

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 11, 1996

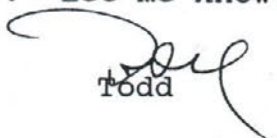
Leon --

When you get a chance, we should close the loop on the matter of the Chinese detainees from the Golden Venture ship. As you recall, the President indicated on the second memo from Tony (which answered a couple questions the President had on the first memo) that he was inclined to favor the supervised release option, but wanted to know what you and the VP thought.

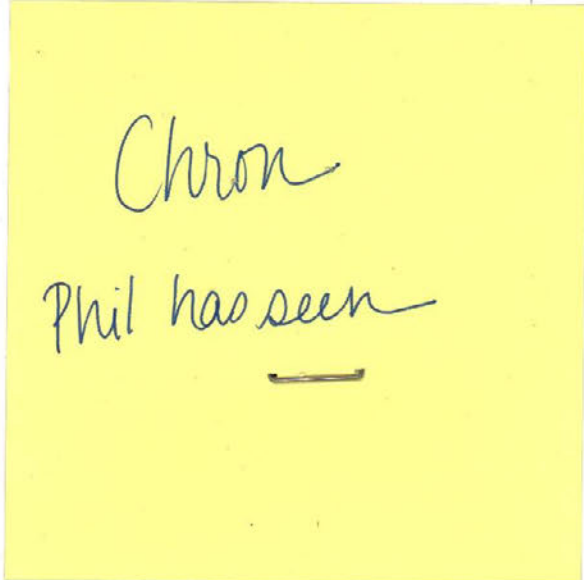
Tony subsequently sent in a third memo reporting that the immigration bill signed by the President this fall made fear of persecution based on coercive family planning practices a basis for asylum.

As a practical matter, some of the detainees will probably be granted asylum and even for those who aren't, it will take longer to resolve their cases -- meaning additional months in detention if we don't choose the supervised release option.

I'll send a note in to the President with your views or you can raise it with him if you prefer. Let me know.


Todd

cc: Leon Fuerth


Chron
Phil has seen

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 21, 1996

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE ✓

SUBJECT: Impact of Immigration Bill on Golden Venture
Detainees

96 OCT 21 P 1: 52

The recently enacted immigration bill contains a provision that will affect the Golden Venture detainees and may weigh in your ultimate decision on whether to release them pending final resolution of their deportation cases.

Asylum and Coercive Family Planning Practices: The immigration bill that you recently signed into law contains a provision making aliens with a well-founded fear of persecution based on coercive family planning practices eligible for asylum. This replaces the administrative, humanitarian relief program you approved in 1994 designed to protect the same class of aliens from deportation.

Impact on Golden Venture Detainees: Almost all of the 67 Golden Venture migrants who remain in detention have made asylum claims based on their fear of coercive family planning practices in China. As a result of the immigration bill, they are likely to seek to reopen their cases before the Board of Immigration Appeals (BIA). Practically speaking, this means that:

- some number of detainees probably will be found to have valid claims by the BIA and granted asylum;
- even those cases that ultimately will result in deportation will not be resolved for some time. In other words, and barring a decision to release the migrants in the interim, they are likely to remain in detention for several additional months.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

9/23/96

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

96 SEP 16 P3:17

September 16, 1996

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
CAROL RASCO

SUBJECT: Golden Venture Detainees

Leons
What do you think?
included for my
Superintendent
ask VP too

You asked two questions regarding the possible disposition of the Golden Venture detainees (see attached memorandum at Tab. A).

1. How many of the 67 who remain in detention are alleging coercive family practices?

Although the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) does not have exact figures, almost all of the remaining detainees -- certainly more than 60 -- have raised asylum claims based on fear of coercive family practices. Their claims were rejected by the INS as lacking credibility.

2. What does fear of "severe mistreatment" mean?

Under the administrative, humanitarian relief program you approved in 1994, Chinese nationals who have suffered severe mistreatment related to coercive family planning practices or who have well-founded fears of return to severe mistreatment are released from detention and protected from deportation.

"Severe mistreatment" includes physical harm, destruction of property, draconian fines and imprisonment.

RECOMMENDATION

That you review the action memorandum at Tab A.

Attachment

Tab A Original memorandum on Golden Venture detainees

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Lake
Quinn
Rascoe
Hilley

PLEASE STAFF

Malley/Schwartz

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 7, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9-9-96

Q: HOW MANY OF
THEM ARE ALLEGING
COERCIVE FAMILY
PRACTICES?

WHAT DOES FEAR
OF "SEVERE
MISTREATMENT"
MEAN?

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN

SUBJECT: Golden Venture Detainees

Sixty-seven Chinese migrants of the original 282 on the *Golden Venture* remain in detention - 49 are still pursuing *habeas* relief, while 18 have abandoned legal appeals and are awaiting deportation. You recently told Rep. Goodling that you would review options concerning 46 of these migrants being held in York County, Pa. The attached memo discusses five options, but only two -- continued detention and supervised release -- have any support as solutions. Two others -- "soft detention" on a military base or halfway houses -- are discussed, but none of your advisors favor them. Finally, it is agreed that third country resettlement could be pursued in tandem with one of the viable options, but would not solve the problem alone.

Background. U.S. law requires detention of persons caught entering the country illegally. Pursuant to administrative action you took in 1994, *Golden Venture* detainees deemed by INS to have credible claims based on coercive family planning practices were released from detention and protected from deportation. But INS has applied this policy strictly, to maintain deterrence of alien smuggling. Many of the 67 still detained also raised family planning claims, but INS has not deemed them eligible for relief. **The viable options are:**

Continued detention pending resolution of deportation cases -- INS has already rejected their claims; changing their status now could undermine deterrence; it could also encourage the 18 who have dropped their appeals to raise new claims. *DOJ, INS, Coast Guard, Quinn and Hilley favor.* **Supervised release** -- INS would parole to responsible persons who would post bond. Advocacy groups would applaud, but DOJ and INS strongly oppose saying it would result in flight or abduction. Also, since government will likely win the *habeas* cases, more visible controversy will be stirred when we then have to deport people who *aren't* in detention. On other hand, deterrent effect may have been achieved already by the long detention to date. *Tony and Carol favor, as does George.* **Removal to third countries** -- all favor as a complement to one of the other options, but not enough placements could be found to dispose of whole problem this way.

Secondary issue. If you choose supervised release, issue arises as to whether it would apply to all 67; only the 46 in Goodling's district; or only the 49 pursuing *habeas* release. Those who favor release agree it would have to apply to all 67.

Continued Detention _____ Supervised release _____ Also removal _____ Discuss _____

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 23, 1996 96 AUG 23 P4:29

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE
JACK QUINN
CAROL RASCOCHR (info)
JOHN HILLEY

SUBJECT:

Golden Venture Detainees

Purpose

To review current Administration policy concerning the detention of Chinese nationals from the *Golden Venture*.

Background

In a recent conversation with Representative Goodling, you suggested that you would review options to address the continued detention of 46 Chinese nationals in York County, Pennsylvania.

The Golden Venture: The 46 detainees in York County were among some 282 Chinese nationals who tried to enter the United States illegally in 1993 aboard the *Golden Venture*. The aliens were placed in exclusion or deportation proceedings, and many have raised asylum claims based on China's coercive family planning practices. They have been held in jail for three years.

A total of 67 *Golden Venture* migrants remain in detention nationwide; of these, eighteen have abandoned their legal appeals and are awaiting deportation while forty-nine have pending habeas petitions in federal court. Final resolution of their cases is not expected until the end of the year at the earliest. The geographic breakdown is as follows: 46 are at York County; 16 at Bakersfield (CA); and the rest in New Orleans and Winchester (VA).

Legal background: Under current law, coercive family practices generally are not grounds for asylum. However, pursuant to an administrative, humanitarian relief program you approved in 1994, release from detention and protection from deportation may be provided Chinese nationals who have suffered severe mistreatment related to coercive family planning practices or who have well-founded fears of return to severe mistreatment.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

INS detention policy: While U.S. law mandates the detention of persons who have attempted to enter our country without permission, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is authorized to parole them where it would be "strictly in the public interest." However, in order to deter future alien smuggling, the Administration strictly applied its detention policy to the Chinese migrants. DOJ, INS and Coast Guard believe this detention policy has discouraged alien smuggling from China.

Appeals from Congress and other groups: Twenty-eight Representatives have written to urge the immediate release of the *Golden Venture* detainees. They include Representatives Goodling, Gilman, Hyde, Smith, Berman and Pelosi. Numerous advocacy groups have made the same request.

ISSUE #1: POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION

Option 1: Stay the course -- maintain current detention: DOJ, INS and Coast Guard strongly recommend that we maintain the 67 aliens in detention pending resolution of their cases. They stress that INS has determined all detainees in this group are not eligible for asylum or administrative relief and argue that a change in detention status could undermine our deterrence of alien smuggling. Finally, a change could convince those detainees who have given up their legal appeals and are awaiting deportation to initiate new claims.

Option 2: Soft Detention on a Military Base: The INS has placed small numbers of detainees in "soft custody" on military bases in some circumstances, for example for minors at risk of harm. DoD recommends against this option, pointing to prior instances of violence. To address this issue, the aliens could be moved to a base that is being closed and is unoccupied. However, it is unclear whether the detainees would regard moving to a military base as an improvement given the broad support network they enjoy at York County.

Option 3: Soft Detention in Halfway Houses: Halfway houses have been used to hold aliens on prior occasions. DOJ and INS recommend against this option because of the risk of flight or of abduction by representatives of the smuggling organizations. (This already has happened with children who were placed in soft detention or foster homes.)

Option 4: Supervised Release: The INS can parole the detainees pending final disposition and seek to place them with responsible persons who would post bond. This option would be applauded by advocacy groups and some on the Hill, but DOJ and INS strongly oppose it, arguing that it likely will result in the flight or

abduction of migrants, and it would undermine the government's legal position. Moreover, given the likelihood that the government ultimately will prevail in the 49 *habeas* cases, they believe that trying to remove the migrants after they have been released will create a more visible and controversial issue.

On the other hand, releasing the detainees arguably would not hurt law enforcement objectives because much of the desired deterrent effect may have been achieved by the long detention period. In addition, provisions in the antiterrorism legislation you signed earlier this year should further deter alien smuggling.

Option 5: Removal to Third Countries: An attorney representing some of the detainees has resettled ten of them in Ecuador, and he is willing to continue his efforts. The United States also could *démarche* countries of the region. Prior experience suggests, however, that it will be difficult to find interested third countries, particularly within an acceptable timeframe. Still, this could be pursued together with either of the above options.

ISSUE #2: DETAINEES AFFECTED BY DECISION

Any option other than maintaining the status quo will require deciding who among the *Golden Venture* detainees should benefit from the change in detention status. There are two questions:

1. **Whether the decision should affect all *Golden Venture* detainees or only those in York County:** The York County detainees are the only ones you discussed with Representative Goodling. However, it would be difficult to distinguish between these and other *Golden Venture* detainees, and some migrants could challenge such a distinction in court.

2. **Whether the decision should reach all detainees or only those whose *habeas* proceedings are still underway:** Eighteen of the sixty-seven *Golden Venture* detainees have abandoned their legal appeals and are awaiting deportation. Therefore, a decision to transfer or release the detainees could be limited to the forty-nine whose *habeas* petitions remain active. Such a limitation could, however, lead detainees who have abandoned their legal appeals to file new *habeas* actions at any time before actual deportation.

RECOMMENDATION

That all *Golden Venture* detainees be released to responsible persons, subject to reasonable bond and pending final resolution

of the deportation cases. (Mr. Lake's and Ms. Rasco's recommendation, although the DOJ arguments have merit.)

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

That *Golden Venture* detainees remain in detention pending final resolution of the deportation cases. (DOJ, INS and Coast Guard recommendation. Jack Quinn and John Hilley concur in this recommendation.)

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

That third-country resettlement be pursued in the interim. (All agree.)

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
November 9, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *TS*
PHIL CAPLAN
HELEN HOWELL

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

- (K) **Lake Nov. 6 memo on hurricane aid to Cuban people.** Last weekend, after six-day delay, aid flown to Cuba by Catholic Relief Services began reaching victims of Hurricane Lili. Delay caused by (i) Cuban government rejecting a quarter of shipment because of political messages scrawled on the goods; (ii) Cuban government testing all 100 different kinds of milk in shipment (with concurrence of CRS and Caritas); and (iii) working out of agreement on distribution of goods -- GOC has now accepted monitoring role of CRS and Caritas. There has been no criticism of our decision to permit the CRS flight. As of last week, CRS was awaiting clearer picture of where events headed before seeking another license. National Council of Churches was thinking of applying but hadn't yet.
- (B) **Lake/Nash memo on Dick Schifter and the Southeast European Cooperative Initiative.** For the past six months, Schifter has sought to encourage the nations of Southeast Europe to form an association for regional economic development and environmental improvement. Many of the governments have expressed interest in joining and it is important to move ahead quickly, particularly since it can be part of our follow-on strategy for Bosnia. To help demonstrate that this is a priority, Schifter has been given the title "Special Advisor to the President and the Secretary of State for Southeast European Cooperative Initiative."
- (C) **Note on LAX revenue diversion.** Via Leon. The FAA reauthorization provides the Secretary of Transportation with the authority to withhold funds to force repayment of illegally diverted revenues. Question here is whether transfer of \$31 million from LAX to the City of LA represented legitimate reimbursement or illegal diversion of airport revenue to general municipal uses. The FAA is reviewing the documentation LA provided to support its claim; OMB, meanwhile, is researching whether the new provision applies in this instance given that LA's application was submitted prior to the enactment of the law. The review should be completed near the end of November.
- (D) **Letter from John Garamendi, Deputy Secretary, Interior.** He reports on the many successes he has contributed to in the Department, especially with regard to California.
- (E) **"Confessions of a Softie," American Journalism Review.** Via McCurry. Kathleen Dougherty writes about the fundamental bias in the press to be tough as nails on

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

29-Oct-1996 04:40pm

96 OCT 30 11:50

TO: ANGELL_J
FROM: Michael Deich

SUBJECT: LAX Revenue Diversion

Message Creation Date was at 29-OCT-1996 16:37:00

status -- DOT will not complete its investigation until the end of november.
----- Forwarded by Michael Deich/OMB/EOP on 10/29/96 03:26 PM

David E. Tornquist
10/29/96 02:14:12 PM
Record Type: Record

To: Michael Deich/OMB/EOP
cc: Sharon A. Barkeloo/OMB/EOP, Kenneth L. Schwartz/OMB/EOP
Subject: LAX Revenue Diversion -- In Response to Your ?

FAA is reviewing the documentation LA provided to support its claim for \$31M in reimbursements for the city's past contributions to LAX. FAA expects to complete the review around the end of November.

The FAA reauthorization provides the Secretary with the authority to withhold transportation funds to force repayment of illegally diverted revenues. Theoretically, DOT could withhold LA Metro funds if LAX is found at some point to have illegally diverted revenues. However, Nancy McFadden is looking into whether this provision applies in the case of this \$31M since LA's application submitted prior to the enactment of the law.



CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

*to the President
Response on LAX
diversion issue*

96 OCT 30 11:50
19

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN HIS SEEN

10-23-94

to grand
no memo
Leon
we should
Be
careful
w/ this

Los Angeles Airport: On October 10, the FAA initiated a process to determine the legality of a \$31 million transfer from the Los Angeles International Airport to the city of Los Angeles. The FAA requested the executive director of the City's airport department to confirm and justify the transaction and to produce documentation supporting the City's claim that it was recovering previously unreimbursed contributions, as opposed to illegally diverting airport revenue to general municipal uses. The FAA informed the City that it would review the City's submissions with the assistance of the Inspector General. FTA funding for the Los Angeles Red Line could be withheld should the \$31 million be transferred to the City.

Operation Frontier Shield: On October 7, Operation Frontier Shield, the Coast Guard's Eastern Caribbean counter narcotics initiative, netted its first seizure when the Coast Guard Cutter *Key Biscayne* intercepted a 30 foot U. S. fast boat just west of Puerto Rico. A boarding team from *Key Biscayne* seized 1,800 pounds of cocaine.

- **Railroad Merger:** CSX Corporation and Conrail have announced their intention to merge, which would produce the largest rail system in the East, with almost 30,000 miles of track and \$14 billion in annual revenues. It would create a number of points being served by only one railroad, most notably Baltimore, MD, Wilmington, WV, and Philadelphia, PA. DOT is reviewing the potential mergers impact on competition, rail passenger service, and the overall structure of the railroad industry.
- **KIWI Bankruptcy:** KIWI, a Newark-based carrier that started passenger service in 1992 and filed for bankruptcy under Chapter 11 last month, has discontinued service and is making a last ditch effort to obtain outside investment to keep it operating. It is in arrears in Passenger Facility Charge remittances to several airports.
- **OH Governor Fined:** OH Governor Voinovich will pay \$1500 to cover the fine for violating FAA Regulations. On October 20, 1995, the Governor ordered his plane to depart an airfield that was closed by ATC due to you being nearby. Governor Voinovich argued that the FAA made the mistake by closing the airport when in fact you were not within the 3 mile radius.
- **Media Inquiries:** The *New York Times* is working on story regarding the aviation industry and new entrant airlines. Publication date for the article is not known. *CBS 60 Minutes* continues to call FHWA officials for information in connection with the Boston Central Artery project. *National Public Radio* is collecting information on the Vice President's Aviation Safety and Security Commission report for a story to be aired in November.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
November 9, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *TS*
PHIL CAPLAN
HELEN HOWELL

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- Leon - memo
help LA*
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96 OCT 23

United States Department of the Interior

OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY SECRETARY
Washington, D.C. 20240

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 11/1/96

*Thomson
Secy
10/1/96
Pres
Gwen
one
attachment
10/1/96
page 8*

October 17, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

Fourteen months have passed since you graciously appointed me to the position of Deputy Secretary of the Interior. I am most thankful for your confidence in me and in giving me this extraordinary task. It is a terrific job in a wonderful agency that has awesome responsibilities for the Nation's resources, public lands, and wildlife. I am very happy and very challenged by the tasks I face every day.

I wish to report to you on my work, the successes we have had, and even some continuing challenges.

My principal task has been to take care of California. When I came into the job, we were faced with the outbreak of a new water war in California, the Endangered Species Act (ESA) was in disarray with anger spilling over in the Sacramento area over the fairy shrimp and Kangaroo rats, knatcatcher birds were shutting down southern California, the Mojave Desert was the center of great struggles over the existence of the new park which you had just created, and the Headwaters Forest was in jeopardy. There was even a problem in the western Pacific that I did not even know of, Guam. All these problems became mine to solve.

The water war has settled down to a permanent negotiating process in which the ag interests, the enviros, and the urban water users are all working out their differences. The Central Valley Improvement Act repeal legislation introduced by the farmers was defeated, and much progress has been made toward resolving the tough issues. The Bay/Delta Accord has been saved from a devastating fight that would have destroyed the cooperation necessary to move it forward. Instead, a \$999 million bond act has been passed by overwhelming margins in the California Legislature, and this was matched with a \$430 million authorization in Congress.

A billion dollar environmental restoration of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers may soon be underway. I do not claim credit for all this, only for devising the process to call a truce, start negotiations, and to set the stage for many others to move the restoration process forward.

The outrage over the Endangered Species Act has subsided for many reasons, but among them is the work done in California to make the ESA work. When I took this job, I was told that it was hopeless, that the Department would just have to weather the storm, that Habitat Conservation Plans could not be completed for at least two years. I knew that such a result would fan the political flames in California, so we assembled the personnel and attacked the four major problem areas in the State. Completion has been achieved on two (Riverside and Orange County), and partial progress on San Diego, the Sacramento Fairy Shrimp plan is now moving toward implementation. In every case, the political fires have been dampened to a warm glow or put out completely. In Riverside, for example, the County and the development community want to go a step further and create a multi-species habitat plan.

A fight has raged for 10 years in northern California over the fate of Headwaters Forest. I began negotiations on this in December 1995. With the help of Senator Feinstein, we completed a deal to save 7,500 acres and establish a habitat conservation plan for 205,000 acres. There is a long and difficult road ahead to complete the deal, but for the first time, we have a deal and it is a good one for the environment.

The sharp and bitter fight over the fate of the Eastern Mojave unit of the National Park System has been won. Congressman Jerry Lewis was out maneuvered and his legislation defeated. Your newest park is secure.

In December 1995, I became your special negotiator for the status of the Island of Guam. We have made much progress on the creation of a new commonwealth status for the island. Three of the five major issues have been resolved and we have only to overcome the inertia of the Washington institutions to complete the new compact. This issue has remained unresolved since 1987, but I believe that we can complete the negotiations in November when the election pressures are over.

I also must add that Patti loves the Peace Corps. She has been your Associate Director for 4 years. She increased the number of volunteers recruited by 20 percent, while reducing her staff and budget by 25 percent. She is a terrific ambassador for the Administration as she travels around America on her recruiting campaigns.

As this first term draws to a close, I want you to know how much we respect all that you have done for this Nation. Your leadership has been remarkable and history will record these years as very good ones for America: a time when there was great progress and a great

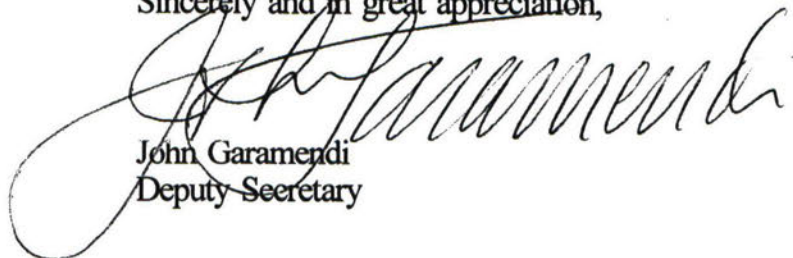
Honorable William J. "Bill" Clinton

3

President. A time when the people had the opportunity to clearly see two alternative and quite different approaches to the role of government and chose your leadership and vision for the 21st century.

We look forward to continuing to serve the American people in your next Administration.

Sincerely and in great appreciation,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John Garamendi". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large loop at the end of the last name. It is positioned above the printed name and title.

John Garamendi
Deputy Secretary

- **Church Fires Update:** On October 28, an African-American defendant pled guilty to state arson and fraud charges in connection with a May 1996 fire that destroyed a fellowship hall at the Mt. Tabor Baptist Church, an African-American church in Cerro Gordo, NC. The defendant was sentenced to 20 months in prison and was ordered to pay \$40,000 in restitution to the church. A second defendant is awaiting trial. On October 28, ATF agents arrested a white suspect on federal arson charges in connection with an arson of the Church of Christ, an African-American church in Henderson, NV. As of October 29, the National Church Arson Task Force had a total of 280 cases under investigation. A total of 112 people have been arrested in connection with the fires. In African-American church fires, two of every three suspects arrested are white, whereas in white churches, nine of every ten suspects arrested are white.
- **Credit Card Fraud Arrests:** On October 30, Secret Service agents and local law enforcement officials in the U.S., Canada, and Britain executed 20 search warrants and arrested 32 individuals for mail fraud and access device fraud. The 5-month investigation focused on Nigerian nationals who defrauded legitimate credit card holders and companies of more than \$2 million.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Federal Funds Use in Parochial School Case: On October 29, in Agostini v. Felton [S. Ct.; 2d Cir.; E.D.N.Y.], the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the practice of sending public school teachers into parochial schools to provide remedial education under a federal program. The City of NY and intervenor religious school children and parents of those children filed motions in the district court in the Aguilar case asking for relief from the judgment. The district court denied relief, and its denial was upheld on appeal. The City and the intervenors filed petitions for a writ of *certiorari*, and DOJ filed a brief on behalf of Secretary Riley stating that the decision in Aguilar v. Felton should be reconsidered and overruled.

- **D.C. Circuit Rejects Equal Protection Challenge:** On October 8, in Lorelyn Penero Miller v. Warren Christopher, the D.C. Circuit upheld the constitutionality of a statutory provision governing the attainment of U.S. citizenship by a child born outside the U.S. of an American father and an alien mother, despite the statute's imposition upon that child of greater requirements than those imposed upon the illegitimate child of an American mother and an alien father.

11/11/96

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 8, 1996

'96 NOV 8 PM 6:12

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

TD Palem
 for Bc

Good
IMMIGRATION: I have asked Commissioner Meissner to develop a plan on the brewing problem concerning naturalization. Part of the plan must include a moratorium on naturalization for one month to review troubled cases. I think the only way to head off future difficulty on this issue is to take bold action to correct past mistakes. They should have a plan by early next week.

CRIME/DRUGS: Pursuant to my suggestion in this morning's senior staff meeting, I am working with speech writing on the radio address. I believe a radio address focused on protecting children from tobacco and alcohol would be well received. The subject allows the President to return to themes that proved successful over the last two years and are more relevant in peoples lives than the make-up of our cabinet.

I have asked General McCaffrey to assemble a game plan on the Arizona and California propositions. He is coordinating the Administration's response from Justice, DEA, and HHS.

Justice should have the guidelines for states on drug testing and prison grants complete by the end of this month. This would be worthy of a Presidential radio address in the future.

I am working with Fox Butterfield from the New York Times on the Boston success story. As you know we modeled our gun tracing program on the Boston effort.

Discuss w/ B. Reed, H. Clinton, do proposal on this
WELFARE: The weekend before the campaign, Gerry Grunwald, the CEO of United Airlines expressed interest in chairing the President's private sector council on Welfare Reform.

With the election over, I am not sure how and if you want me to proceed. I think it is something we could announce during the transition. In fact, I think all of the above items can be announcements made during the transition.

ELECTION: I am working with a reporter from The New York Times and a reporter from the Washington Post on a story concerning how the President fared with Catholic voters. I think it is worth while to note that the President did extremely well among Catholics.

→ see but drop in victory to in
 Mo, Pa indicates election is more culturally
 conservative Catholic areas in Mo + central
 western Pa — need to stream out lots of this stuff.



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

11/1/96
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

November 1, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KATHLEEN A. MCGINTY *WAW for KKM*

CC: LEON PANETTA

RE: CEQ WEEKLY REPORT

EVERGLADES

Recent Florida polling shows the proposed penny-per-pound tax on Florida sugar losing support and likely not to pass. Supporters of the initiative have been outspent 4-1 by the sugar industry. Among the claims in recent sugar industry advertising against the initiative has been the assertion that no plan exists for Everglades restoration, and no additional money is needed. See attached article and letter by Governor Lawton Chiles (D-FL).

This is a direct challenge to the Administration's credibility. You have placed a great deal of emphasis on Everglades restoration -- including the development of a comprehensive restoration plan, budget requests for additional funding, and your recent radio address during which you celebrated enactment of the Everglades provisions in the Water Resources Development Act. It may be damaging to leave unanswered the assertion that there is no plan for restoration of Everglades or need for additional funding.

You should be aware that the supporters of the penny-per-pound ballot initiative are urging various Administration officials and friends to have you directly endorse, at least, the principle underlying the ballot initiative, namely: that the sugar industry -- as a beneficiary of the current water management system and a source of water pollution problems -- should pay a share of the expected cleanup and restoration costs. These individuals warn that, if the initiative fails and you have not spoken in support of the principle, they will blame you and the Administration for its failure.

Their criticism may be unfair, because you and other Administration officials previously endorsed a federal penny-per-pound assessment in the Farm Bill signing statement and the fiscal year 1997 budget request. Nevertheless, failure to speak out now on the cost-share principle may appear to some to be a retreat on a matter of considerable importance to the environmental community.

*Call Mr. [unclear] about this
Next week [unclear]
[unclear]*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11/11/96

HOMESTEAD AIR FORCE BASE TRANSFER

Pursuant to your request, White House offices and agency personnel spent considerable time this week reviewing questions that have arisen over the pending transfer of South Florida's Homestead Air Force Base (AFB) to Dade County, Florida. CEQ, NEC, OMB, and the Chief of Staff's office met with representatives of the principal environmental groups involved in Everglades and Biscayne Bay issues. White House offices, Department of the Air Force, Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), Department of the Interior (DOI), Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the Army Corps of Engineers (the Corps) representatives met internally.

Environmental groups allege that the Federal government has not adequately analyzed the probable impacts resulting from transfer and development of Homestead AFB. Their concerns emphasize, but are not limited to, the two national parks in the area (Biscayne National Park and the Everglades). They have requested preparation of a supplemental environmental impact statement and seem fully prepared to sue to enjoin transfer of the base if their concerns are not addressed. Even if such litigation ultimately failed on the merits, it would likely delay final action to transfer the base.

DOI and EPA have recently expressed concerns similar to those voiced by the environmental groups and met last month with Air Force and FAA representatives on the matter. In contrast to the environmental groups, DOI and EPA are not requesting preparation of a supplemental environmental impact statement and are willing to see their concerns resolved through a process that is less likely to reopen basic questions, such as whether the base should be transferred at all.

Dade County and other South Florida officials want the base transferred as soon as possible, subject to resolution of questions over Federal versus state and local responsibility for clean-up of toxics in a canal that drains the base area. Likewise, FAA and Air Force would prefer to complete the transfer soon. They are understandably reluctant to reopen fundamental decisions regarding the future of the base, but acknowledge that litigation could delay and disrupt the transfer.

CEQ, Air Force, and FAA attorneys are reviewing the environmental groups' allegations. Given the considerable scope of their claims, and the potential seriousness, a complete review will take some time. We plan to meet again on November 12th.

CLIMATE CHANGE

The House Commerce Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee has sent a series of letter to EPA, the Department of Energy and the State Department requesting documents related to climate change policies. Faced with tight, end of October deadlines and expanding definitions of scope, the agencies had been unable to meet these requests and are now faced with accusations of withholding information. In a letter to Chairman Tom Bliley (R-VA), Congressman John Dingell (D-MI) charged that this and other document requests immediately

11/11/96

prior to Election Day are politically motivated and suggested that the majority "leave the opposition research to their respective parties' Presidential campaign organizations..." At a Friday meeting with committee staff, the agencies reached a tentative agreement on a process for turning over documents.

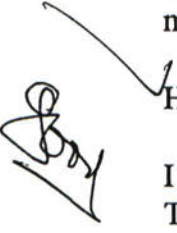
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11/11/96
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I have enclosed an article from the Los Angeles Times, dated October 30, 1996, regarding the environment and House and Senate races in Colorado, Oregon, and New Hampshire. The article emphasizes the sharp voter backlash of Republican efforts to rolling back basic environmental legislation like the Clean Water Act, the Endangered Species Act, and Superfund.

TRAVEL TO CALIFORNIA AND WASHINGTON

Last week I traveled to California to represent the Administration at the ground breaking for the final stage of the Sonoma Baylands Wetlands Restoration project. This process, with the Administration's lead, was a collaborate effort among the environmental community, the port authority, labor, community leaders, and state and local governments. This project is a perfect example that a win for the environment can be a win for the economy. This event received significant press coverage and was well received in the Bay area.

In addition, I attended an event for the Earth Communications Office (ECO) in Los Angeles. This event was to bring further attention to the entertainment industry's efforts to highlight the environment through the media. ECO has been very successful in bringing an environmental message to the general public through powerful videos shown to movie audiences across the country. This event was hosted by Eco-Junction, a furniture and design studio which sells only environmentally friendly furniture and designs. Much of the furniture is created from recycled wood from movie and TV sets.

I also was the special guest at two fundraising events for Congressman Norman Dicks (D-WA) in Tacoma, Washington. Prospects look good this year for Democratic candidates in Washington State.

LOCAL

Sun-Sentinel, Thursday, October 31, 1996 Section B

SUGAR

FROM PAGE 1B

Endorsements are hard to sift through in sugar tax battle

may quickly forget who is supporting which side.

"I think they confuse, and they don't move people except in their own limited constituencies," said Daryl Glenney, a Palm Beach County political consultant.

That is not stopping either side from adding to its endorsement lists every day — or from making sure the opponent isn't padding its roster.

"I think they confuse, and they don't move people except in their own limited constituencies. Really it's just to shore up credibility. They're not going to make or break this race."

— Daryl Glenney, political consultant.

Save Our Everglades Committee, the citizens group advocating the sugar tax, has criticized the sugar growers for listing U.S. Sen. Bob Graham, D-Fla., and the *Florida Times-Union* newspaper in Jacksonville as opponents of the tax before either came out publicly on the issue. Graham said this week that he is against the tax, and the *Times-Union* will not issue an opinion until this weekend.

The issue also has caused dissention within the National Council of Senior Citizens, whose executive director, Steve Protulis, made a speech in Fort Lauderdale in May opposing the tax and its threat on jobs.

FOR AND AGAINST

State and national politicians, celebrities and groups are rushing in the waning days before Tuesday's vote to weigh in on the debate over whether to pass an amendment to tax raw Florida-grown sugar a penny per pound. Here's how some of the tax's opponents and proponents line up:

Pro-Tax

- Lt. Gov. Buddy MacKay
- Attorney General Bob Butterworth
- Insurance Commissioner Bill Nelson
- U.S. Rep. Clay Shaw, R-Fort Lauderdale
- U.S. Rep. Peter Deutch, D-Fort Lauderdale
- Jimmy Buffet, singer
- Nat Reed, board member, South Florida Water Management District
- Broward County Commission

Anti-Tax

- Agriculture Commissioner Bob Crawford
- Bob Dole, Republican presidential candidate
- U.S. Rep. Mark Foley, R-West Palm Beach
- U.S. Sen. Bob Graham, D-Fla.
- U.S. Sen. Connie Mack, R-Fla.
- U.S. Rep. Alcee Hastings, D-Miami
- The Rev. Jesse Jackson
- Valerie Boyd, chairwoman, South Florida Water Management District
- Palm Beach County Commission

On Wednesday, the Century Village Senior Citizens of West Palm Beach, an NCSC affiliate, issued a news release supporting the tax and questioned whether Protulis' position was approved by a policy board of the organization.

In fact, it is such an emotional debate that experts think the endorsements by noted politicians, celebrities and groups may have only a minimal effect.

"Really it's just to shore up credibility," Glenney said. "They're not going to make or break this race."



THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF FLORIDA

LAWTON CHILES

October 28, 1996

Citizens to Save Jobs and Stop Unfair Taxes
1516 Hillcrest Street -- Suite 306
Orlando, Florida 32803

Dear Citizens to Save Jobs and Stop Unfair Taxes:

The proposed sugar tax amendments on this year's ballot pose a critical decision for the people of Florida. While I have not taken a position for or against the sugar tax amendments, I believe it's important that voters have the facts they need to make a clear choice on this issue.

Your organization is currently airing an ad tagged "Sugar Waste" which criticizes the South Florida Water Management District (SFWMD) and its employees for being wasteful. The ad paints an inaccurate, negative picture of SFWMD and falls outside the boundaries of fairness.

The South Florida Water Management District is a well-run entity that does a good job for Florida citizens. SFWMD is not home to over-indulged fat cats like your ad portrays. On the contrary. The district's board members do not receive a salary for the hundreds of hours each year they dedicate to the important work of the district. The employees who work for SFWMD are dedicated public servants who stand up every day to safeguard our drinking water, protect homes from flooding and preserve our fragile environment.

Your advertising campaign opposing the sugar tax amendments is doing the public a great disservice by abandoning a level-headed discussion of the issue in favor of an all-out effort to bash government. While this tactic may be fashionable, it clouds the decision facing our people on this issue and generates mistrust and alienation among our citizens -- adding to public cynicism of public service and government. Our citizens deserve better.

Our people deserve a fair debate that weighs the merits and shortcomings of the sugar tax amendments. I urge you to reconsider airing the "Sugar Waste" spot and others like it so we can ensure our people make an informed decision on this extremely important issue on November 5.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Lawton Chiles", written over a horizontal line.

LAWTON CHILES

Compromise gives Headwaters trees a second chance

Hal Arbit was a co-sponsor of the Forests Forever Initiative in 1990.

By Hal Arbit

ANYONE WHO has walked through the privately owned Headwaters Forest knows just why so many of us want to protect it. Yet the desire to protect these glorious old-growth Redwoods has never translated into agreement over how that should be done.

In 1990, the Forests Forever Initiative sought to provide \$742 million in state bond money for the acquisition of old-growth groves statewide, including the 3,000-acre core Headwaters Grove. It also would have set criteria for those purchases, required timber companies to develop sustained yield plans for their lands and ended clear-cutting in California.

The initiative was defeated and in the years since, three state legislative attempts to acquire Headwaters all failed, as did five attempts at federal legislation. In 1995, California issued a permit allowing Pacific Lumber to remove dead and downed trees from Headwaters, and the company made it clear that it planned to initiate such "salvage" logging on Sept. 16, 1996.

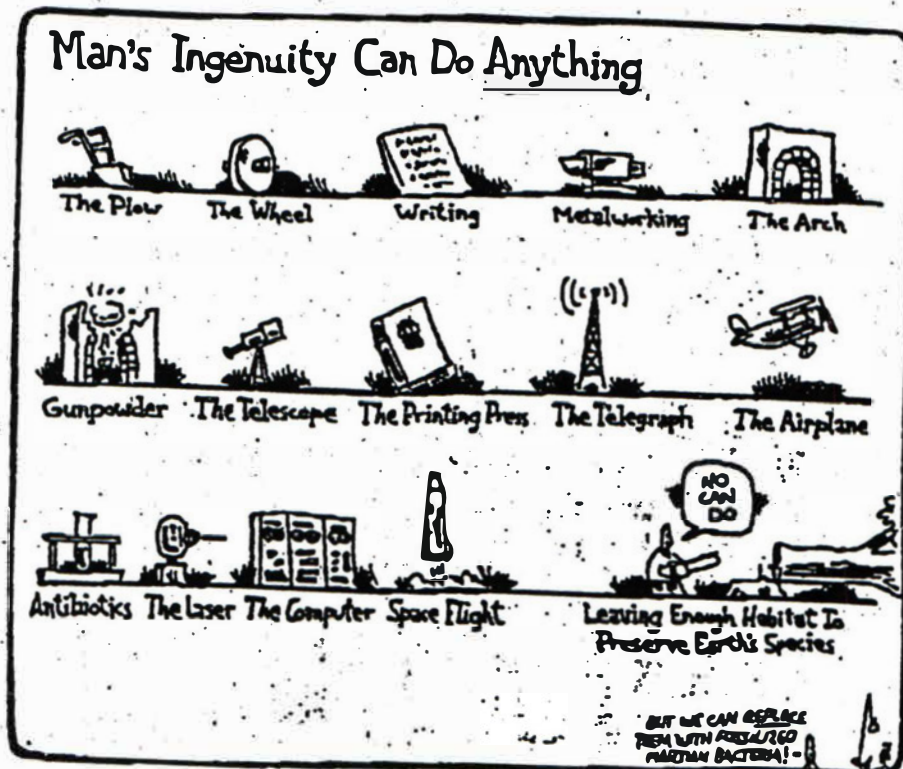
But now it looks like protection of Headwaters may finally become a reality thanks to a deal brokered by Sen. Dianne Feinstein. Under the agreement, the federal and state governments will put up \$380 million in cash and other assets to preserve nearly 7,500 acres of forest. That in-

cludes 3,425 acres of ancient growth redwoods — the entire Headwaters Forest, plus nearby Elkhead Springs Forest and a buffer zone to protect the fragile ecosystem of the Headwaters. In addition, Pacific Lumber has agreed to submit a Habitat Conservation Plan, subject to federal approval, that will detail how the company intends to protect endangered species on all 207,000 acres of its land.

While it is drafting this Habitat Conservation Plan, Pacific Lumber must consult with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, as well as the National Marine Fisheries Service, to ensure that the plan adequately protects key endangered species habitats and watersheds. In addition, the public, including environmental groups, will be able to comment upon this Habitat Conservation Plan before the federal government approves it.

WHEN I read the announcement of this plan, I hoped that the environmental community that united in 1990 behind Forests Forever would also stand behind this deal. Instead, there have been cries of foul play from some environmentalists and foul words sprayed on Democratic headquarters in Eureka. Such tactics are childish and geared toward focusing publicity and press attention on a small, radical contingent of the environmental community. I believe that this more extreme element does not speak for the entire environmental community.

Unfortunately, the public perception is that mainstream environmen-



TOLES from the Buffalo News

tal groups are unwilling to break ranks with these radicals. A few prominent groups such as the Wilderness Society have courageously stepped forward to support the agreement. However, many environmentalists have not spoken out. They should. Environmentalists need to learn that legitimate disagreements within the environmental community are not tantamount to either betrayal or evil intentions. If the environmental community does not speak up, it could undermine the first real chance to save the Headwaters Grove in years.

The disagreement here stems from the same old issue — what is a reasonable compromise? Some environmentalists prefer to ignore what is achievable. They would rather go down in flames to save all 60,000 acres of what they call the Headwaters Forest Complex than take a pragmatic ap-

proach to the issues.

Perhaps a better deal could have been achieved. But we could never have gotten all 60,000 acres. As it is, this deal is costing the federal and state governments \$380 million in a year when the entire federal budget for acquiring other public lands is only \$148 million. Thanks to this agreement, the Headwaters will continue to grow and thrive, providing a sustainable ecosystem for endangered species such as the marbled murrelet.

PACIFIC LUMBER showed poor judgment when it began salvage logging in one of its old-growth groves. But radical environmentalists showed poor judgment as well with their vandalism. The time to protect Headwaters is now. If we all work together, it can still be saved. Special to The Bee

DIANNE FEINSTEIN: Dealing for the redwoods

Copyright ©1996 Nando.net

Copyright ©1996 San Francisco Examiner

SAN FRANCISCO (Oct 23, 1996 00:19 a.m. EDT) — California's ancient redwood forests are among our nation's most valued treasures.

Steeped in myth and immortalized in song, these majestic giants that once carpeted much of the North Coast are also becoming one of our most rare assets, which is why the battle to preserve what is left of them has reached fever pitch in recent years.

The Headwaters Forest, nearly 3,000 acres located in Humboldt County, is one of the last ancient redwood groves still in private hands. The land is owned by Pacific Lumber Co.

In the standoff between loggers and environmentalists over the future of Headwaters, five attempts to acquire portions of the Headwaters through federal legislation had failed; so had three state legislative efforts.

Three statewide bond measures to acquire the redwoods were rejected by voters. Two legislative measures to reform forestry regulations — one that would restrict logging on privately held land and another that critics said was not restrictive enough — also failed.

In 1995, the state issued a permit to allow "salvage" logging of dead and down trees in the Headwaters Forest. Pacific Lumber made it clear that, after a decade of legal battles, the corporation intended to begin salvage logging following the end of the marbled murrelet nesting season on Sept. 16. Prospects for a resolution were nil.

Against this backdrop, I was asked a month ago to help move negotiations forward on a joint federal-state effort to purchase the land. After nine months, negotiations had reached another stalemate. Participants included John Garamendi, the deputy Interior secretary; Doug Wheeler, California's secretary of Natural Resources; John Campbell, president of Pacific Lumber, and Charles Hurwitz, president of Maxxam, Inc., which owns Pacific Lumber.

After more than 100 hours of intense negotiations, a tentative agreement was hammered out for the federal and state governments to jointly purchase the largest and most sensitive areas of old-growth redwoods.

This would allow purchase of approximately 3,000 acres of Headwaters Forest and the 425-acre Elkhead Springs Grove, plus an additional 4,000 acres of surrounding second-growth forest to protect these fragile ecosystems — nearly 7,500 acres in total.

The price is \$380 million in cash and/or assets. That price includes the purchase of 9,600 acres of land from Elk River Timber Co. Of that, 1,695 acres will be part of the "buffer" for the Headwaters; the remainder will be transferred to Pacific Lumber as part of the compensation package.

The agreement also stipulates that Pacific Lumber will submit a comprehensive habitat conservation plan for all 207,000 acres the corporation owns in Humboldt County.

It will be a public process overseen by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and National Marine Fisheries Service.

Biologists and conservation experts for both Pacific Lumber and the federal agencies will develop a comprehensive plan to protect endangered species and their habitat while permitting the land to be utilized for responsible timber-harvesting operations.

Environmental groups can and should participate in the review process and deliver their own scientific reports before any plan is approved.

When the planning process is completed, this will be one of the largest habitat conservation efforts in the United States.

Is this agreement everything the most zealous environmentalists want? No. The battle cry 10 years ago was to save 3,000

chase.

Is it everything Hurwitz and Pacific Lumber wanted? No. They wanted substantially more. They believe the nearly 3,000-acre Headwaters, alone, to be worth more than \$700 million. The result is a compromise, and the agreement is as fragile as the ecosystem we are trying to protect.

Both sides have tremendous incentive to turn this tentative agreement into a permanent solution. The state and federal governments want to protect environmentally sensitive areas, permanently protect the Headwaters and maintain jobs for the communities who depend upon the timber industry for their livelihood.

Pacific Lumber will be fairly compensated for the Headwaters property. And, if a sound habitat conservation plan can be developed for the rest of Pacific Lumber's land, the company can plan its operations with some degree of certainty.

This agreement is fair and reasonable. The alternatives, on the other hand, are worsening confrontations between anti-logging environmentalists and communities in Humboldt County, uncertainty of jobs and continuing litigation in the form of a huge "takings" case against the government.

This compromise offers our last and best hope to preserve these magnificent ancient forests. Right now, it is critical that the habitat conservation plan process be conducted in a credible and scientific manner. That can be accomplished if all parties cooperate fully.

(Dianne Feinstein, a former mayor of San Francisco, is a U.S. senator from California.)

Candidates Do Battle in a Climate That Favors the Environment

In Colorado, other key races, both parties recognize that air and water quality issues are a concern to a broad spectrum of voters, not just 'tree-huggers.'

By JAMES GERSTENZANG
TIMES STAFF WRITER

AURORA, Colo.—At Archery Adventure, next to the Pizza Hut in the shadow of the Interstate 225 embankment, Hugh May is getting worked up over what's happening to the once-wooded foothills near his home.

"They're putting in shopping centers and building houses left and right and cutting down 100-year-old Ponderosa pines," he said. His complaint is punctuated by the quiet thump, thump, thump of arrows striking life-size plastic-foam deer at the indoor archery range behind him.

To 39-year-old May, who repairs surgical equipment for a living, this is what the nation's never-ending debate over the environment should be all about: the loss of habitat for the wildlife he hunts with bow and arrow.

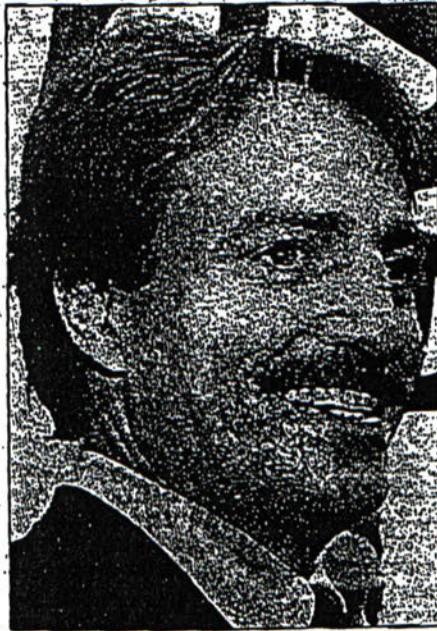
He lives between the communities of Elizabeth and Parker, 20 miles south of this busy suburb east of Denver. There, where encroaching exurban America meets the prairie, "we got deer, antelope, rolling hills and clear creek bottoms. It's beautiful country," he said.

The politician who can solve the problem of growth versus conservation will get May's vote.

On the other side of Denver, in the suburb of Kittredge, Tom Haller, a machinist, says he is known as "the resident liberal tree-hugger" at Sundstrand Corp. He has worked there 19 years making gears and shafts for pumps and compressors.

"I've been camping and fishing in this state since I was 18 months old," he said. "It's not happening as much as it used to, but the degrading of the scenic beauty by mining interests has always bothered me. Obviously the environment is important to me."

Just as a light snowfall has already dusted the still-green lawns of Denver and its suburbs, environmental concerns are coloring the U.S. Senate race here. That's also the case in Oregon and New Hampshire, where two other hotly



Associated Press

Tom Strickland, left, and Wayne Allard, candidates for the U.S. Senate in Colorado, are battling to be portrayed as more environment-friendly than their foe.

contested Senate races are too close to call.

Two years ago, many Republicans campaigned on a platform that called for rolling back what conservatives called environmental over-regulation. Once elected, congressional Republicans pushed for sweeping changes in the country's basic environmental legislation—the Endangered Species Act, the Clean Air Act and the Superfund law for cleanup of toxic waste sites.

But those moves brought about a sharp backlash.

"What has really hurt Republicans in this election cycle was the rhetoric they used—cutting funding, rolling back regulations. Strong words like that really turned people off," said Peter Snyder, senior program director of the Luntz Research Co., which conducts polls for Republican candidates.

Indeed, poll-takers have found a confluence of opinion when it comes to the environment—a trend that Democratic pollster Geoffrey Garin considers important because "the Republicans in 1994 tried to use the environment as a cultural wedge issue in which people protecting the environment were described in elitist terms."

It is represented by two often disparate

groups finding common ground.

On one front are May and Haller, men who work with their hands, voicing concerns about access to public lands, and non-college-educated women concerned about such public health threats as toxic waste sites and factories polluting air and water near their homes.

On the other are the more traditional environmentalists, highly educated and financially well-off, whose encounters with the environment begin when they walk out of an Eddie Bauer store and step into their Range Rovers.

David Nickum, regional conservation director of Trout Unlimited, notes that many of his group's 95,000 members are "fairly conservative compared with other environmental groups."

But, he said, "folks are making more of a connection between things they value and environmental quality. It doesn't take too often to go out and see a stream being clouded up by a dam or a river with great fishing wiped out by mining pollution to realize environmental quality affects them in their lives."

Across the country, environmental groups are doing their best to drive home that connection, taking a high-profile role in several political contests.

The Sierra Club, for example, is

spending \$7.5 million during the current election cycle on the presidential and congressional races.

"Environment is up on top as an important issue, for the first time an unprecedented, salient issue," said the organization's Washington spokesman, Roni Lieberman.

The ambivalence toward anti-regulation fever can be seen about a mile away from Archery Adventure in another strip-mall storefront, where Firing Line bills itself as the largest gun store in Colorado. Don Campbell is preparing for a weekend elk-hunting trip in the Medicine Bow range several hours to the northwest.

At first he is reluctant to talk politics—a topic better suited for the evening hours at the elk camp "after the Jack Daniels comes out and the cigars are lit up," says his hunting companion Tim Gerhardt, a gunsmith.

But Campbell, a 55-year-old investment broker, acknowledges after some prompting that he is not uncomfortable with the current environmental picture.

"I think basically we're being well-served. I don't think anybody wants to go backwards, but do we need more controls? More legislation? Things are working. Commercial interests can be met, and environmental issues are being taken care of," he said.

He and Gerhardt have purchased ammunition for the .338 Winchester Magnum he plans to use to hunt elk.

"It drops 'em fast," he said, "and that is environmentally a neat thing to do."

As a result of that sort of shift, both parties are trying to claim the green mantle.

In Colorado, as Republican Rep. Wayne Allard and Democrat Tom Strickland battle for a Senate seat left open by the retirement of Republican Hank Brown, each has accused the other of environmental sins.

Allard has hammered on Strickland as "a lobbyist [who] represented the largest polluter in the history of Colorado," based on the representation of Louisiana-Pacific Corp., a logging and wood products company, by Strickland's law firm.

Strickland gladly reviews Allard's voting record, which has earned a place on the League of Conservation Voters' "Dirty Dozen" list of members of Congress targeted for defeat.

Strickland is bringing actor and environmental activist Robert Redford from neighboring Utah to campaign for him this weekend. Allard, meeting privately with local elected officials, recently spent much of the hourlong conference listening to complaints about the impact federal environmental regulations have on their community budgets.

Similar issues have surfaced in Oregon, where state Sen. Gordon Smith, a Republican, is given a slight edge over Tom Bruggere, a Democrat and high-tech entrepreneur in the race to replace retiring Republican Sen. Mark O. Hatfield.

Bruggere has sought to make the environment an issue by focusing criticism on past pollution problems at Smith's family-owned factory, which freezes and cans sweet peas and carrots.

"If I had to bet, I think Smith's going to win it," said John Kapsch, a political scientist at Reed College in Portland.

The pollution issue worked earlier this year when then-Rep. Ron Wyden defeated Smith in a special election for the Senate seat vacated when Bob Packwood resigned. But Smith's acknowledgment of previous waste spills and his self-portrait as an Oregonian with a lifelong appreciation of the outdoors seems to be muting the issue this time, Kapsch said.

In New Hampshire, where Republican Sen. Robert C. Smith is widely considered to be among his party's most vulnerable incumbents, environmental concerns have been a key issue for his challenger, former Rep. Dick Swett.

Smith's unsuccessful attempts last year to rewrite the law regulating the troubled Superfund program generated great wariness among environmentalists, who then scoffed at his effort to ease their concerns with campaign literature depicting him fly-fishing.

"You'd think that in New Hampshire, where taxes are a perennial issue, that the environment would take a back seat, but it's a very powerful issue," said Mike Casey, director of the Environmental Information Center in Washington.

And that power, Democratic analysts assert, may be one of the key factors in this year's elections. If it weren't for the environmental concerns raised by the most recent session of Congress, says Democratic pollster Celinda Lake, "we wouldn't be in the running."

11/11/96

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I have enclosed an article from the Los Angeles Times, dated October 30, 1996, regarding the environment and House and Senate races in Colorado, Oregon, and New Hampshire. The article emphasizes the sharp voter backlash of Republican efforts to rolling back basic environmental legislation like the Clean Water Act, the Endangered Species Act, and Superfund.

TRAVEL TO CALIFORNIA AND WASHINGTON

Last week I traveled to California to represent the Administration at the ground breaking for the final stage of the Sonoma Baylands Wetlands Restoration project. This process, with the Administration's lead, was a collaborate effort among the environmental community, the port authority, labor, community leaders, and state and local governments. This project is a perfect example that a win for the environment can be a win for the economy. This event received significant press coverage and was well received in the Bay area.

In addition, I attended an event for the Earth Communications Office (ECO) in Los Angeles. This event was to bring further attention to the entertainment industry's efforts to highlight the environment through the media. ECO has been very successful in bringing an environmental message to the general public through powerful videos shown to movie audiences across the country. This event was hosted by Eco-Junction, a furniture and design studio which sells only environmentally friendly furniture and designs. Much of the furniture is created from recycled wood from movie and TV sets.

I also was the special guest at two fundraising events for Congressman Norman Dicks (D-WA) in Tacoma, Washington. Prospects look good this year for Democratic candidates in Washington State.



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

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11/11/96

November 8, 1996

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

'96 NOV 8 PM7:07

FROM: KATHLEEN A. MCGINTY *WPN for KAM*

CC: LEON PANETTA

RE: CEQ WEEKLY REPORT

ENVIRONMENT IN THE ELECTION

Most of the election returns are in, and they show that the environment played an important role in many of the results.

✓ In respect to the Presidential returns, the Clinton-Gore ticket carried all of the 20 states with League of Conservation Voters (LCV) ratings over 50% that it carried in 1992 (ratings based on voting records from the 103rd Congress). Altogether, these states contributed 278 electoral votes to the final tally for the ticket. One measure of the relevance of environmental issues is that they were cited a factor in the endorsements of the Clinton-Gore ticket in several major newspapers, including the Anchorage Daily News, the Atlanta Constitution, the Boston Globe, the Burlington Free Press, the Minneapolis Star Tribune, the New York Daily News, the New York Times, the Philadelphia Inquirer, the San Francisco Examiner, and the Washington Post.

The Congressional returns are more complex but tell a similar story. Sierra Club notes that about two-thirds of the candidates they supported won. The LCV targeted a high-profile "dirty dozen" list for defeat and succeeded in 6 of the 11 races that are final. The Environmental Information Center reports that polling shows that 85% of voters consider a Congressional candidate's environmental position to be important.

There were two general trends in the Congressional elections that ran counter to one another. One was the continuing realignment of open seats in the South to the GOP -- races in which environment was not much of an issue either way. The other was the defeat of vulnerable incumbents where the Democrats fared much better than the Republicans (3 Ds to 18 Rs). The defeated Republican incumbents has an average LCV score of 25%, well below the House average of 40%, and the environment was a factor in most of these races. Furthermore, the only incumbent to be defeated in the Senate was a Republican -- Larry Pressler -- a candidate aggressively targeted by the environmentalists.

Finally, the environment helped make a number of other GOP incumbents vulnerable, and even more of them might have been defeated if they had not spent the last several months running

11/11/96
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

away from their environmental records very hard. By the closing days of the election, almost all candidates were using pro-environment rhetoric.

 The results of the election suggest an opportunity for the Administration to set forth a clear agenda on the environment that could get bipartisan support at the outset of this Congress. If the Republican Congress refuses an invitation to provide bipartisan support for the environment, the GOP could find itself again having to run away from its record in the next election cycle.

OMNIBUS PARKS BILL

 This bill was finally sent to you by the Congress late this week. We understand a bill signing is being planned for early next week. As you know, while the bill contains a few provisions you opposed, overall it is a good example of bipartisan cooperation to protect important natural and historic resources in over 30 states. It presents a good opportunity to reinforce your message of continued cooperation and bipartisanship to protect the environment in your second term.



Office of
The Ambassador

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11/11/96

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



Office of the Ambassador
United States Embassy to Austria
Boltzmannngasse 16, A-1091 Vienna, Austria
Tel: (43-1) 31339 2414 Fax: (43-1) 3177826

Rev

*rec'd
7:45pm
11-11-96*

*through Secy on
11/11/96
Pres. 1. cc: [unclear]
Bob Kosh
Leon Sanchez*

TELEFAX

DATE: November 6, 1996

TO: Attention: Analee Sanchez for Nancy Henreich
Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Oval Office
Operations
The White House

FROM: Ambassador Swanee Hunt *SH*

Please deliver the attached letters for the President to Nancy Henreich as soon as possible. Many thanks for your assistance this morning.

*Learn / Enstein
This sounds like
Strom is visiting them,
to May - Not right - the
we may want her to -*



Office of
The Ambassador

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Vienna, Austria

November 6, 1996

*rec'd 7:45pm
11-6-96*

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

Dear Mr. President,

Bravo!

I'll be in D.C. (to speak at Georgetown), arriving Saturday mid-day. If I can be of any help to you, for a perspective from the other side of the Atlantic or in any other way, please give a call.

My very best,


Swanee

Embassy Vienna (Wednesday-Thursday): 43-1-313-39-2432
New York (Friday night): 212-462-2048
Washington (Saturday-Monday): Peggy Cooper Cafritz home:
202-244-1966



Office of
The Ambassador

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Vienna, Austria

November 6, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President,

Congratulations on your stunning victory. What an accomplishment!

Strobe called a few days ago to ask about my future plans, saying conversations are now underway about foreign service posts. I now feel compelled to write you directly, even though you are in the midst of a flood of competing concerns.

The most important message I have for you is my immense gratitude for the opportunity to represent you these past three years in Vienna. I have taken great satisfaction in applying values you and I share to bilateral situations that have arisen in Austria, giving special attention to the role of intelligence and law enforcement in stemming the epidemic of international crime. In addition, I have nurtured a very close and effective relationship with Austrian political and economic leaders. And I've particularly enjoyed developing a public affairs strategy that has resulted in a high and positive public profile for our activities. Management also has been a significant part of my job; Vienna is a regional support base, with 500 employees and twelve government agencies represented.

I've made about 25 trips throughout the post communist states, addressing groups (including a full session of the Ukrainian Parliament) about the role of women in democracy. In addition, I've personally sponsored a series of intense four-day leadership development and conflict resolution seminars in our Viennese residence -- for women leaders from Eastern Europe and the war-torn Balkans.

Finally, as you know, a significant portion of my time has been spent on the stabilization of Bosnia since hosting the negotiations between the Croats and Bosnian government in our embassy in March of 1994. As a result, I have close relationships with a number of Balkan leaders, and report regularly on our conversations.

But the bulk of my work in the former Yugoslavia has been encouraging women to cross ethnic and political lines to secure the peace. Those philanthropic efforts have been political, humanitarian, and economic. On July 11th, I organized a commemoration of the fall of Srebrenica with 6,000 mourning widows, now refugees in Tuzla. Queen Noor of Jordan, E.U. Commissioner Bonino,

and I conveyed both moral support and concrete help to the refugees, joined by another 400 world leaders (presidents, prime ministers, etc.). Around this time, you announced the Bosnian Women's Initiative (which I helped design) with \$5 million for economic development.

I mention all this to give you some sense of my range of activities. If I were offered the chance to continue this work from Vienna, I would be grateful.

However, with three years experience managing a mid-sized embassy, I'm convinced I could serve you successfully in a post with greater responsibility. Specifically, I would welcome the opportunity to represent you as ambassador to London.

In addition to reinforcing all elements of the political and economic work inherent in that "special relationship," I would commit myself to helping end the conflict in Northern Ireland, working alongside your ambassador in Dublin. My work in Bosnia has convinced me that our embassies need to play an assertive role supporting forces for peace. From Vienna, we have launched half a dozen initiatives -- some quietly, some publicly -- that have strengthened the hand of peacemakers in the Balkans. That same model could be replicated from London, finding the voices of peace and in various ways undergirding their work.

Mr. President, your confidence in women to succeed in key positions has set a new tone globally; your appointing me to London would augment that message. Many aspects of the work I've done up until now could continue -- particularly increasing the East-West dialogue among women leaders (including the vital trans-Atlantic link).

In the event you nominate me for this new assignment, I am confident I would have strong support in Congress on both sides of the aisle.

As I write, I am filled with excitement and pride about the accomplishments of your first term. You have steered our country well. I feel deeply privileged to be a part of your team.

As always, Mr. President, I send my warmest affection.

Sincerely,



Swance

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 8, 1996

'96 NOV 8 PM7:19

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANNE HAWLEY *AH*
LUCIE NAPHIN *LN*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-11-96

SUBJECT:

HAWAII

Location

We need to know where you would like to stay in Hawaii. All of the arrangements have been made for you and the First Lady to stay at Bellows Air Force Base on the island of Oahu. Although it can be done, a change in itinerary at this point to the island of Kauai would be costly as well as logistically difficult for WHCA and the press corps. Furthermore, Governor Waihee does not personally know the owner of the home on Kauai and cannot fully vouch for her. You can however, go to Kauai as a day trip. The First Lady said that this decision is entirely yours.

Departure Time

You are scheduled to depart for Hawaii on Friday morning following a mandatory foreign policy meeting. Your schedule is as follows:

9:00 am	Briefing
9:15 am	Foreign Policy Meeting
10:15 am	
10:30 am	Depart White House via Marine One
11:00 am	Wheels up AAFB
4:00 pm	Wheels down Honolulu, HI

YES

NO

DISCUSS