanistan. Three of the four men Saudi Arabia says were responsible for the November bombings

of a U.S.-staffed Saudi National Guard installation said they were "Afghans," as the Arab volunteers are known. [It is reported that the Saudi government believes the June attack in Dhahran was carried out by Saudi Islamic militants, including Afghan war veterans. —WPR]

The Saudi opposition comes from two diametrically opposed poles: educated middle-class liberals, who do not challenge the legitimacy of the royal family but would like to see more Western-style democratic reforms, and

Sunni Islamists, who want an even more puritanical version of Islam, to eradicate royal family corruption, and to rid Saudi Arabia of Western influence.

The turning point for the Islamist opposition was the Persian Gulf war of 1990-91, when the House of Saud allowed more than 500,000 U.S. soldiers to use Saudi Arabia as a base. In 1993, six opponents of U.S. involvement formed the Committee for the Defense of Legitimate Rights, which aims to turn Saudi Arabia into an even more

FINANCIAL TIMES

puritanical state.

Among the founders was Muhammad al-Masari, who is in exile in London. The four who confessed to the November bombings said they had been partly inspired by Al-Masari.

The fear is that a forceful crackdown inside the kingdom will fuel further attacks. More than 50 percent of the Saudi population is under 21 years old, and with the decline in incomes, some have very little to lose.

—Roula Khalaf, "Financial Times" (centrist),
London, June 27, 1996.

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CONFIRM. NO:	202-456-2957	PAGES:	3
FROM:	Thomas A. Troyer	PHONE:	202-862-5025
RE:		DATE:	September 24, 1996

COMMENTS:

*Do Ty - give
to Gun speaking*JIM DORSKIND:
Please coordinate
the reply.

TIME SENT

OPERATOR

Facsimile Cover Page

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202-862-5025

September 24, 1996

Via Telecopy

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Hillary:

My unaccustomed silence over the past month or so has not been due to any lack of admiration for what you and the President have done - and are doing - but simply due to the fact that I have been away from Washington until very recently. You did smashingly at the Convention; the campaign since then seems, from the outside, to be going as well as could possibly be expected; and the appearances I have seen by the two of you on television (right through the President's exceedingly engaging interview with Jim Lehrer last night) have been right up to your usual standards. In short - terrific!

I have been particularly pleased recently to see all of the support the President has been giving Democratic Congressional candidates, both in personal appearances and, more recently, in major new financing. Your second term (and I say that with all fingers and toes crossed) will be an extraordinary opportunity, and the more Democratic the Congress, the greater your opportunity.

I attach a piece on the Joint Committee's cost estimate for the Dole tax plan. A \$1.1 trillion estimate from a thoroughly Republicanized staff (politicized for the first time since I have been in Washington, and so far as I know, for the first time since the advent of the income tax) thoroughly justifies Charlie

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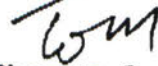
-2-

Rangel's quoted statement and could be useful in the debates. As for the President's own tax proposals, the Joint Committee has revised the estimate you see here down to only slightly over \$29 billion.

Keep fighting - and let me know if you think of anything in particular that I can help out with.

With warmest wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Troyer' or similar, written over a horizontal line.

Thomas A. Troyer

Attachment

Campaign '96

JCT Analysis Shows Cost Of Dole Tax Cuts Would Top \$1 Trillion Over Ten Years

The 10-year cost of the tax cuts advanced by GOP presidential nominee Bob Dole would be \$1.1 trillion, according to a Joint Committee on Taxation staff analysis released Sept. 13 by House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Bill Archer (R-Texas).

Archer said the numbers show that Dole's plan truly represents a tax cut, in contrast to President Clinton's tax proposals, which JCT staff estimated would raise net revenues of \$63.9 billion over the 10-year time frame (177 DTR G-7, L-1, 9/12/96). "While the Clinton budget calls for a tax hike, the Dole plan calls for a tax cut," Archer said. "The two plans represent very different governing philosophies."

A GOP congressional aide told BNA the difference between the two plans is "big picture." Dole would "shift resources back to the private sector, Clinton would not," the aide said.

In contrast, senior committee Democrat Charles Rangel (NY), who was among the Democrats requesting the 10-year cost estimate of Dole's plan, took direct aim at what the cost of this tax cut will mean in broader budget terms. "As we suspected, Dole's trillion dollar proposal leaves him a choice between two evils: cutting Medicare and Social Security or digging our children another trillion dollars in debt."

Senate Finance Committee ranking Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan (NY) had made three requests in August and September for a 10-year analysis of the Dole plan from JCT, according to a Senate Democratic aide.

Both Clinton and Dole have pledged to balance the federal budget as part of their overall plans, and as the 1995 balanced budget debate illustrated, the more that is provided in tax cuts, the deeper spending reductions must be in order to balance the books.

The 10-year numbers revealed few surprises relative to the six-year JCT staff analysis of the proposal released Aug. 8 (154 DTR GG-1, L-1, 8/9/96).

Over the expanded four years, however, the one provision that would dramatically increase in cost would be the American Dream Savings Account.

Over six years, the proposal, which generally would replace nondeductible individual retirement accounts with new American Dream Savings Accounts — which would allow nondeductible contributions, but also would allow withdrawals for certain purposes to be made tax-free — would cost only \$2.8 billion.

The 10-year cost of the new ADSAs would be \$18.5 billion, according to the JCT staff.

The text of the JCT staff estimate of the 10-year revenue effects of the Dole tax cut plan is in Section L. □

— By Lauren Darling

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 10-3

TO: Mack

FROM: Staff Secretary

Despite advice from
John Hilkey & relative dearth
of GSA precedent,
President does like idea
of doing the building for
Sam Nunn.

Roll

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-3-96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 2, 1996

MR. PRESIDENT:

In the attached memo, Mack asks for your reaction to having GSA, rather than Congress, name a federal building under construction in Atlanta after Sam Nunn. The building will be dedicated on October 24. Rep. John Lewis, Mayor Bill Campbell, Dave Barram and Nunn are scheduled to speak.

Mack reports Nunn is resistant to congressional action. Under these circumstances, John Hilley advises that having GSA do this would not be a good idea.

In addition, while the GSA administrator does have the authority to name a building, it is GSA's firm policy to defer to Congress. Only once during our Administration has GSA named a building without legislation -- an Arizona immigration center named for Sen. DeConcini. In that case, the relevant Congressional committees asked GSA to do this because of time constraints.

Todd Stern
Phil Caplan

Well (disagree)
This contrasts GSA's
view - Nunn's career
very significant & cover
could do it by Oct 24 -
the best case scenario
is that Nunn's
signature would be
wonderful
wonderful

Learn
1. Nunn's
and despite it's win
& can't be
the better no time for
Congress to
be Conclude

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

96 SEP 17 P6:03

September 17, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

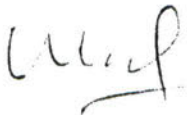
FROM: MACK McLARTY

I had lunch with Gordon Giffin this week. We discussed a number of matters, including Billy Payne's first major speech since the Olympics to the Atlanta Commerce Club, which is made up of the CEOs of major business enterprises in Atlanta and the Southeast. I talked to Billy this morning, and he will make the attached commentary and will add to it in his own personal style. Sometimes we do get the credit that is deserved.

During the course of our lunch, Gordon raised the issue about naming the new federal building in Atlanta the Sam Nunn Federal Building. As I understand it, the dedication is to take place sometime next month. I think Governor Miller already has made a formal request to name the building after Sam. According to Gordon, all of the Georgia delegation, including John Lewis and Speaker Gingrich, are fully supportive of the building being named after Sam.

Gordon's assessment is that this can only happen by congressional action, which Sam will resist, or by GSA action. This would be a nice touch to conclude Sam's Senate career (the Richard Russell building is across the street, as I understand it), but I wanted to get a sense of your feelings before I explore the matter further. Let me know what your reaction is.

Thanks.



Attachment

One of the most gratifying experiences for me was the outstanding support we received from the Clinton Administration. President Clinton recognized early on that the Centennial Games were important not only to Atlanta but to the country as well. He took a personal interest in us from the beginning and through his leadership and the involvement of Vice President Gore and the Interagency Task Force, the Administration was a critically important partner with us in planning and staging the Games. I got to know him well during this time and developed a high personal regard for him and a great appreciation for his strong support.

Were

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-3-96

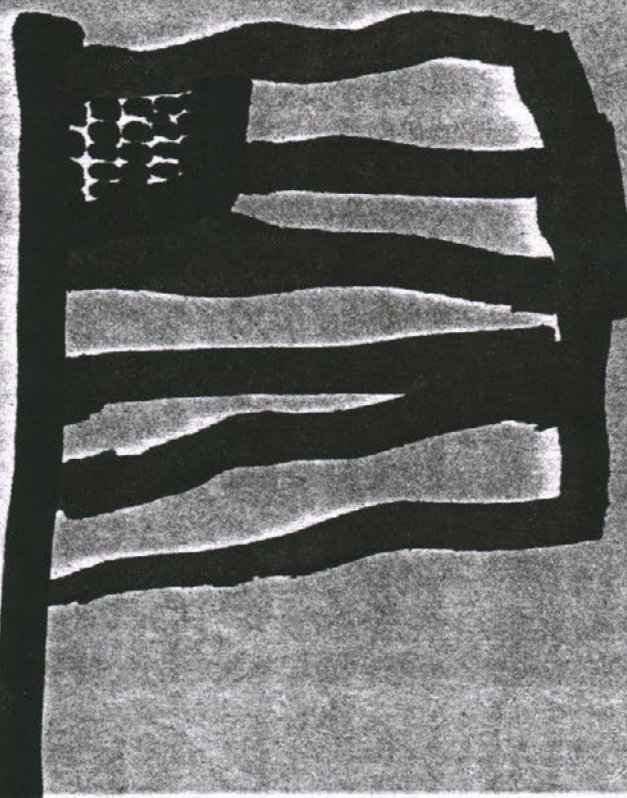
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Do not
reply to him
very far from
Sue —

Voting For You

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate
the reply.



Victor, Stephanie, Michelle, Idamar, Melandra,

Carlos, Kristen, Melissa B. V. Y, Adolph, Fritz,

Joel, Erika, Jose, David, Jennifer, John, Elise, Michael

you have
done a great
job

Come visit us next time in Jersey

Last year our school motto was "It takes a whole village to raise a child."

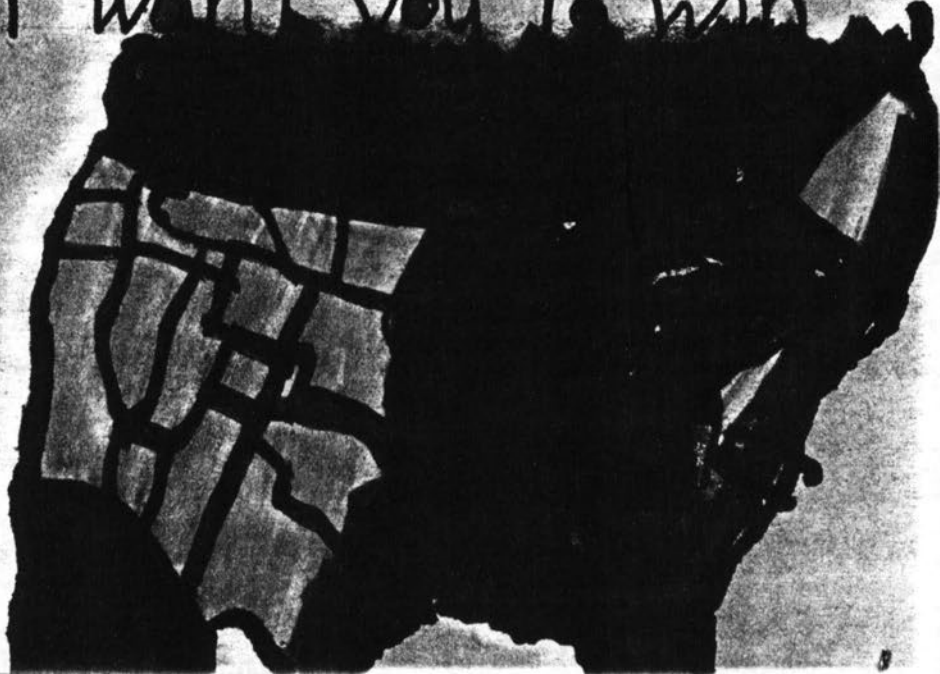


Dear Mr. Clinton

John Pinto Junior here. On the
ft side of this card is the
5th grade. All their names
and they all want you to win
the election.

Grade 5

Saint Peter School



John Pinto

William Street

Bellenville, NJ(?)

07109.