

~~Chron~~

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-24-97

September 23, 1997

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MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT *SS*
SUBJECT: SCHEDULING DECISIONS
CC: JOHN PODESTA & SYLVIA MATHEWS

ACCEPT

Date of Event:

Description of Event:

10/6/97

White House Dinner for Israeli President Ezer Weizman
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

10/7/97

Meeting with Israeli President Ezer Weizman
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

10/22/97

White House Volunteer Appreciation Event
Staff Contact: James Dorskind

10/22/97

Meeting with His All Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch
Bartholomew I
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger, Maria Echaveste

10/27/97

White House Event with Men's and Women's NCAA Basketball
Champions
Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste

**This event will recognize the University of Arizona Men's and
the University of Tennessee's Women's basketball teams.
Please note the teams requested a fall date.**

10/27/97

Photo-Op with the 1996 President's Committee on Employment of
People with Disabilities President's Award Winner
Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste

10/31/97

The STARBRIGHT World National Launch Overview
Children's National Medical Center, Washington, D.C.
Staff Contact: Rahm Emanuel

STARBRIGHT World, an online computer network, provides space in which seriously ill children can meet, play and verbally communicate with other children from across the country. This event will mark the official, nationwide launch of the STARBRIGHT World. It will include a demonstration with the children at Children's National Medical Center and other children in STARBRIGHT hospitals and homes across the country. Steven Spielberg and Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf will also participate in the event.

Oct. TBD

Event Commemorating National Breast Cancer Awareness Month
Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste, Audrey Tayse Haynes, Melanne Verveer

11/8/97

National Dinner of the Human Rights Campaign
Grand Hyatt Hotel, Washington, D.C.
Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste, Craig Smith

Nov./Dec. TBD

White House Screening of "Amistad", Directed by Steven Spielberg and Produced by Dreamworks
Staff Contact: Craig Smith

OPTION:

Date of Event:

Description of Event:

9/30/97

Drop-by Meeting with the Interagency Committee on Women's Business Enterprise (IACWBE) and the National Women's Business Council (NWBC)
Staff Contact: Janet Yellen

PENDING

Date of Event:

Description of Event:

9/26/97

Let's see
the faces -
how many
is it?

Drop-by the Rebuild America Coalition Conference Chaired by
Houston Mayor Bob Lanier
Houston, TX
Staff Contact: Craig Smith

The Rebuild America Coalition Leadership Summit will be taking place September 25-26 in Houston, TX . Craig Smith and other senior staff think that it is not necessary for you to drop-by this conference. There are also some complicated logistics involved. Craig recommends that Sec. Slater attend as a surrogate, and the Secretary has agreed to do so.

10/1/97

OK

Bipartisan Congressional Leadership Meeting on Tobacco
Settlement
The White House
Staff Contact: John Hilley

10/21/97

Unit that
helped the
conference
is it - too soon

Speech Announcing the United States' Policy Position on Climate
Change
Washington, D.C., Site TBD
Staff Contact: Todd Stern

Oct. TBD

Meeting with New Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman, General Hugh
Shelton
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

The purpose of this meeting is to have an informal discussion on a range of military and foreign policy priorities.

is - soon

REGRET

Date of Event:

Description of Event:

9/29/97

*See Rahm
a guy*

Meeting with Shirley Hufstedler, Chair of the U.S. Commission on Immigration

Staff Contact: Bruce Reed, Rahm Emanuel

The purpose of this meeting would be to brief you on the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform Report to be released on Sept. 30. You will be participating in the National Medals of Arts & Humanities Ceremony and Dinner, as well as the Ron Brown Memorial Golf Tournament on Sept. 29. DPC is pursuing a meeting with Hufstedler and Erskine Bowles, and you will be briefed by staff or on paper about this report.

Sept./Oct. TBD

Photo-Op with Winning Teams of the 1997 FIRST Competition

Staff Contact: Jack Gibbons

FIRST (For Inspiration and Recognition of Science and Technology), founded in 1991 to provide a new way to maintain kids' interest in science and technology, teams high school students with experienced industry and academic engineers. This proposal has been forwarded to the Vice President's office for consideration.

10/7/97

America Goes Back to School Kick-Off

Boston, MA

Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall Jr.

You are currently scheduled to be in Washington, D.C. on this day to participate in a meeting with Israeli President Ezer Weizman, as well as a Fast Track event at the White House.

10/9/97

*With
Covey Dwyer*

National Association of Police Organizations (NAPO) 1997

Annual Top Cops Awards Dinner

Omni Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C.

Staff Contact: Bruce Reed, Rahm Emanuel

The "Top Cop" Award Winners will be brought in for a photo-op in the Oval Office on this day. You are scheduled to attend 2 DNC dinners this evening.

10/21/97

OK

Attend Luncheon to Receive 1997 Pink Ribbon Award from Self Magazine
New York, NY
Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste

This is your first day back in the office after the South America trip. You will be participating in an event commemorating Breast Cancer Awareness month sometime in October. Mrs. Clinton is currently scheduled to tape a video message to be shown at this event.

10/27/97 - 10/28/97

*too bad
good thing
showing to country
good venue to meet
judges with -*

International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) 104th Annual Conference
Orlando, FL
Staff Contact: Bruce Reed, Rahm Emanuel, Maria Echaveste

Attorney General Reno and Director Freeh will both be participating in this conference.

Oct. TBD

Present the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) Florence Nightingale Medal
Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste

This proposal has been forwarded to the First Lady and Mrs. Gore for consideration.

Oct. TBD

agreed

Domestic Violence Awareness Month Event
Staff Contact: Bruce Reed

The Communications team recommended the Vice President participate in an event commemorating October as Domestic Violence Awareness month this year.

11/8/97

*agreed -
I should write
+ travel with Jay
I'd love to come but
have to be in D.C.
(should sign com)*

Breeders' Cup XIV
Hollywood Park, Inglewood, CA
Staff Contact: NONE (Invitation sent directly to Scheduling Office)

R.D. Hubbard, Chairman of Hollywood Park, has invited you to attend Breeders' Cup XIV. You are currently scheduled to be in Washington, D.C. on this day, and to attend the Human Rights Campaign dinner that evening.

Sandy - This is great - you should do a one-page w/ all the positive developments in bullets 1, 2, 3 & let's get it to Congress along w/ this speech soon - maybe with a cover letter from me also to the Board, Columnists, etc -

9/23/97 12:00 p.m.

SAMUEL R. BERGER
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C.
SEPTEMBER 23, 1997

THE ROAD FORWARD IN BOSNIA

Leo O'Donovan

[Thank you Bob for those kind words. ~~Given the subject of my speech today, it's particularly fitting to be introduced by someone who worked with dedication and distinction to advance America's interest in a lasting peace in Bosnia. I'm also delighted to have this opportunity to speak at a university whose connection with American foreign policy has been so deep. President Clinton, of course, was an undergrad here, and Secretary Albright taught here, as my predecessor, Tony Lake does now. I went to university in upstate New York, and so far, my strongest ties to Georgetown have been with the basketball seats I've been lucky to have from time to time. I hope this speech is only the beginning of a closer tie, because clearly, an association with Georgetown is the right career move.]~~

I want to speak to you today about where we've come on the road to a durable peace in Bosnia and where we are headed – the progress we've made and the challenges we face.

After a conflict as profound and bitter as the one in Bosnia, it is easy to write that nation off as cursed by history, held in the thrall of age-old hatreds. The columns of refugees, the emaciated prisoners, the bloody market places... those memories remain vivid and they are a powerful invitation to doubt and fear. Some say that Bosnia can never escape the conflicts of its past. But while we must be informed by the past, we also must not be imprisoned by it – we

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it to obscure the present or pre-ordain the future. As we assess the prospects for Bosnia, we must adopt a realism that is self-correcting, not a pessimism that is self-defeating.

The United States today has a deep and abiding interest in peace and stability in Bosnia, just as it did two years ago – when America's leadership, militarily through NATO and diplomatically through the Dayton negotiations, ended the fighting.

When we discuss where we are in Bosnia, we must start with where we began. Less than two years ago, when the talks opened in Dayton, Bosnia was a nation torn and shattered by the worst conflict in Europe since World War II. Opposing armies faced one another in a country scarred by trenches and sown with landmines. Bosnia had been literally decimated: More than one in ten of its people – 560,000 – had been killed or wounded. Half of those who survived – 2.1 million people – had been driven from their homes. Eight out of ten Bosnians relied on the UN for food. Nine in ten were unemployed. Under American leadership, a fragile cease-fire had been put in place, but the flames of extreme nationalism and ethnic hatred still burned white hot.

In conditions so desperate, no nation could revive by itself and move toward a peaceful reconciliation. At the time of Dayton, there was a compelling case for American engagement in Bosnia on humanitarian grounds alone. Without support from the United States and the international community, Bosnia almost certainly would have sunk back into violence and despair.

But our interest was not just humanitarian. Under these conditions, Bosnia also would have remained a source of dangerous instability in Europe. We have learned from hard experience in this bloody century that America's security and Europe's stability are intimately linked. With no firewalls against ethnic hatred, the Bosnian war could easily have spread to such flashpoints as Kosovo, Albania and Macedonia...and endangered several of Europe's new democracies. A broader conflict would have threatened the vital interests of Greece and Turkey – two of our closest allies and core members of NATO.

Indeed, a larger conflict would have cast doubt on the viability of the Alliance itself. Allowing nationalist aggressors to dismember Bosnia in the middle of Europe would have undermined the prospects for building a new Europe that is democratic, undivided and at peace – a Europe that can strengthen America's own security in the 21st century. If peace had not taken hold, the United States could not have stood aside as the UN's humanitarian peacekeeping effort collapsed...and Southeastern Europe once again slid toward war.

That's why we and our partners, under President Clinton's leadership, committed ourselves not just to contain the conflict but to help the people of Bosnia build a real peace. We and the international community joined together with the parties at Dayton to achieve three goals: To secure the ceasefire and reduce the chance of renewed fighting....to help the parties form a single nation balancing overarching unity with autonomy for the two entities...*and* to help provide them with an opportunity to build a lasting peace.

Dayton put in motion a military and political effort of extraordinary scope and complexity. The NATO-led IFOR took responsibility for separating the opposing forces, supervising the exchange of territory, enforcing the cease-fire, demobilizing armies, overseeing placement of heavy weapons in storage sites and creating the secure environment essential for beginning political and economic recovery. It carried out its mandate with great skill and determination. The successor force, SFOR maintains that standard today, preserving the stability necessary for the Dayton process to move forward day by day. In these missions, NATO has successfully taken on the greatest challenge it has faced since the end of the Cold War – and working with soldiers from Russia, Ukraine and most of our other European partners – has demonstrated NATO's indispensable role in assuring Europe's future security.

Alongside the military effort, the international community also launched a mission of civilian implementation – to help former enemies take the needed steps to make peace self-sustaining. We knew that the Bosnian people needed help to repair and rebuild – not just their houses and factories but their confidence and tolerance. As President Clinton said, the Bosnian people “must find a way, [with God's grace,] to lay down the hatreds, to give up the revenge, to go forward together.” We believed this was possible because this century, for all its bloodshed, has shown that hatred is not transmitted from one generation to another through iron laws of genetics or culture. ~~In Bosnia, as in other countries – including our own – that have suffered racism and ethnic division, passions have been nurtured and manipulated by leaders seeking their own selfish goals.~~ Hatreds can be aroused by cynical leaders, but people can lift themselves out of hatred with hope of a better future.

To that end, the goals we and the international community set out to achieve, and to which the parties committed themselves, include the following, all part of Dayton:

- Establishing a stable military balance that can help prevent renewed fighting
- Reform of police forces
- Strengthening democratic institutions and the rule of law
- Enabling refugees to return in safety
- Re-establishing freedom of movement throughout the country
- Strengthening economic reconstruction
- Helping bring war criminals to justice.

From the beginning, this was an ambitious agenda, and it was clear that it would require an unprecedented civilian effort extending over several years. Last week, that terrible helicopter crash in Bosnia, which claimed the lives of five American civilians and seven others involved in these efforts, reminded us of the dedication of those who have undertaken this work – and of the costs, the risks and the sacrifice they bear.

Less than two years after Dayton – and after so much devastation – the job is far from done. We are not as far as we would like to be. But given the complexity of the challenge, that is hardly surprising. Bosnia still stands on a tightrope, inching toward a better future but still not past the point of danger. The large majority of refugees remain unable to return home. The Republika Srpska is in the grip of an intense struggle not only for power but for its future of that entity and its relationship to the whole. Prominent indicted war criminals – most notably Radovan Karadzic

and Ratko Mladic – remain at large. Much of the media is not yet independent, and some of it spews the ultra-nationalist invective that helped light the fuse of war seven years ago. Progress is painfully slow on many fronts, including economic reconstruction.

So is it worth the effort? Is it worth spending scarce resources, putting our troops at risk and losing some of our most dedicated diplomats and civil servants to achieve a unified, peaceful Bosnia...restore basic freedoms...put a broken economy back on its feet?

Some argue that the record shows that we set our sights too high at Dayton – that only an ethnic partition will produce the stability we want and extricate us from Bosnia.

I believe the partition defeatists ^{are wrong} because accepting partition means ratifying the worst ethnic cleansing in Europe in more than half a century. We should not give up on justice and reward aggression.

Partition also would be wrong because it would send the message to ethnic fanatics everywhere that the international community will allow the redrawing of borders by force. By creating the kind of ethnically pure states that often harbor a dangerous sense of grievance – entities that would be inherently unstable...ultimately, not viable...and inclined to expansionist aggression. Partition would lead not to peace but toward war. In short, to advocate partition is to accept defeat.

Just as importantly, there is mounting evidence that these critics are wrong on the facts...and that the choices made at Dayton are producing real, positive change in Bosnia. Dayton has kept the guns silent and Bosnia intact, as the work of rebuilding – uneven as it is – moves forward.

USIA polling shows that substantial majorities of Bosnian Muslims, Croats and Serbs believe that conditions are being created for a lasting peace. And for most of the people of Bosnia – especially those in the Federation – life is genuinely, if slowly, improving. This isn't the story we usually hear and read, but peace is beginning to take root. The gains are not irreversible – and locking them in will require that the international community stay engaged in Bosnia in some fashion for a good while to come. But by almost any measure, life is better for the people of Bosnia today than it was two years ago.

Look through the eyes of a Bosnian child and see why. Imagine for a moment what it is like to be a 15-year old girl in one of Bosnia's cities or towns. She lived nearly half of her life in the deadly grip of war. Today, instead of huddling in a cold, muddy basement to escape the incessant shelling, she regularly attends school. Hundreds of schools that were damaged or destroyed by war have been rebuilt with the help of international donors, who have spent more than \$1 billion of the \$3.2 billion that has been pledged for civilian reconstruction, including \$524 million from the United States. After class, she spends her time with friends instead of endless hours lugging home jugs of water – as she did during the war – because in most places the reconstruction effort has restored water.

Perhaps she lives in one of the 24,000 housing units repaired just last year alone with the help of
the international community. Undoubtedly, for the first time in seven years, she won't be afraid
of freezing in winter because heating has been restored in most of the country. She eats fruit and
vegetables, not boxed military rations dropped from NATO aircraft. She has decent clothes
because her family is earning more: Since the fighting ended, average wages in Bosnia have
quadrupled, unemployment has fallen from 90% to 50% and, from a still low level, the economy
is expected to grow 30% this year.

Above all, she has a new sense of safety: She can walk the streets knowing that the hills no
longer conceal snipers...that she won't be kidnapped or raped because of her ethnic identity
...that mortars no longer target the playgrounds.

This teenager is not alone in her newfound sense of security. Because of the work of the IFOR
and SFOR force, the warring forces have been disengaged; more than 370,000 troops actually
have returned to civilian life; further bloodshed has been prevented. Heavy weapons have been
put under international supervision, and more than 2000 of them have been destroyed. At the
same time, our Train and Equip program for the Federation's armed forces is helping create a
more stable military balance, making it less likely that anyone will gamble on renewed fighting.
And let's not forget: We made it a condition of Train and Equip that Bosnia sever all military
and intelligence ties with Iran – so a nation that exports radicalism and sponsors terrorism has
lost the important foothold in Europe that it gained when the war began in 1992.

The international community also is helping the Bosnian people restructure and reform local police forces so they protect citizens instead of intimidate them. This job is far from finished.

But the newly integrated forces in Sarajevo are for the first time since the war began standing up to local thugs and bigots and protecting the rights and safety of citizens of all ethnic groups.

These strides set the pattern for police reform in other regions.

One of Dayton's most daunting challenges was establishing freedom of movement. At that time, any citizen traveling between cities in Bosnia would have to brave a dozen or more police checkpoints, risking everything from harassment and extortion to kidnapping and violence.

Today, the checkpoints are gone, the roads are clear. Vehicles of all origins move freely on the main arteries. Where just two years ago it would have been inconceivable, now it's no longer a surprise to see Srpska license plates in Sarajevo or Federation plates on the streets of Banja Luka. And farmers, traders and families cross the Entity Boundary easily and regularly by foot, car or even public bus.

The people of Bosnia are not only more free to move about the country – generally, they simply are more free. To a greater extent than ever, Bosnians are being governed by people of their own choosing. Last year's national and regional elections, which were said by the doomsayers to be too dangerous, started Bosnia on the difficult path to democracy. Bosnia took another important step last week, when over 2 million voters, or more than 80% of those eligible – chose mayors, city councils and other municipal leaders from the more than 20,000 candidates who ran for office. And next month we expect an important assembly election to be held in Republika Srpska under international supervision.

Habits of self-government are beginning to be formed in Bosnia, and the state's national institutions have been created. The Joint Presidency, the Council of Ministers, the Supreme Court and the joint Military Commission have been established. They are not yet self-sustaining, and international pressure often is required to keep all parties cooperating. But this month, the Serb, Croat and Muslim members of the Joint Presidency overcame their differences to establish a integrated telecommunications system to help stitch the country together and speed reconstruction. And the Muslim and Serb co-chairs of the Council of Ministers – Bosnia's cabinet – who could barely be persuaded in the spring to meet jointly with U.S. officials in Washington – arranged *their own* trip to Malaysia to lobby together for investment just last month.

But the promise of peace will only be fully realized when the benefits of peace are spread among all of Bosnia's people. Today, most of the economic growth in Bosnia has occurred in the Federation. By contrast, the recalcitrance of many Serb leaders has caused Srpska to languish. They have failed to fulfill their responsibilities under Dayton, prompting international donors to withhold almost all reconstruction funds for Srpska. It does not have to be that way. But the Serb leaders in Pale have insisted on holding fast to the hatreds of the past instead of turning to the promise of the future. They have chosen a path of self-isolation. Srpska's persistent poverty will end only when its leaders fulfill their obligations and reconstruction funds can begin to flow.

The struggle now underway in Srpska is both hopeful and uncertain. It pits the diehard secessionists and ethnic cleansers in Pale – those who led the Serb people into war – against a

growing movement of Bosnian Serbs who are fed up with a government of profiteers. These Srpska residents are opposing the rampant corruption that is making paupers out of all but a few. They have seen the improvements across the border in the Federation; they want to share in the benefits of peace.

President Plavsic and many of her followers continue to espouse Serb nationalism. But unlike the old regime, they recognize that the only road forward runs through Dayton...that Srpska cannot prosper in isolation...and that there is room within the Dayton framework to fulfill their legitimate aspirations. They want to close a bloody chapter in their history and open a new one of hope and recovery.

We have not “chosen sides” in Srpska. The United States, SFOR and the international community continue to be evenhanded – evenhanded in support of Dayton.

Obviously, this means supporting those who uphold Dayton...and firmly opposing those who don't. This also means we reject the false choice of compromising between those who obstruct Dayton and those who want to cooperate. Let me be clear about what this means: It means treating Pale's paramilitary police, which are used to threaten and punish dissidents, like the non-compliant military units they are...acting swiftly and robustly if the media are used to threaten and incite...responding decisively to attempts to provoke or intimidate SFOR or to compromise the secure environment SFOR is committed to support. As General Clark, the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, recently said: “We will not be intimidated. We will not be deterred by

mobs.... We will use all the means at our disposal, including lethal means, to protect our forces and continue our mission.”

We are equally determined that those who support Dayton, wherever they live, enjoy the benefits of their choice. That is why, despite the efforts of Pale’s hardliners, we provide aid to communities in the Srpska that accept the return of refugees. We are providing Srpska police that have agreed to reform with technical support and equipment just as we have to police forces in the Federation – and in just the last two months, almost a quarter of the civil police in Srpska have joined this program. We welcome and support the growth of independent media in the Srpska, and we provide them with technical assistance and equipment so that their message can be widely heard.

There is an important struggle going today in Srpska, and it matters how it turns out – because this is turmoil for the right reasons, for change without corruption or ethnic warfare.

We must be realistic: The international community and the Bosnian people face many real challenges that will require patience and sustained effort. We are not satisfied with the rate of refugee returns. So far, only about 150,000 or 15% of those who left Bosnia during the war, have come home. That rate will only increase when stability and safety have been reestablished.

We must help the Bosnians learn about market economics. While the rest of the former communist world in Central Europe was getting a crash course in the subject in the early 90s,

Bosnia was simply crashing. Many of the habits of a command economy persist, and with a corruption that has too often undermined the reconstruction effort.

We must also redouble our efforts to defuse the powderkegs of violence in Bosnia that endanger our success. In Brcko, the slender corridor that links the two halves of Srpska and connects the Federation to Europe, tensions remains high and progress is glacial at best. The arbitration that will decide the future of this area is to occur in six months. We are making clear to both parties that failure to fulfill their obligations is unacceptable, and they will pay the price for their behavior in the final decision.

So what verdict can we draw from our experience in Bosnia thus far? After two years, the picture is mixed. We see continued difficulties and recalcitrance. But we also see progress that is making a real difference in the lives of the Bosnian people and in the stability of this critical region. It's been said that the mark of genius is the ability to hold seeming opposites in one's mind at the same time. As we look at Bosnia today, some genius is called for. We must keep our eyes on both sides of the picture – and we must not forget the important interests that led us, not merely to look at, but to work for a more stable, more peaceful Bosnia.

In June, 1998, SFOR's mission will end as President Clinton has said. But the international community's engagement will continue. Whether an international security presence is part of that engagement, and what role the United States might play remains to be decided. In part, that decision will depend on where things stand as we approach the time of SFOR's departure

But one thing is clear: Just as we did when NATO acted to end the slaughter in 1995 and, with our partners, convened the negotiations in Dayton, the United States has an important interest in the establishment of a lasting peace in Bosnia. The best way to advance that interest is through the framework agreed upon in those negotiations. That's why America has a significant and continuing stake in Dayton's success.

If Dayton fails, Bosnia will almost certainly slide back into conflict...potentially leading to a wider war in Southeastern Europe. It would undermine NATO's credibility at a critical moment when the Alliance is preparing for new members and new missions. This would throw into question America's leadership in Europe – with grave consequences for our people and other freedom-loving people around the world.

Dayton can succeed. And it will – if Bosnia's leaders take responsibility for their country's future and lead their people to build the peace they deserve...if the international community does not lose patience or determination...and if we all look at Bosnia clearly – not through a rose-colored glasses but also not through a glass darkly.

###

Sandy - This is great - you moved to a one-page w/ all the positive developments in bullets 1, 2, 3
+ Let's get it to Congress along w/ this speech soon -

9/23/97 12:00 p.m.

SAMUEL R. BERGER

ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

SEPTEMBER 23, 1997

THE ROAD FORWARD IN BOSNIA

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After a conflict as profound and bitter as the one in Bosnia, it is easy to write that nation off as cursed by history, held in the thrall of age-old hatreds. The columns of refugees, the emaciated prisoners, the bloody market places . . . those memories remain vivid and they are a powerful invitation to doubt and fear. Some say that Bosnia can never escape the conflicts of its past. But while we must be informed by the past, we also must not be imprisoned by it - we can not allow

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When we discuss where we are in Bosnia, we must start with where we began. Less than two years ago, when the talks opened in Dayton, Bosnia was a nation torn and shattered by the worst conflict in Europe since World War II. Opposing armies faced one another in a country scarred by trenches and sown with landmines. Bosnia had been literally decimated: More than one in ten of its people – 560,000 – had been killed or wounded. Half of those who survived – 2.1 million people – had been driven from their homes. Eight out of ten Bosnians relied on the UN for food. Nine in ten were unemployed. Under American leadership, a fragile cease-fire had been put in place, but the flames of extreme nationalism and ethnic hatred still burned white hot.

In conditions so desperate, no nation could revive by itself and move toward a peaceful reconciliation. At the time of Dayton, there was a compelling case for American engagement in Bosnia on humanitarian grounds alone. Without support from the United States and the international community, Bosnia almost certainly would have sunk back into violence and despair.

But our interest was not just humanitarian. Under these conditions, Bosnia also would have remained a source of dangerous instability in Europe. We have learned from hard experience in this bloody century that America's security and Europe's stability are intimately linked. With no firewalls against ethnic hatred, the Bosnian war could easily have spread to such flashpoints as Kosovo, Albania and Macedonia...and endangered several of Europe's new democracies. A broader conflict would have threatened the vital interests of Greece and Turkey – two of our closest allies and core members of NATO.

Indeed, a larger conflict would have cast doubt on the viability of the Alliance itself. Allowing nationalist aggressors to dismember Bosnia in the middle of Europe would have undermined the prospects for building a new Europe that is democratic, undivided and at peace – a Europe that can strengthen America's own security in the 21st century. If peace had not taken hold, the United States could not have stood aside as the UN's humanitarian peacekeeping effort collapsed...and Southeastern Europe once again slid toward war.

That's why we and our partners, under President Clinton's leadership, committed ourselves not just to contain the conflict but to help the people of Bosnia build a real peace. We and the international community joined together with the parties at Dayton to achieve three goals: To secure the ceasefire and reduce the chance of renewed fighting....to help the parties form a single nation balancing overarching unity with autonomy for the two entities...*and* to help provide them with an opportunity to build a lasting peace.

Dayton put in motion a military and political effort of extraordinary scope and complexity. The NATO-led IFOR took responsibility for separating the opposing forces, supervising the exchange of territory, enforcing the cease-fire, demobilizing armies, overseeing placement of heavy weapons in storage sites and creating the secure environment essential for beginning political and economic recovery. It carried out its mandate with great skill and determination. The successor force, SFOR maintains that standard today, preserving the stability necessary for the Dayton process to move forward day by day. In these missions, NATO has successfully taken on the greatest challenge it has faced since the end of the Cold War – and working with soldiers from Russia, Ukraine and most of our other European partners – has demonstrated NATO's indispensable role in assuring Europe's future security.

Alongside the military effort, the international community also launched a mission of civilian implementation – to help former enemies take the needed steps to make peace self-sustaining. We knew that the Bosnian people needed help to repair and rebuild – not just their houses and factories but their confidence and tolerance. As President Clinton said, the Bosnian people “must find a way, [with God's grace,] to lay down the hatreds, to give up the revenge, to go forward together.” We believed this was possible because this century, for all its bloodshed, has shown that hatred is not transmitted from one generation to another through iron laws of genetics or culture. ~~In Bosnia, as in other countries – including our own – that have suffered racism and ethnic division, passions have been nurtured and manipulated by leaders seeking their own selfish goals.~~ Hatreds can be aroused by cynical leaders, but people can lift themselves out of hatred with hope of a better future.

To that end, the goals we and the international community set out to achieve, and to which the parties committed themselves, include the following, all part of Dayton:

- Establishing a stable military balance that can help prevent renewed fighting
- Reform of police forces
- Strengthening democratic institutions and the rule of law
- Enabling refugees to return in safety
- Re-establishing freedom of movement throughout the country
- Strengthening economic reconstruction
- Helping bring war criminals to justice.

From the beginning, this was an ambitious agenda, and it was clear that it would require an unprecedented civilian effort extending over several years. Last week, that terrible helicopter crash in Bosnia, which claimed the lives of five American civilians and seven others involved in these efforts, reminded us of the dedication of those who have undertaken this work – and of the costs, the risks and the sacrifice they bear.

Less than two years after Dayton – and after so much devastation – the job is far from done. We are not as far as we would like to be. But given the complexity of the challenge, that is hardly surprising. Bosnia still stands on a tightrope, inching toward a better future but still not past the point of danger. The large majority of refugees remain unable to return home. The Republika Srpska is in the grip of an intense struggle not only for power but for its future of that entity and its relationship to the whole. Prominent indicted war criminals – most notably Radovan Karadzic

and Ratko Mladic – remain at large. Much of the media is not yet independent, and some of it spews the ultra-nationalist invective that helped light the fuse of war seven years ago. Progress is painfully slow on many fronts, including economic reconstruction.

So is it worth the effort? Is it worth spending scarce resources, putting our troops at risk and losing some of our most dedicated diplomats and civil servants to achieve a unified, peaceful Bosnia...restore basic freedoms...put a broken economy back on its feet?

Some argue that the record shows that we set our sights too high at Dayton – that only an ethnic partition will produce the stability we want and extricate us from Bosnia.

I believe the partition defeatists ^{are wrong} because accepting partition means ratifying the worst ethnic cleansing in Europe in more than half a century. We should not give up on justice and reward aggression.

Partition also would be wrong because it would send the message to ethnic fanatics everywhere that the international community will allow the redrawing of borders by force. By creating the kind of ethnically pure states that often harbor a dangerous sense of grievance – entities that would be inherently unstable...ultimately, not viable...and inclined to expansionist aggression. Partition would lead not to peace but toward war. In short, to advocate partition is to accept defeat.

Just as importantly, there is mounting evidence that these critics are wrong on the facts...and that the choices made at Dayton are producing real, positive change in Bosnia. Dayton has kept the guns silent and Bosnia intact, as the work of rebuilding – uneven as it is – moves forward.

USIA polling shows that substantial majorities of Bosnian Muslims, Croats and Serbs believe that conditions are being created for a lasting peace. And for most of the people of Bosnia – especially those in the Federation – life is genuinely, if slowly, improving. This isn't the story we usually hear and read, but peace is beginning to take root. The gains are not irreversible – and locking them in will require that the international community stay engaged in Bosnia in some fashion for a good while to come. But by almost any measure, life is better for the people of Bosnia today than it was two years ago.

Look through the eyes of a Bosnian child and see why. Imagine for a moment what it is like to be a 15-year old girl in one of Bosnia's cities or towns. She lived nearly half of her life in the deadly grip of war. Today, instead of huddling in a cold, muddy basement to escape the incessant shelling, she regularly attends school. Hundreds of schools that were damaged or destroyed by war have been rebuilt with the help of international donors, who have spent more than \$1 billion of the \$3.2 billion that has been pledged for civilian reconstruction, including \$524 million from the United States. After class, she spends her time with friends instead of endless hours lugging home jugs of water – as she did during the war – because in most places the reconstruction effort has restored water.

Perhaps she lives in one of the 24,000 housing units repaired just last year alone with the help of the international community. Undoubtedly, for the first time in seven years, she won't be afraid of freezing in winter because heating has been restored in most of the country. She eats fruit and vegetables, not boxed military rations dropped from NATO aircraft. She has decent clothes because her family is earning more: Since the fighting ended, average wages in Bosnia have quadrupled, unemployment has fallen from 90% to 50% and, from a still low level, the economy is expected to grow 30% this year.

Above all, she has a new sense of safety: She can walk the streets knowing that the hills no longer conceal snipers... that she won't be kidnapped or raped because of her ethnic identity ...that mortars no longer target the playgrounds.

This teenager is not alone in her newfound sense of security. Because of the work of the IFOR and SFOR force, the warring forces have been disengaged; more than 370,000 troops actually have returned to civilian life; further bloodshed has been prevented. Heavy weapons have been put under international supervision, and more than 2000 of them have been destroyed. At the same time, our Train and Equip program for the Federation's armed forces is helping create a more stable military balance, making it less likely that anyone will gamble on renewed fighting. And let's not forget: We made it a condition of Train and Equip that Bosnia sever all military and intelligence ties with Iran – so a nation that exports radicalism and sponsors terrorism has lost the important foothold in Europe that it gained when the war began in 1992.

The international community also is helping the Bosnian people restructure and reform local police forces so they protect citizens instead of intimidate them. This job is far from finished. But the newly integrated forces in Sarajevo are for the first time since the war began standing up to local thugs and bigots and protecting the rights and safety of citizens of all ethnic groups. These strides set the pattern for police reform in other regions.

One of Dayton's most daunting challenges was establishing freedom of movement. At that time, any citizen traveling between cities in Bosnia would have to brave a dozen or more police checkpoints, risking everything from harassment and extortion to kidnapping and violence. Today, the checkpoints are gone, the roads are clear. Vehicles of all origins move freely on the main arteries. Where just two years ago it would have been inconceivable, now it's no longer a surprise to see Srpska license plates in Sarajevo or Federation plates on the streets of Banja Luka. And farmers, traders and families cross the Entity Boundary easily and regularly by foot, car or even public bus.

The people of Bosnia are not only more free to move about the country – generally, they simply are more free. To a greater extent than ever, Bosnians are being governed by people of their own choosing. Last year's national and regional elections, which were said by the doomsayers to be too dangerous, started Bosnia on the difficult path to democracy. Bosnia took another important step last week, when over 2 million voters, or more than 80% of those eligible – chose mayors, city councils and other municipal leaders from the more than 20,000 candidates who ran for office. And next month we expect an important assembly election to be held in Republika Srpska under international supervision.

Habits of self-government are beginning to be formed in Bosnia, and the state's national institutions have been created. The Joint Presidency, the Council of Ministers, the Supreme Court and the joint Military Commission have been established. They are not yet self-sustaining, and international pressure often is required to keep all parties cooperating. But this month, the Serb, Croat and Muslim members of the Joint Presidency overcame their differences to establish a integrated telecommunications system to help stitch the country together and speed reconstruction. And the Muslim and Serb co-chairs of the Council of Ministers – Bosnia's cabinet – who could barely be persuaded in the spring to meet jointly with U.S. officials in Washington – arranged *their own* trip to Malaysia to lobby together for investment just last month.

But the promise of peace will only be fully realized when the benefits of peace are spread among all of Bosnia's people. Today, most of the economic growth in Bosnia has occurred in the Federation. By contrast, the recalcitrance of many Serb leaders has caused Srpska to languish. They have failed to fulfill their responsibilities under Dayton, prompting international donors to withhold almost all reconstruction funds for Srpska. It does not have to be that way. But the Serb leaders in Pale have insisted on holding fast to the hatreds of the past instead of turning to the promise of the future. They have chosen a path of self-isolation. Srpska's persistent poverty will end only when its leaders fulfill their obligations and reconstruction funds can begin to flow.

The struggle now underway in Srpska is both hopeful and uncertain. It pits the diehard secessionists and ethnic cleansers in Pale – those who led the Serb people into war – against a

growing movement of Bosnian Serbs who are fed up with a government of profiteers. These Srpska residents are opposing the rampant corruption that is making paupers out of all but a few. They have seen the improvements across the border in the Federation; they want to share in the benefits of peace.

President Plavsic and many of her followers continue to espouse Serb nationalism. But unlike the old regime, they recognize that the only road forward runs through Dayton...that Srpska cannot prosper in isolation...and that there is room within the Dayton framework to fulfill their legitimate aspirations. They want to close a bloody chapter in their history and open a new one of hope and recovery.

We have not "chosen sides" in Srpska. The United States, SFOR and the international community continue to be evenhanded – evenhanded in support of Dayton.

Obviously, this means supporting those who uphold Dayton...and firmly opposing those who don't. This also means we reject the false choice of compromising between those who obstruct Dayton and those who want to cooperate. Let me be clear about what this means: It means treating Pale's paramilitary police, which are used to threaten and punish dissidents, like the non-compliant military units they are...acting swiftly and robustly if the media are used to threaten and incite...responding decisively to attempts to provoke or intimidate SFOR or to compromise the secure environment SFOR is committed to support. As General Clark, the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, recently said: "We will not be intimidated. We will not be deterred by

mobs.... We will use all the means at our disposal, including lethal means, to protect our forces and continue our mission.”

We are equally determined that those who support Dayton, wherever they live, enjoy the benefits of their choice. That is why, despite the efforts of Pale’s hardliners, we provide aid to communities in the Srpska that accept the return of refugees. We are providing Srpska police that have agreed to reform with technical support and equipment just as we have to police forces in the Federation – and in just the last two months, almost a quarter of the civil police in Srpska have joined this program. We welcome and support the growth of independent media in the Srpska, and we provide them with technical assistance and equipment so that their message can be widely heard.

There is an important struggle going today in Srpska, and it matters how it turns out – because this is turmoil for the right reasons, for change without corruption or ethnic warfare.

We must be realistic: The international community and the Bosnian people face many real challenges that will require patience and sustained effort. We are not satisfied with the rate of refugee returns. So far, only about 150,000 or 15% of those who left Bosnia during the war, have come home. That rate will only increase when stability and safety have been reestablished.

We must help the Bosnians learn about market economics. While the rest of the former communist world in Central Europe was getting a crash course in the subject in the early 90s,

Bosnia was simply crashing. Many of the habits of a command economy persist, and with a corruption that has too often undermined the reconstruction effort.

We must also redouble our efforts to defuse the powderkegs of violence in Bosnia that endanger our success. In Brcko, the slender corridor that links the two halves of Srpska and connects the Federation to Europe, tensions remains high and progress is glacial at best. The arbitration that will decide the future of this area is to occur in six months. We are making clear to both parties that failure to fulfill their obligations is unacceptable, and they will pay the price for their behavior in the final decision.

So what verdict can we draw from our experience in Bosnia thus far? After two years, the picture is mixed. We see continued difficulties and recalcitrance. But we also see progress that is making a real difference in the lives of the Bosnian people and in the stability of this critical region. It's been said that the mark of genius is the ability to hold seeming opposites in one's mind at the same time. As we look at Bosnia today, some genius is called for. We must keep our eyes on both sides of the picture – and we must not forget the important interests that led us, not merely to look at, but to work for a more stable, more peaceful Bosnia.

In June, 1998, SFOR's mission will end as President Clinton has said. But the international community's engagement will continue. Whether an international security presence is part of that engagement, and what role the United States might play remains to be decided. In part, that decision will depend on where things stand as we approach the time of SFOR's departure

But one thing is clear: Just as we did when NATO acted to end the slaughter in 1995 and, with our partners, convened the negotiations in Dayton, the United States has an important interest in the establishment of a lasting peace in Bosnia. The best way to advance that interest is through the framework agreed upon in those negotiations. That's why America has a significant and continuing stake in Dayton's success.

If Dayton fails, Bosnia will almost certainly slide back into conflict...potentially leading to a wider war in Southeastern Europe. It would undermine NATO's credibility at a critical moment when the Alliance is preparing for new members and new missions. This would throw into question America's leadership in Europe – with grave consequences for our people and other freedom-loving people around the world.

Dayton can succeed. And it will – if Bosnia's leaders take responsibility for their country's future and lead their people to build the peace they deserve...if the international community does not lose patience or determination...and if we all look at Bosnia clearly – not through a rose-colored glasses but also not through a glass darkly.

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the labor movement in fighting for equal opportunity.
(Applause.)

It was for that reason and for her own merit that I appointed your Executive Vice President, Linda Chavez Thompson, a member of my Race Advisory Commission. (Applause.) She has seen discrimination firsthand. She knows discrimination is not a thing of the past, but she is determined to see that it has no place in our future. I am grateful for her help, and I ask you for yours.

A century ago the working men and women of labor imagined an America where older people had health security, where African Americans enjoyed equal protection under the law, where working people had the right to organize and fight for a better life. Because they imagined it and because they worked for it, it's the America we're living in today.

Now it is up to us to imagine the America of the 21st century. And on every issue I discussed today, that is all I ask you to do. Imagine it, based on what we now know. Imagine an America in which every child has a world-class education; in which every family can fairly balance the demands of work and child-rearing; in which we lift living standards here and around the world; in which we learn to grow our economy and preserve the common environment which is our home; in which our oldest values of opportunity, responsibility and community guide us into a new time of greatest opportunity.

As American working men and women have shown time and time again, if we imagine it and we work at it, we will build it -- an America for our children, always eager for tomorrow. You have brought new energy to the labor movement. You have brought new energy to America. Let us work to build that into a future we can be proud of.

Thank you, and God bless you. (Applause.)

END

11:04 A.M. EDT

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RESIDENT 45 102
9-24-97

1997 SEP 23 PM 5:43

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 23, 1997

Give it's off - this won't
will to engage public, &
summit to capture this
momentum
ENAT
DW

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANN LEWIS, SYLVIA MATHEWS, AND JUDITH WINSTON

SUBJECT: SEPTEMBER 30 RACE ADVISORY BOARD MEETING

PURPOSE

This memorandum provides an overview of the September 30 meeting with your Advisory Board on Race and our proposal for your participation in the meeting.

OVERVIEW

On September 30, 1997, your Advisory Board on Race will convene its second meeting of the full Board. You will participate for about one hour in this meeting. The meeting will be open to the public, and the press will be in attendance. We have several objectives for the meeting:

Advisory Board Engagement: We would like to ensure that the Advisory Board is engaged and has an opportunity to advise you. By engaging each of the Board members personally at this early stage, you will be able to help set the tone for future Board meetings and emphasize the forward-looking, inclusive nature of your Initiative.

We view the Advisory Board meeting as a real opportunity for you to get answers to questions and advice on issues that you are genuinely interested in. Also, in order to enhance the sense of continuity between the Race Initiative's activities, we suggest that your speech at Central High School be linked to your participation at the Advisory Board meeting. At Central High, you will highlight the fact that we are united by a set of common ideals. After your speech, six of the seven Board members will participate in discussions on these issues at events sponsored by the National Conference on September 26 and 27. We have asked the Board members to focus on these common ideals with participants in their discussions. Accordingly, your discussion with them at the meeting will include the input they receive.

Specifically, we propose that you raise the following issues with the Board members:

What does it mean to be an American? What values do you think Americans cherish most? Based on your experience, what evidence have you seen in the Nation that reflects those values?

The strength of diversity. How does our diversity strengthen and empower us, particularly in different contexts, such as education, law enforcement, international trade, productivity and employment?

It is our hope that the Board members would also present their views to you on these and other issues that you may raise.

Initiative Movement: The Advisory Board meeting presents an opportunity to enhance the forward momentum of the Race Initiative. As part of the study dimension of the Initiative, the Board will receive presentations on the demographic statistics pertaining to race. In an effort to promote more meaningful and productive dialogue, the Advisory Board will also hear reports from experts on how to talk about our attitudes and confront our prejudices related to race.

Leadership Recruitment. We hope that there will be a presentation by Bob Thomas on efforts to encourage corporate CEOs to take a leadership role in engaging the broader business community in our national conversation on race. This presentation will help the public understand the Board's efforts that are already underway. If there is time, you may want to solicit the other Board members' ideas on how each of them individually can help you achieve your goal of recruiting and encouraging leadership and community involvement at all levels and in all sectors, to help bridge racial divides. For example, you could ask Suzan Johnson Cook about organizing the religious community.

If you approve of this approach to the Advisory Board meeting, we will contact the Advisory Board members in advance of their participation in the National Conference events to inform them of the issues you will raise with them on September 30.

 ☒ Approve ☐ Disapprove ☐ Let's Discuss

cc: Erskine B. Bowles

September 22, 1997

Time In	Status	Name/Agency	Phone No.	Message
'97 SEP 23 PM 3:16		David Horowitz <i>CE [Signature]</i>	310-279-2291 fax 310-475-1369	said he spoke to you in Feb. About giving the Medal of Freedom to the founder of Toys for Tots. He sent all the info. To Jim Dorskind and the request has gone through the process and is now w/ the Staff Sec. Waiting for BC decision. They are planning an event in Nov. To celebrate the 50th anniv. Of Toys for Tots and to kick off the Christmas giving season and were wondering when BC might meet w/ the Staff Sec. To decide so they could incorporate this into their program. He's in the hospital and will not be able to talk Fri./Sat. And 5 days after that but we can fax him if we need to.
9/23/97				
Send to Dorskind?				
Yes ✓				
Jim - No				
IS THIS				
RE: ROBBY BROWN				
LET ME KNOW, PLEASE				
[Signature]				

Do Letter
to her

MINNESOTA

Secretary of State Joan Growe (D) announced that she will not run for reelection. She has served in that post for 23 years.

NEBRASKA

The '90 primary gubernatorial candidate Bill Hoppner (D) may enter the race to replace term-limited Gov. Ben Nelson (D). Hoppner has met with Senator Bob Kerrey (D), ex-Sen. Jim Exon (D) and Nelson. Nelson defeated Hoppner in the '90 primary by 41 votes. Other candidates include Jon Christensen (R), Auditor John Breslow (R) and Lincoln Mayor Mike Johanns (R).

Meredith
Christensen
is
running

Meredith Christensen (R) announced her exploratory committee to succeed her ex-husband and gubernatorial candidate Rep. Jon Christensen (R). Republican State Chair Chuck Sigerson said Ms. Christensen's entrance "signifies that the race is wide open." Ex-Rep. Peter Hoagland (D) said that "he and his wife are thinking about returning to Omaha." Hoagland said that many people have called to encourage him to run for the congressional seat.

NEW JERSEY

The two polls released this week contain both good and bad news for each candidate. The first poll, conducted by the *New York Times/CBS News* of 901 voters, included not only general election matchups, but Whitman's job approval on various issues. The poll demonstrates Whitman's weakness on auto insurance and property taxes.

Please coordinate
Reply -
sent to
COS
Cynthia
Bishop

Issue	Approve of Whitman's Handling	Disapprove of Whitman's Handling
Auto Insurance	17%	67%
Property Taxes	24%	53%
Funding of Public Schools	38%	38%
Environment	58%	20%
Crime	57%	20%
State's Economy	49%	36%
Welfare	47%	26%
Income Taxes	46%	36%

Obviously these numbers show some chinks in Whitman's armor, but the *New York Times* poll also has her polling shows that her job approval rating has risen recently.

Whitman Job Approval

	New York Times (9/11-14)	Ashbury Park Press (8/21-23)	Star Ledger/Eagleton (6/97)
Excellent/Good	58%	51%	51%
Fair/Poor	41%	43%	47%

Some observers believe that the improvement in Whitman's approval ratings is largely attributable to more than \$1 million spent by the state Republican party on ads it has been running for her in the last month. On September 16, the Whitman campaign also began their

The controversy over University of Texas law professor Lino Graglia's remarks continued to escalate this week at a student protest rally and a member of the university's Board of Regents called for his suspension. In the year since the federal court ruled on the Hopwood case, minority enrollment at UT's Austin campus has plummeted. On Monday, the ACLU announced its support for Graglia, saying, "efforts to silence Graglia threaten academic freedom and free speech." Revered Jesse Jackson urged 5,000 students at the rally to boycott Graglia's classes and make him "a moral and social pariah" for his remarks on race. UT Law School Dean Michael Sharlot said Tuesday he reviewed Mr. Graglia's record and found no grounds for disciplinary action against him.

C.B. Reed
sus support
for Graglia
(bush)

Dallas School Superintendent Yvonne Gonzalez submitted her resignation Tuesday night, after eight months into a term marked by racial discord, administrative shake-ups, and a cross-fire of sexual misconduct allegations. Dr. Gonzalez at the news conference denied the allegations against her. The resignation caps a series of accusations of wrongdoing by Matthew Harden Jr., the district's chief financial advisor. Almost from her arrival 17 months ago Gonzalez has been the center of controversy. She was the first Hispanic and the first woman to lead the nation's 10th largest school district. Gov. George Bush (R) said on Wednesday that he was disappointed and concerned with the Dallas school district's continuing problems.

Attorney General Dan Morales announced he is fully supportive of the administration conditions for a national tobacco settlement and that it is consistent with the Texas lawsuit to regulate tobacco as a drug and to keep it out of youths' hands. Morales declared, "this is not a money issue, it is a public health issue."

The *San Antonio Express News* reported that car dealer Tom Reed is the second Democratic candidate to enter the Democratic primary for the 14th Congressional District represented by freshman Rep. Ron Paul (R). Rural health care, small business development, and ethics reforms would be some issues he plans to tackle. Democrat Margaret Dunn, a Southwest University official has already joined the race.

Houston Mayor Bob Lanier is one of the names surfacing as a possible nominee for U.S. Ambassador to Mexico now that William Weld is no longer being considered.

This week, State Rep. Christine Hernandez (D) met with Emily's list, the National Women's Political Caucus, and the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, seeking their financial backing in the race to succeed retiring Republican Rep. Henry Gonzalez (D). Hernandez is a veteran member of the Bexar County legislative delegation and the Texas House Appropriations Committee. She is a former labor activist, has national Democratic connections, worked on campaigns of former Gov. Ann Richards (D) and as the '92 Clinton/Gore Texas Political Director. The strongest candidates in the race currently are: Hernandez, District Judge Charlie Gonzalez, and Bexar County Democratic Chairman Walter Martinez. Notably, District Judge Andy Mireles has not made a decision about the race.

She's
great

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Reed
COS



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20502

'97 SEP 19 PM5:52

OFF - PRESIDENT 4-5 DEEN
9-24-97

September 19, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN H. GIBBONS *JHG*
CC: ERSKINE BOWLES
SUBJECT: OSTP WEEKLY REPORT

*Copied
Gibbons
HRC
COS*

cc: HRC
CASSINI MISSION TO SATURN: IS IT SAFE?

In your note to me dated September 17 you asked whether space missions using nuclear thermoelectric sources, such as Cassini, are safe. A Jet Propulsion Laboratory (JPL) fact sheet that addresses the largely erroneous claims made about technology and health risks in the book by Grossman is attached, and I would be happy to discuss the issues with you further if you are interested.

I believe we have demonstrated that the type of electrical power source on board Cassini can be used safely. The Galileo mission to Jupiter, the Ulysses probe to the polar regions of Sun, the Voyager and Pioneer missions to the outer solar system, the Apollo lunar landing missions, and even the recent Mars Pathfinder mission used radioisotope thermoelectric power and heating sources, and all proceeded without jeopardizing public safety.

It is important to recognize that nuclear fission reactors are not being considered. There is a comprehensive and well-established process to review the safety for these types of missions, including an Environmental Impact Statement, a Safety Analysis Report by the Department of Energy, and an Interagency Nuclear Safety Review Panel Report (which includes safety experts from EPA, DOE, DOD, NASA, and an advisor from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission). My staff, as well as two independent, nationally recognized experts, have reviewed the safety and environmental analyses for the Cassini mission, and have briefed me extensively. At this point I am highly confident that the mission is safe in terms of radiation risks. I will provide you with my formal opinion on Dan Goldin's request for permission to launch within a few days.

GOLDIN OUTLINES REVIEW PROCESS FOR SHUTTLE-MIR OPERATIONS

NASA Administrator Dan Goldin and I met with Erskine Bowles, John Podesta, Paul Begala, and Leon Fuerth on September 17 to discuss NASA's Shuttle-Mir program. Goldin described the safety reviews he has underway to inform his decision on whether to send another U.S. astronaut to the Mir space station. He confirmed that if any one of the safety reviews raises a "red flag" in terms of safety, he will stop the launch until he is personally satisfied the problem is addressed.

Goldin also expressed his commitment to address issues raised in an interim NASA IG report on the Shuttle-Mir program as part of this decision process. The House Science Committee held a hearing on that report (September 17), and Chairman Sensenbrenner indicated he would hold additional hearings to take testimony from Lt. General Tom Stafford, who is conducting an independent review of Shuttle-Mir safety issues for NASA, and also from some of the astronauts who have been stationed on Mir.

FUNDING FOR BIOETHICS REMAINS PROBLEMATIC

As you stated in your Morgan State commencement address (5/18/97), ethical considerations must be part and parcel of our biomedical research programs. The National Bioethics Advisory Commission (NBAC) is the most tangible evidence of your commitment to that ideal, but ensuring adequate funding levels for NBAC's work is a yearly struggle. To avoid any downtime in NBAC's operations and enable them to staff up to address several critical tasks you put before them, I have asked Secretary Shalala to guarantee that NBAC will have its \$2.5 million budget in FY 1998. I will continue to try to assure that the funding burden is spread across the several agency beneficiaries of NBAC's work, but believe HHS should demonstrate clear leadership on this issue of national importance and provide the financial assurance that Chairman Shapiro needs to put his staff in place.

*agrees
re: 2 Bowles*

APPROPRIATIONS FOR CRITICAL RESEARCH PROGRAMS IN JEOPARDY

I sent letters to the Hill in the past week to try to protect two critical research and development elements of your budget request. First, the Conference on Defense Appropriations is threatening to make substantial reductions in the funding available for basic research (the 6.1 account); I urged the conferees to support your request level for the basic research on which the Nation's military capabilities depend but which also is a key component of our economic future. Secondly, I expressed my deep concerns about the low funding levels for your Next Generation Internet (NGI) initiative under consideration by the conferees on the Defense, VA-HUD, and Energy and Water appropriations bills; I stressed the fact that NGI builds the foundation for the future of U.S. communications, and any delay in starting the NGI initiative would be detrimental to national security, education, health care, and commerce in the 21st century.

*EB
Pete &
important
BK*



Cassini Mission False and True

There are people who are making incorrect statements about NASA's Cassini mission to Saturn. Some of the statements are either misinterpretations or misrepresentations of NASA and European Space Agency (ESA) documents. The purpose of this fact sheet is to address some of the technically incorrect descriptions of potential launch and reentry accidents, and unsubstantiated health impact predictions.

FALSE:

The Cassini mission could use solar power instead of RTGs.

TRUE:

- A Cassini spacecraft equipped with the highest efficiency solar cells available, or even the new high-efficiency cells under development by ESA, would make Cassini too massive for launching to Saturn. The ESA scientists who developed the high-efficiency cells have stated that their cells would not enable a solar powered Cassini mission.
- NASA's primary choice of electrical power for planetary missions has historically been solar. The Mars Observer, Viking Orbiters, and six Mariner missions to Mars all used solar-powered spacecraft.
- RTGs were developed by the Department of Energy (DOE) in response to a need for a compact, reliable source of electrical power for NASA deep space missions. RTGs are used when solar power or other technologies are not feasible.
- NASA has safely used RTGs for three decades on its Apollo, Pioneer, Viking, Voyager, Galileo, and Ulysses missions.

FALSE:

The Titan IV rocket that Cassini will be launched on has been involved in many accidents.

TRUE:

- As of December 1996, there have been 19 Titan IV launches, of which 18 have been successful.
- The single failure in August, 1993 was due to a flaw in one of the solid rocket motors (SRMs) which was induced by a post development repair procedure. This problem has been fixed.

FALSE:

When RTGs are exposed to environments similar to the Challenger accident they could fall to ground and release all of their plutonium dioxide which would then be taken up into the air and then "rain down" on people in populated areas.

TRUE:

- Since 1965, RTGs were designed, built, and tested under accident conditions to ensure the public will be safe under normal and accident situations.
- Even if an accident were to occur that somehow released plutonium dioxide from the RTGs, the potential hazard to people would still be very low.
- The potential hazard would arise from inhaling very fine particles of the plutonium dioxide. The chance of these events happening would be small because the plutonium is in a ceramic form, similar to a coffee cup or dinner plate. This safety feature minimizes the amount of plutonium that could potentially be inhaled by people and helps to keep most of the plutonium dioxide close to an accident site so that it can be safely cleaned up.



Cassini Mission False and True

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN

9-24-97

See KTR
FALSE:

Many people would die if there were a plutonium release from Cassini RTGs involved in a launch accident.

TRUE:

- Based on current analysis, if an accident released plutonium, and if people inhaled some of the fine particles from such a release, the radiation dose an individual would receive over a 50 year period would be on the order of 1 millirem. This 1 millirem is indistinguishable when compared to the dose an average person will receive (over that same 50 year period) from natural radiation sources.
- People are naturally exposed to radiation on a daily basis from our natural environment. This radiation exposure is measured in units of dose called millirem; it can be calculated for a 50 year period, to be about 15,000 millirem from natural sources such as radon, cosmic rays, the Earth, and even from naturally occurring radioactive elements in a person's body.

FALSE:

A single spacecraft failure or small misfire of the Cassini engines would result in an Earth reentry accident.

TRUE:

The probability of an inadvertent earth reentry is extremely unlikely – less than one in 1 million – even in the event of a spacecraft failure or misfire of Cassini's engines.

- A swingby accident is conceivable only if an extremely unlikely sequence of events and failures occurs.
- The vast majority of possible spacecraft failures would not alter the spacecraft's trajectory.
- A spacecraft failure or micrometeoroid impact would have to cause a change to the spacecraft's velocity of exactly the proper magnitude and direction to place it on an impacting trajectory.
- Cassini's trajectory will never be pointed directly at the Earth. Only a very small fraction of the micrometeoroid impacts or failures that could possibly change Cassini's velocity would ever place the spacecraft on an Earth-impacting trajectory.
- Additionally, if a spacecraft failure did occur, it would have to be so severe that neither automated on-board systems nor their backup systems nor flight controllers could take corrective action to place the spacecraft on a non-impacting trajectory.

FALSE:

NASA and DOE have underestimated the potential number of cancer fatalities from a hypothetical Cassini swingby accident. (This claim has been put forth by Ernest Sternglass)

TRUE:

- In fact, DOE analyses used methods consistent with practices endorsed by independent, national and international radiation protection organizations, such as the International Commission on Radiological Protection.
- In September, 1995 the Jet Propulsion Laboratory (JPL) formally asked Ernest Sternglass to document the basis for his claims about the NASA and DOE analysis. Dr. Sternglass was contacted again in May, 1996, via registered letter, and asked again to validate his claims. He has not responded to either letter.

For more information on the Cassini mission and its nuclear safety, contact Cassini Program Public Information Representative Mary Beth Murrill (818) 354-6478. Internet: Mary.B.Murrill@jpl.nasa.gov

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 19, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: THURGOOD MARSHALL, JR. TM

SUBJECT: Summary of Cabinet Weekly Reports
September 12-19, 1997

PRESIDENT WAS SEEN
9-24-97

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Entire report
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page 1
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DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY

- **Croatian and Bosnian Loans:** During the past week, State and Treasury mobilized the G-7 and other donor countries to postpone several lending projects. First, the disbursement of Croatia's next International Monetary Fund (IMF) tranche of \$40 million was delayed until October 10. Second, World Bank management agreed to postpone opening an office in Zagreb until at least October 10. These efforts at the IMF and the World Bank are part of a coordinated U.S. campaign to delay all lending by international financial institutions to Croatia until the authorities comply with the Dayton peace agreements. In addition, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development agreed to postpone consideration of a \$16 million emergency power system loan for Bosnia. Treasury and State pressed for postponement due to concerns that the loan would go to three ethnically-controlled utilities in Bosnia, including those controlled by hard line Serbs in Pale and hard line Croats in Mostar.
- **Electronic Funds Transfer (EFT) '99:** On September 16, Treasury published a proposed rule implementing EFT '99, the congressional mandate that all federal payments, except tax refunds, be made electronically by January 1, 1999. Interest in this subject has centered on the question of waivers for those individuals who would have difficulty with the EFT requirement and the role of non-depository institutions such as check cashing stores. The next challenge will be to accommodate those without current access to a bank account. Treasury is developing options for basic, low-cost accounts by 1999 and seeking bids from banks to provide these accounts.
- **NADBank:** On September 11, Treasury convened a conference call meeting of the Finance Committee of the NADBank's Community Adjustment and Investment Program (CAIP) to discuss twelve additional eligible communities. CAIP was established to assist

in the creation of job opportunities in areas experiencing difficult transition to NAI
It will provide loans or loan guarantees to businesses in these areas. The Finance
Committee will designate 47 communities in 23 states as eligible for the program.

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DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mexico Extradition: On September 11, two U.S. citizens, Jesus Ismael Alfaro-Ri and Edgar Israel Alfaro-Ruelas, were extradited to Mexico to face charges for killing Mexican police officer and critically wounding another officer in April 1997.

Minority Farmers: On August 28, three individuals filed a putative civil rights class action against the Secretary of Agriculture. Plaintiffs allege that the Farmers Home Administration and the Farm Services Agency engaged in more than a decade of racial discrimination in the administration of plaintiffs' requests for farm loans and other farm program assistance, and that USDA failed adequately to investigate.

- **AZ Interstate Stalking:** In one of the first cases charged under the Violence Against Women's Act new Interstate Stalking statute, a UT resident pled guilty to writing profane, threatening, and harassing statements to a female National Park Service employee in AZ.
- **LA Violence Against Women Act:** Because of his history of domestic violence, including solicitation of murder, a defendant was sentenced to life imprisonment after being convicted of interstate domestic violence for raping and beating his estranged wife. While awaiting sentencing in this case, the defendant hired a fellow inmate to kill his wife. The murder solicitation came to light during the sentencing hearing.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

- **Pfiesteria Outbreak:** On September 15, Senator Mikulski visited National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) facilities in Silver Spring to discuss the fish-killing microbe *Pfiesteria*, the Advanced Weather Interactive Processing System, Global Positioning System amplifications in MA and satellite activities. The Senator was briefed on NOAA's role in combating *Pfiesteria* following from a September 11 White House interagency meeting convened to coordinate the response to *Pfiesteria* in Chesapeake Bay tributaries.
- **China and Hong Kong:** In early October, Secretary Daley will visit Hong Kong, co-chair the eleventh meeting of the U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade in Beijing, and attend the first-ever China-America Telecom Summit in Dalian.
- **THAP Grants:** The National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA) expects to announce its FY 97 Telecommunications and Information Infrastructure Assistance Program (THAP) grants late in late September. THAP provides

• **THAP Grants:** The National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA) expects to announce its FY 97 Telecommunications and Information Infrastructure Assistance Program (THAP) grants late in late September. THAP provides matching grants to non-profit organizations and state and local governments to purchase equipment and software that improve public access to education, health care, public safety, and other community-based services. NTIA expects to fund 55 projects, out of 924 applications.

• **Flood Assistance:** The Economic Development Administration (EDA) has committed almost the entire \$13.2 million in EDA supplemental disaster recovery assistance allocated to ND. EDA has also committed all of the \$5 million allocated to SD, and has committed \$2.4 million of the \$8 million allocated to MN.

• **Welfare to Work:** As of September 12, DOC agencies have employed 47 individuals with two additional hires in process, exceeding the goal of hiring 45 people by September 30.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

• **Mining Safety:** On September 15, the Mine Safety and Health Administration dispatched its entire metal and nonmetal mine inspector force, a portion of its coal mine inspector force, some of its training staff, as well as part of its technical staff to the nation's 11,000 metal and nonmetal mining operations in an unprecedented two-week effort to review safety measures. The action comes in response to the increasing number of mining deaths during 1997. As of September 10, there were fifty deaths in the non-coal industry as compared with thirty-four deaths at the same time last year.

• **Farm Labor Initiative:** Secretary Herman and Secretary Glickman have agreed to establish a structured information exchange about their respective farm labor programs and resources. The first meeting will be held on September 22.

• **Welfare-to-Work:** ETA continues its effort to issue policy guidance for the new welfare-to-work formula and competitive grants to help guide implementation at the state and local levels. Consultations with the National Workforce Development System Stakeholders and interested parties will take place between September 18-25. Final guidance is expected to be issued on or before October 3.

• **OSHA Citations:** On September 25, OSHA will issue citations to Jefferson Smurfit Corporation with a total proposed penalty of \$165,000 at their Brewton, AL facility. Jefferson Smurfit Corporation is a pulp and paper mill that manufactures the outside lining of corrugated boxes. This inspection was initiated on March 27 in response to a formal complaint from a current employee who alleged that employees were exposed to frequent releases of chlorine.

- **Upcoming Data Releases:**
 - ▶ September 16 - Consumer Price Index for August 1997.
 - ▶ September 17 - U.S. Import and Export Price Indexes for September 1997.
- **NAFTA/ Fast Track:** DOL's Task Force on NAFTA Fast Track Legislation submitted to the White House its options for assisting workers who may be dislocated by the proposed fast track trade agreements.
- **AFL-CIO:** On September 23, Secretary Herman will address the Biennial AFL-CIO Constitutional Convention in Pittsburgh, PA. Deputy Secretary Higgins will also participate.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

- **NEXTEA:** On September 17, the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee unanimously approved a bill to reauthorizing the highway title of ISTEA. After meeting with House Speaker Gingrich on September 16, House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee Chairman Shuster postponed for one week the markup of BESTEA legislation, a committee-introduced ISTEA reauthorization bill.
- **Gore Aviation Safety Commission:** On September 17, pursuant to a recommendation of the White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security, DOT hosted an interagency meeting to discuss the assistance provided to the families of civilians killed on government aircraft.
- **Railroad Safety:** On September 17, FRA initiated SACP activities on the Union Pacific Railroad (UP). The purpose of SACP is to identify major system-wide safety problems on the UP through a partnership with rail labor, management and FRA inspectors. The railroad is expected to develop a Safety Action Plan to identify how it would address problems found during the SACP process.
- **Welfare to Work:**
 - ▶ The Lubbock Housing Authority and Citibus will sign a formal partnering agreement through which Citibus will hire welfare recipients. This action comes as a result of a September 9 Welfare to Work meeting chaired by FTA's Region in Lubbock, TX.
 - ▶ FTA's Denver office hosted a regional Welfare to Work Conference on September 9 in downtown Denver.
 - ▶ FTA's Philadelphia office held its Access to Jobs conference in Philadelphia, PA on September 12.

UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

- **Sea Turtles:** This week in Geneva, USTR lawyers defended the U.S. in a WTO challenge brought by India, Malaysia, Pakistan and Thailand, alleging that U.S. trade measures taken to conserve sea turtles violate GATT. The U.S. measures, required by statute, prohibit the importation of shrimp products harvested with fishing technology that may adversely affect endangered species of sea turtles. The U.S. has argued that these measures are permitted under a GATT exception that permits measures related to the conservation of natural resources.
- **Sugar Tariffs:** On September 17, Ambassador Barshefsky announced the country-by-country allocations of 1,200,000 metric tons of the raw cane sugar tariff rate quota for FY98. These allocations are based on the countries' historical trade to the U.S. Ambassador Barshefsky also announced that 25,000 metric tons of the 50,000 metric tons for refined sugar will be allocated to Mexico in order to fulfill obligations pursuant to the NAFTA.
- **Fast Track:** On September 16, Ambassador Barshefsky met with Senators Roth and Moynihan, Congressman Archer and Congressman Dreier in separate meetings. Ambassador Barshefsky also attended the Senate Caucus Luncheon and the Democratic House Caucus meeting. On September 17, Ambassador Barshefsky testified before the Senate Finance Committee on the Fast Track bill.

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

- **Angel Capital Electronic Network (ACE-Net):** On September 15, Administrator Alvarez addressed the Angel/Seed Capital Connection Conference at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. ACE-Net, created by the SBA, is an internet program to bring together potential investors and small business entrepreneurs, including women and minorities, who are looking for financing in the range of \$250,000 to \$3 million.
- **Fast Track:** SBA continues to amplify your message on Fast Track:
 - ▶ On September 12, Administrator Alvarez addressed CA small business owners and entrepreneurs from Congressman Dooley's district, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce Conference, participated in a panel discussion sponsored by the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute and addressed the Research Institute for Small and Emerging Business.
 - ▶ On October 2, the Administrator will address the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce Annual Convention in Houston, TX, and on October 3, the Puerto Rico Manufacturers Association Annual Convention.
 - ▶ The Administrator directed the SBA Regional Administrators, District Directors and SBA Senior Management Team to reach out to the small business press and media outlets regarding Fast Track.

DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR

- **Toyota Foundation Gift:** On September 23, Secretary Babbitt will accept the Toyota USA Foundation's \$1 million gift to the National Park Foundation at Euclid Middle School near Denver, CO. The gift will fund National Park Labs targeted to high schools. The program will select five parks and fund the labs on a 1:1 matching basis up to \$150,000 over three years.

Promise Keepers: On October 4, Promise Keepers will hold a religious assembly on the National Mall. NPS expects hundreds of thousands of men to attend.

Climate Change: On September 21-26, Secretary Babbitt will engage in a dialogue on climate change on university campuses throughout the country. The tour will include stops in Lewis and Clark University in Portland, OR, CA State University at Monterey Bay, University of CO at Boulder, and University of MI, Ann Arbor. The trip will include editorial board meetings with the *New York Times* and CNN.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

- **Fast Track:** On September 11, Secretary Glickman spoke to the Kansas City, MO and Des Moines, IA Chambers of Commerce. During a visit to the Kansas State Fair on September 12, the Secretary discussed fast track and climate change, in addition to a range of agricultural issues.
- **Food Safety:** On September 15, USDA began its investigation of ten slaughtering plants which supplied beef to Hudson Foods, Inc. in Columbus, NE.
- **Civil Rights Update:** As of September 8, USDA had closed 117 cases involving program discrimination and 503 cases of equal employment discrimination. At present, 878 and 1,318 cases, respectively, remain open. The third public hearing of the National Commission on Small Farms was held September 10-11 at USDA headquarters. On September 15, the fourth and final full Commission hearing will be held in Fresno, CA.
- **Child Care Assistance:** USDA's Rural Housing Service will provide over \$1 million in partnership with the Federal Housing Finance Board, Head Start, and Local Initiatives Support Corporation on five pilot projects in four states (AR, KS, MD, WI) to fund child care services in rural areas to make it easier for rural residents to make the transition from welfare to work.

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

- **Hispanic Heritage Month:** On September 17, Secretary Peña hosted the kick-off celebration for National Hispanic Heritage Month. Co-sponsored by the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, the event detailed the ongoing efforts by this Administration in realizing the aspirations, accomplishments and achievements of Hispanic Americans.
- **FBI/DOE Technology MOU:** DOE and the FBI are preparing to enter into a new relationship that will strengthen the U.S. Government's forensic and technical capability by fusing together the nation's preeminent technical community with the premier U.S. law enforcement agency.
- **CA Laboratories Contracts:** On September 16, Secretary Peña announced the newly renegotiated contract with the University of California for the management and operation of Los Alamos National Laboratory in NM and Lawrence Livermore and Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratories in CA. The new contracts are consistent with DOE's contract reform program, and the estimated value of the contract is \$12.5 billion through 2002.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

- **Family Education Network:** Secretary Riley will participate in the Family Education Network launch of its 500 new parent-school web sites.
- **Teacher Forum:** On October 6-8, DOEd will hold its annual Teacher Forum with the state Teachers of the Year.
- **National Tests:** On September 22, the American Institutes for Research and the Council for Basic Education will host the first meeting of the reading and mathematics content panels for the development of voluntary national tests.
- **Charter Schools:** On September 19, DOEd will release to members of Congress announcements of Charter School Grants.
- **School-to-Work:** On September 30, Secretary Riley and Secretary Herman will join members of Congress to announce the award of 50 new School-to-Work grants to municipalities or organizations that serve youth in high-poverty areas.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

- **Pfiesteria:** After anecdotal reports from MD watermen dating back to last fall, a significant kill of 10,000- 30,000 fish on the Pocomoke River, MD, in August was conclusively linked to *Pfiesteria piscicida*. On September 19, Governor Glendening

hosted a summit in Annapolis, MD, with other mid-Atlantic governors and Administrator Browner to discuss a coordinated response from the states. MD has closed portions of three Chesapeake Bay tributaries.

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- **Ozone Layer:** The Ninth conference of the Parties to the Montreal Protocol is being held in Montreal, Canada. This year marks the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Montreal Protocol, an international treaty phasing out the production of substances which deplete the ozone layer. A key issue for EPA is accelerating the phaseout of methyl bromide, a widely used agricultural fumigant which depletes the ozone layer. Exceptions would be permitted to allow critical agricultural uses to continue.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

- **AIDS:** On September 18, CDC's *Morbidity and Mortality Report* announced the first decline in the estimated number of people diagnosed with AIDS annually. The report shows that AIDS incidence in people over age 13 declined by 6 percent between 1995 and 1996.
- **Pfiesteria:** CDC/FDA/National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences (NIEHS) are participating with other Cabinet Agencies in ongoing meetings and conference calls on departmental activities examining the human health effects from exposure to toxins from the fish-killing micro-organism Pfiesteria. Activities include the following:
 - ▶ On September 19, HHS joined Governor Glendening and other East Coast governors in Annapolis, MD.
 - ▶ On September 25, the House Government Reform and Oversight Subcommittee on Human Resources will hold a hearing on the outbreak in the Pocomoke River in MD and its effects on human health.
- **Obesity Drugs:** On September 15, acting on new evidence about significant side effects associated with fenfluramine (brand name Pondimin) and dexfenfluramine (brand name Redux), FDA asked manufacturers to withdraw both treatments for obesity from the market, and the manufacturers have complied. The action is based on new findings that suggest the drugs are the likely cause of heart valve problems of the type that prompted FDA's two earlier warnings concerning "fen-phen," a combination of fenfluramine and phentermine.
- **Medicare Refund Checks:** Recently, duplicate Medicare Part B quarterly refund checks were issued to 6,533 beneficiaries. HCFA has set up procedures to ensure this situation does not re-occur and has sent a letter to each affected beneficiary explaining the error and requesting return of the duplicate refund.

- **NM Welfare Plan:** On September 12, HHS responded to a call for guidance from the NM legislative leadership after the state Supreme Court ruled that the welfare reform plan submitted by the governor was unconstitutional. HHS's IGA has responded to this request and is working with the White House to develop a legal and appropriate response.
- **MA Children's Hospital Infection:** On September 3, the MA Department of Public Health notified HCFA that a nine-day-old prematurely-born baby died of an infection from the bacteria *Pseudomonas aeruginosa* at Children's Hospital in Boston. The hospital reviewed cases over the past year and identified 13 involving patients who suffered from this infection, including four who died. HCFA epidemiological staff are working with the State and Children's Hospital to evaluate the situation and implement infection controls.
- **Macular Degeneration:** On September 19, *Science* will report that a group of scientists from the National Cancer Institute and the National Eye Institute have located a gene mutation which causes some cases of age-related macular degeneration (AMD). AMD is a disease that affects a person's central vision and is a common cause of vision loss among people over 60.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

- **Honest Lending Contract:** On September 17, Secretary Cuomo announced HUD's new Honest Lending Contract with consumers who were overcharged by Mortgage Brokers. This new regulation will save home buyers millions of dollars a year by asking mortgage brokers to sign binding contracts disclosing their fees up-front and revealing who they represent. The Secretary also announced a new toll-free telephone line to provide consumers with information regarding the mortgage process.
- **Interagency Coordination:** On September 11, Secretary Cuomo met with Attorney General Reno, Secretary Shalala, Secretary Glickman, Secretary Herman and Secretary Riley to discuss interagency cooperation at the local level. HUD has been working on this DOJ-led cooperation project since April of this year, reviewing all HUD support service programs to provide information based on the Attorney General's Government Building Individual Self-Sufficiency design.
- **Homeownership Partnership:** The Local Homeownership Partnership now totals 125 members with the addition of new affiliates in SC, PA and MT. The partnerships bring together a broad mix of local individuals and public, private and nonprofit organizations to promote homeownership. The Partnerships have helped push the national homeownership rate to 65.7 percent, within one-tenth of a percentage of the all-time high.

VETERANS AFFAIRS

- **Smoking-Related Disability:** VA has received a report from an external expert on potential one-year compensation costs for smoking-related disabilities and is analyzing that report with OMB. VA will provide the estimate to Congress soon after receipt.
- **POW-MIA Recognition Day:** On September 19, VA honored Americans who were prisoners of war or remain missing in action at the 19th Annual National POW-MIA Recognition Day. A POW-MIA Recognition Day has been proclaimed each year since 1979. VA has also distributed POW-MIA Recognition Day posters to all VA and DoD installations, Coast Guard and Postal Service facilities, state veterans offices, veterans groups and private organizations.
- **VA Health Care:** *NBC Nightly News* is preparing a series of reports on VA health care. NBC is working on a story about VA's Montrose and Castle Point, NY, Medical Centers, and has asked to interview VA's Director of the Veterans Integrated Service Network for the NY area about allegations regarding improper patient care at the two NY facilities. *NBC* may also work on VA-related stories in CA, VA and FL.
- **Hispanic Heritage Month:** On September 17, Secretary-Designate Guber presented opening remarks at the kick-off ceremony for VA's Hispanic Heritage Month. VA's guest speaker was OPL director Maria Echaveste.
- **Gulf War Illnesses:** On October 6, *PBS Frontline* will interview Dr. Fran Murphy and Dr. Robert Roswell on Persian Gulf War Veterans' illnesses. They have also asked to discuss issues related to DoD's selection of Dr. Robert Haley of the University of TX for a research grant outside the normal selection process. VA has referred most questions relating to that selection to DoD.

OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY

- **U.S. - Mexico Coordination:** On September 16, Director McCaffrey held a press conference regarding the Administration's report to Congress that concluded cooperation between the U.S. and Mexico offers the best hope for reducing the flow of illegal drugs across the U.S.-Mexico border.

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

- **2000 Computers:** The Committee on Government Reform and Oversight's Subcommittee on Government Management, Information and Technology issued a report card giving SSA an A-minus, the highest grade of any Federal agency, on its

progress toward addressing Year 2000 computer problems. The Subcommittee is conducting a continuing inquiry into the ability of government information technology systems to process year date fields on January 1, 2000.

OFFICE OF PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT

Hispanic Hiring Initiatives: On September 17, Acting Director Lachance joined Cabinet members who spoke at the Hispanic Heritage Month kick-off event announcing a nine-point initiative to increase the hiring of Hispanics in government.

Federal Employees' Health Premiums: After holding annual premium increases for the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program to an average of less than two percent for the past four years, OPM will announce later this month an average increase of eight percent for 1998. The program will contain a number of new benefits in 1998 and its costs compare favorably with those of private-sector health plans.

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

- **Ambassador Peterson:** USIS Hanoi organized media coverage for U.S. Ambassador Peterson's return to the site of his capture as an American flyer during the Vietnam war. The Ambassador expressed the sentiment that he was "not coming back to relive the worst day of [his] life, but to symbolize the new spirit of reconciliation between Americans and Vietnamese." USIS Hanoi's efforts helped to ensure that this message received both domestic and international media coverage.
- **South America:** In the three South American countries you will visit next month, clear majorities in urban areas have a good opinion of the U.S. and of the state of bilateral relations. These favorable views are held by three-quarters in Brazil and Venezuela and by six-in-ten in Argentina. Half in Brazil and Venezuela also have a favorable opinion of the President, but only a third do so in Argentina, while the rest in all three countries are either neutral or unable to give an opinion. On the other hand, half in Brazil, six-in-ten in Venezuela and eight-in-ten in Argentina believe that the U.S. is more inclined to "dominate" the world than to "seek to play a constructive role" on the world scene.

cc:

The Vice President
Erskine Bowles
Sylvia Mathews
John Podesta
Franklin Raines
Paul Begala
Sidney Blumenthal
Maria Echaveste
Rahm Emanuel
Jack Gibbons
John Hilley
Mickey Ibarra
Janis Kearney
Ron Klain
Ann Lewis
Mike McCurry
Katie McGinty
Bruce Reed
Craig Smith
Doug Sosnik
Gene Sperling
Melanne Verveer

J. Winston
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The day after legislation was sent to the Hill, Secretary Glickman and Peter Scher met with approximately 55 key leaders in the agriculture community to press upon them the importance of Fast Track. The agriculture leaders are very pleased with the new language and will publicly express their support, although they expressed some reservations with the labor and environmental provisions, particularly the language on sustainable development. They will not, however, go public on the issue. We know that many of the agriculture representatives will lobby hard on commodity specific issues. OPL is working on getting statements from the groups endorsing the legislation.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM WAS SEEN
9-24-97

September 19, 1997

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN HILLEY *John Hilley*
SUBJECT: WEEKLY LEGISLATIVE REPORT

House of Representatives

1. **Military Construction Appropriations Conference Report:** On Tuesday, September 17, the House passed (413--12) H.R. 2016, the FY98 Military Construction Appropriations Conference Report. The \$9.2 billion measure provides \$610 million less than current levels, but \$800 million more than the Administration's request.
2. **FY98 Labor/HHS/Education Appropriations Act:** On Wednesday, September 18, the House passed (346--80) H.R. 2264, the FY98 Labor/HHS/Education Appropriations Act. There are strong Administration objections to the bill because it funds NIH, Education for the Disadvantaged (Title I) and Special Education significantly above the President's request, while cutting Pell Grants, Goals 2000, and other programs by more than \$1 billion in total. While considering H.R. 2264, the House:
 - a. Passed (295--125) an Administration-opposed Representative Goodling amendment which prohibits the use of funds provided in the Act to be used for the development, planning or administration any national testing program in reading or mathematics;
 - b. Passed (225--195) an Administration-opposed Representative Hoekstra amendment to prohibit the use of funds in the Act to pay the expenses of an election officer appointed by a court to oversee an election of any officer or trustee for the Teamsters Union;
 - c. Passed by unanimous consent an Administration supported amendment to repeal a \$50 billion tax break for the tobacco industry included in the budget reconciliation law. The amendment is identical to language approved by the Senate last week;

- d. Withdrew a Representative Hoekstra amendment which consolidated 28 federal education programs into block grants to the states. The amendment, which was similar to, but less far reaching than the education block grant proposal that passed the Senate last week, would convert \$2.5 billion worth of programs currently run by the Department of Education, including Goals 2000, school-to-work programs, educational technology programs, and the Safe and Drug-Free School program; and
- e. Withdrew a Representative Riggs amendment which prevents the Department of Education from withholding funds from states that do not enforce affirmative action policies for admission to public educational institutions if those states have laws prohibiting affirmative action. Representative Riggs has indicated that he will bring the amendment up next year in an authorizing bill.

3. Treasury, Postal Services Appropriations Act: On Wednesday, September 17, the House passed (231--192) H.R. 2378, the Treasury, Postal Services Appropriations Act. The measure provides \$12.5 billion in new discretionary spending for the Treasury Department, the Postal Service, the White House and other agencies. This amount is \$600 million more than current levels, but \$600 million less than the Administration's request. The Administration has concerns about cuts in the IRS, restrictions on the FEC, and other issues. During consideration of the bill, the House:

a. The bill contains a 2.3% COLA increase for Congress and the Judiciary branch. The provision is likely to come under continued attack from Republican conservatives; and

b. Withdrew an amendment that would have allowed the importation of fire-arms, including M-1 carbine rifles, that the United States had given or sold at a discount since the 1950s to Cold War allies.

*What are they? - cc
Rohrer / Becerra
Pos. issues*

The Week Ahead

Next week the House is expected to consider H.R. 2160, the FY98 Agriculture Appropriations Conference Report. The House may also turn to consideration of H.R. 2267, the FY98 Commerce/Justice/State Appropriations bill. Senior advisers recommend a veto due to inadequate funding levels for the Legal Services Corporation and restrictions on the use of sampling for the decennial census. Finally, the House may turn to consideration of H.R. 2343, the Thrift Depositor Protection Oversight Board Abolishment Act. The Administration supports passage of this bill.

Senate

1. FY98 Military Construction Appropriations Conference Report: On Wednesday, September 17, the Senate passed (97--3) H.R. 2016, the FY98 Military Construction

Appropriations Bill Conference Report. The measure, the first of the thirteen annual appropriations bills to be sent to the President, allocates \$9.2 billion for military construction. This amount is \$0.8 billion above the President's request and includes approximately \$3.8 billion for family housing. The Administration supports the legislation and the measure is now cleared for your signature.

2. **FDA Reform Bill:** On Tuesday, September 16, the Senate passed (94--4) a motion to invoke cloture on S. 830, the FDA Reform Bill. The measure streamlines the FDA approval process and renews crucial fees supporting the agency. As Senator Kennedy continues to filibuster the bill, the Administration is still working to reach a compromise on the Coats device issue. HHS has given Senator Coats a proposed compromise and Senator Dodd is working with the Administration to try to get movement. Secretary Shalala has also spoken directly with Senator Coats.

3. **FY98 Interior Appropriations Bill:** On Thursday, September 18, the Senate passed (93--3) H.R. 2107, the FY98 Interior Appropriations bill, as amended. The \$13.7 billion measure is an improvement over the House reported bill, but the legislation still contains several objectionable provisions. In particular, the bill requires authorization for key land acquisitions in Montana (New World Mine) and California (Headwaters) which will significantly impede progress on these land purchases. The Administration, however, did reach satisfactory resolution of three contentious provisions: the first would have infringed on Native American sovereignty; the second would have required means testing for Native American programs; and the third would have prohibited funding for an ongoing rulemaking on hardrock mining. Still outstanding, however, is an Administration-opposed provision limiting the ability of the Forest Service to revise forest plans and another prohibiting funding for grizzly bear reintroduction into Idaho and Montana. During consideration of the bill, the Senate:

a. Defeated (23--77) an Administration-opposed Ashcroft amendment that would have eliminated all funding for the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). Senator Ashcroft's amendment was one of four amendments defeated during the week aimed at cutting funding for the NEA, leaving intact the \$100 million appropriated for the agency in the bill.

4. **Shelton Nomination:** On Tuesday, September 16, the Senate confirmed by unanimous consent the nomination of General Henry H. Shelton to be chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Week Ahead

The Senate will resume consideration of S. 830, the FDA Reform Bill. The Senate may also turn to consideration of the FY98 District of Columbia Appropriations Bill, the only remaining appropriations bill awaiting action.

cc: The Vice-President
Erskine Bowles
John Podesta
Sylvia Mathews

'97 SEP 21 PM2:18

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT WAS SEEN
9-24-97

September 19, 1997

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bruce Reed
Elena Kagan

SUBJECT: DPC Weekly Report

1. Education -- Labor-HHS-Ed Appropriations: The Labor-HHS-Ed appropriations conferees are expected to meet next week. In addition to securing adequate funding for your priorities, we are working to make sure that the final bill rejects block granting and provides the funds and authority to proceed with national testing. We believe it will be relatively easy to remove the block grant provision from the Senate bill, given the failure of a similar amendment in the House to generate support. To win on our testing initiative, we must cast the House vote on the Goodling Amendment as yet another indication of the Republican Party's indifference to improving public education. Your radio address and charter schools event on Saturday were key steps in that strategy; we are now developing additional events involving the Vice President, Secretary Riley, and others. We are also urging business leaders and opinion leaders (e.g., Checker Finn and Diane Ravitch) to help make the case for the national tests as authorized by the Senate (i.e., with NAGB as overseer). Finally, we are continuing to look for ways to reduce the opposition of the Black and Hispanic Caucuses, either through adjustments to the testing proposal or agreements on other issues, such as school construction.

2. Education -- Vouchers: The District of Columbia Appropriations bill, as passed by a House subcommittee last week, includes a provision authorizing funds for private school tuition vouchers. (The bill would provide vouchers worth \$3,500 to about 2,000 parents.) We sent a SAP to Congress last week saying that senior advisors would recommend a veto if the bill comes to you with this provision. Republican supporters of the voucher proposal may make use of a new Harvard University study of Cleveland's voucher program. The study, which received significant press attention last week, found high levels of student achievement and parental satisfaction among those receiving vouchers. The Education Department argued, in response to press inquiries, that (1) the study examined students in only two of the forty-one schools participating in Cleveland's voucher program, and (2) the Administration's basic case against voucher programs rests on the harm they do to children who do not use vouchers and remain in public schools. Later in the year, the Ohio Department of Education will release the results of a state-commissioned evaluation of the Cleveland voucher program, which will cover all participating schools. We do not know what this study will show.

3. Education -- Proposition 209 and Hopwood: A University of California Task Force charged with examining declines in minority enrollment in the wake of Proposition 209 has

recommended dropping the SAT as an admission requirement. The group based its recommendation on projections that continued use of the test would cause Hispanic enrollment to decline by as much as 70% at the system's flagship campuses, and lead to similar declines in African-American enrollment. Governor Wilson denounced the Task Force's recommendation, which probably will not be voted on until the spring. Earlier this year, Texas responded to the Hopwood decision by taking action similar to the UC Task Force's recommendation. A new law, signed by Governor Bush, requires automatic admission of students in the top 10% of their high school classes to the state university of their choice; these students need not provide any standardized test scores.

Our efforts to develop policy responding to Proposition 209 and Hopwood have focused not on changing university admissions standards (we do not think the federal government usefully can do much in this area), but on getting universities to partner with high schools and middle schools in economically deprived areas to provide mentoring and academic support. (The University of California Task Force also has recommended establishing such mentoring programs.) Our efforts in this direction seemed to us to dovetail with NEC's work on the Chaka Fattah proposal, and we are now encouraging NEC to make this partnering initiative a significant part of the revised Fattah proposal.

4. Health -- Children's Health Implementation: The DPC is pushing HHS to move quickly to disseminate information and guidance to states regarding implementation of the new children's health initiative. In the past two weeks, the Department has published state funding allotments and has issued a document showing what information states will have to supply in their applications for funding. In addition, HHS has given detailed briefings on the program to the NGA, members of Congress, and interest groups. But much more needs to be done. We are working to distribute additional materials to the states, providers, consumers, and other interested parties in October -- the first month the program goes into full effect. In addition, we are developing events for you and/or the First Lady to highlight the program and provide information about it.

5. Health -- FDA Reform: After months of delay, the Senate is scheduled to pass an FDA reform bill next week. At the same time, the House version of the bill will come before the full Commerce Committee. There is great interest in enacting an FDA reform bill this year because failure to do so will result in the expiration of the Prescription Drug User Fee Act (PDUFA), which has significantly expedited the FDA's review of new drugs. The Administration has two principal concerns about the Senate version of the bill. First, the bill would prevent user fees from going into effect unless the FDA receives "full funding" -- a triggering mechanism that may interfere with the Administration's future budget decisions. Second, the bill would preclude the FDA from reviewing new medical devices for uses other than the manufacturer's intended use. We believe these issues can be resolved prior to the bill coming to you for signature.

6. Health -- AZT Trials: An editorial in *The New England Journal of Medicine* this week criticized U.S.-funded clinical trials designed to discover ways to reduce maternal-infant transmission of HIV in developing countries. The article, which received significant press coverage, compared the trials to the Tuskegee syphilis test because some participants in the trials receive placebos, while others receive a drug with proven benefits (AZT). HHS officials (including Drs. Varmas and Satcher) believe that the criticism is misguided, as does Dr. Harold Shapiro, the Chair of the National Bioethics Advisory Commission, and many other well-respected ethicists and scientists. In addition, international experts convened by the World Health Organization -- and ethical review boards in each of the countries in which the studies are occurring -- have determined that the studies are scientifically well-founded, ethical, and essential to the fight against AIDS. The studies are designed to find effective AZT treatments that are simple and affordable enough to use in developing countries, given poor economies and low standards of public health care. Giving placebos to some participants -- which is equivalent to the local standard of care -- is necessary to obtain reliable and timely information about these experimental AZT regimens.

7. Health -- Dr. Satcher: Your nomination of Dr. Satcher to be Surgeon General has been well received. Dr. Satcher made many successful courtesy visits on the Hill last week. Many members, including Senators Frist and Jeffords, issued supportive statements. Most important, Senator Lott said that he saw no reason why Dr. Satcher should not be confirmed. We will continue to seek endorsements from members and advocacy organizations. We are hopeful that the confirmation hearings will begin in the next couple of weeks.

8. Welfare -- Fair Labor Standards Act: In the wake of Speaker Gingrich's pledge to fix what he called the Administration's effort "to undermine and destroy welfare reform" by applying the minimum wage and other labor protections to welfare participants, Rep. Clay Shaw is trying to garner bipartisan support for a bill to address state concerns about the cost of work programs. Shaw's latest version (1) provides an exemption from FICA and FUTA that seems to cover not only welfare participants, but other working welfare recipients, including those in subsidized private sector jobs; (2) contains a set of definitions that could be read to suggest that working welfare recipients are not regular employees for purposes of other labor laws (although Shaw insists that this is not his intent); and (3) limits required work hours -- again, apparently for all working welfare recipients, not just welfare participants -- to the sum of the welfare grant and food stamps, less any child support collected by the state, divided by the minimum wage.

Although this draft legislation appeals to a bipartisan group of governors (Governors Carper and Chiles like it), it is not attracting much support in the House. Blue Dog Democrats are criticizing the draft on the ground that it significantly weakens work requirements; in low-benefit states, the bill would result in welfare recipients working less than 20 hours each week, with the remaining hours spent in activities such as job search. Liberal democrats (and unions) are criticizing the draft on the ground that it weakens labor protections for welfare recipients. And the Republican leadership is criticizing the draft on the ground that it does not sufficiently

weaken labor protections for welfare recipients. Given this criticism, Shaw may well go back to the drawing board.

9. Welfare -- Privatization of Food Stamps and Medicaid: The Department of Agriculture has received a waiver request from Arizona to privatize food stamp and Medicaid operations in Eastern Maricopa County (representing 13% of the state's caseload). Under the welfare law, USDA must act on a request to privatize food stamp operations -- either by approving it, denying it, or seeking additional information -- within 60 days. This 60-day clock will run on October 3. Even apart from broader concerns about privatization, Arizona's demonstration proposal suffers from a serious defect: because the state wants to test many aspects of the social service system in Maricopa county (essentially creating a mini-replica of Wisconsin Works), it will be very difficult to isolate the effects of privatization on social service delivery. At a meeting last week, USDA, DPC, and OMB agreed that USDA should meet the October 3 deadline by asking Arizona for further information addressing this issue. Congressional Republicans have not resurrected the privatization issue this fall, and we should not do anything to provoke them before November.

we can't let this happen left's dream

10. Welfare -- Child Support Computer Systems: As you know, as many as eight states (California, Michigan, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland, D.C., Nevada, and Hawaii) will not meet the October 1 deadline -- established in the 1988 Family Support Act and already extended from 1995 to 1997 -- for putting in place a statewide child support computer system. California is probably two to three years away from meeting this goal. Under current law, any state failing to meet this deadline loses both federal child support funds and TANF funds.

You recently asked whether the Administration should endorse Senator Feinstein's proposed approach to this problem: a six-month moratorium on imposing penalties on states that are not in compliance with the computer systems requirement. We and Secretary Shalala agree that supporting this proposal would signal to states that we are not serious about enforcing child support rules and might slow state progress toward completing computer systems. In addition, the Feinstein proposal does not actually accomplish anything because even under current law, states have until December 31 to inform HHS that they have failed to meet the October 1 deadline and the ensuing process for imposing penalties will take several additional months.

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We do think, however, that some change in current law is necessary. Rep. Shaw has asked us to work with him on a bipartisan basis to develop legislation providing HHS with additional penalty options -- e.g., the loss of 5-15% of federal funds -- so that HHS can sanction states for noncompliance while not depriving them of all TANF and child support funds. We believe a proposal of this kind can be enacted before HHS has to withhold TANF and child support funds from any state under the current law.

11. Welfare -- Children's SSI Terminations: Rep. Shaw and other House Republicans held a press conference last Wednesday to rebut claims by advocates that the children's SSI cuts are too severe. They released a new GAO report that validates SSA's new childhood disability

9-24-97

standard, judging it to be consistent with the welfare reform law, not overly strict, and fairly administered. They also praised a recent random sample study by SSA of 40 children whose benefits were terminated, arguing that it showed the new standard is fair. Advocates have attacked the SSA study. SSA continues to tell the press that the disability standard it adopted is consistent with congressional intent and that it is working hard to make sure the standard is administered fairly. At his confirmation hearing, Ken Apfel committed to a "top-to-bottom" review of the SSA's administration of the new standard within 30 days of his confirmation; this promise echoed the one you recently made to disability advocates. Some press stories have reported erroneously that Apfel committed to reviewing the standard itself, and not just SSA's administration of it.



12. Crime -- Brady Law: The Center to Prevent Handgun Violence released a study on Friday showing that the Brady Law has helped to disrupt illegal gun trafficking patterns. According to the study, states that did not require background checks for handgun purchases prior to the Brady Law became less important as source states for gun traffickers after enactment of the law. The study suggests that the few jurisdictions that have stopped doing background checks in the wake of the Supreme Court's decision may be inviting gun traffickers to locate in their communities. We issued a statement from you highlighting the study and its findings.



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

'97 SEP 19 PM8:31

September 19, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KATHLEEN A. McGINTY

CC: ERSKINE BOWLES

RE: CEQ WEEKLY REPORT

RESOURCE STEWARDSHIP

Amendment to cut timber road subsidies

Senator Richard Bryan's (D-NV) amendment to the Interior appropriations bill to reduce subsidies to timber roads in national forests failed on the Senate floor this week. The amendment would have eliminated purchaser road credits and cut \$10 million from the U.S. Forest Service roads budget. The Administration worked very closely with Senator Bryan on behalf of the amendment, including a letter of support from Secretary Glickman. (The amendment was based on an initiative in your budget submission).

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The vote on the issue was a lot closer than most people expected -- 51-49. Even though Congress did not vote to cut timber road subsidies this year, the closeness of the votes in the Senate (and a similarly close vote earlier in the House) show that it would be worthwhile to continue to work this issue in the future.

PROTECTING COMMUNITIES FROM TOXICS

Washington, D.C. area fish kills

CEQ has been working with White House Cabinet Affairs and Intergovernmental Affairs, and the entire range of Federal health and environmental agencies, to respond to outbreaks of *Pfiesteria piscicida*. *Pfiesteria* is a single-celled organism (a dinoflagellate) first linked to massive fish kills in North Carolina waters in 1988. This month, there have been fish kills linked to *Pfiesteria* in several Chesapeake Bay tributaries, including: the Pocomoke River, the Chicamacomico River, and King's Creek in Maryland; and the Rappahannock River in Virginia. In certain stages, *Pfiesteria* produces a toxin that kills fish and that may have human health effects.

CEQ has been working to coordinate agency responses and to manage communications concerning the Federal response. The response is proceeding on four levels. First, agencies are

providing emergency assistance to the State of Maryland, including \$500,000 in emergency grants from the Environmental Protection Agency and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. Second, teams of technical experts are now on the ground to assist in responding to both the environmental and public health threats. Third, agencies are developing a coordinated strategy of intensified research into the microbe. Fourth, agencies are continuing their efforts to strengthen protection of the region's waters from polluted runoff. Many of the efforts on polluted runoff, including efforts by the Department of Agriculture to assist farmers and target farm programs to this problem, were already in place as the result of the toxics initiative that you announced at Kalamazoo, Michigan last August.

We have prepared a letter signed by all the relevant Cabinet Secretaries detailing these efforts. EPA Administrator Carol Browner presented the letter to Governor Parris Glendening at a multi-state conference that Governor Glendening hosted in Annapolis today. Administrator Browner received extremely favorable coverage on NBC News and other major news networks. CEQ also arranged for a coordinated briefing of Senator Paul Sarbanes, Senator Barbara Mikulski, Senator Charles Robb, Representative Steny Hoyer, and Representative Wayne Gilchrest.

INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Climate change

Our outreach efforts with Todd Stern are intensifying. Environmental groups reacted very favorably to your meeting with them earlier this week. The Vice President spoke with the CEOs of several major companies (Bechtel, CH2M Hill, Weyerhaeuser, Enron, etc.) who see significant export opportunities for the U.S. and who want to present a different, positive business voice on the issue. In addition, we met with leaders of the electric utility companies today and earlier this week I met with several energy service companies that finance energy efficient technology projects. Monday, I will be in Tulsa, Oklahoma with the President's Council on Sustainable Development, which will focus on climate change. Secretaries Daley, Pena and Babbitt are also speaking and meeting on this issue across the country.

Methyl bromide

The Parties to the Montreal Protocol agreed Wednesday on an accelerated phase-out schedule for methyl bromide, a widely used pesticide that contributes to depletion of the stratospheric ozone layer. The new agreement significantly increases protection for the ozone layer and for human health. With this agreement in place, all key chemicals that cause ozone depletion are under a global phase out schedule, a significant environmental achievement.

Under the new agreement, developed countries, which account for nearly 80% of global use of methyl bromide, will advance their schedule for phasing out methyl bromide use in five years, from 2010 to 2005. Developing countries agreed to a schedule for phasing out their use of methyl bromide ten years later, by 2015. The agreement includes specific requirements for

interim reductions by both developed and developing countries. The Parties also agreed to review and possibly accelerate the developing country schedule in 2003. The agreement provides for critical use and emergency use exemptions that ensure continued use of limited amounts of methyl bromide after the final phase out dates, if adequate alternatives are lacking for some purposes.

The new global schedule is a significant victory for the United States, which had pressed both developed and developing countries to agree to the most rapid feasible phase out schedule. The agreement substantially narrows the difference between other countries' schedules and the deadline of 2001 contained in the Clean Air Act (CAA) for ending methyl bromide. We will now face immediate pressure to amend the CAA to conform to the new international schedule. Farm groups and members of Congress will push hard; environmentalists will oppose. We will work immediately with constituents and on the Hill to fashion our Administration position in the weeks ahead.

SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES

American Heritage Rivers initiative

Your announcement of the American Heritage Rivers initiative last week has generated much excitement around the country. Positive news accounts covering the event and featuring local rivers have occurred in places as diverse as: Los Angeles, CA; St. Louis, MO; Pittsburgh and Allentown, PA; New Orleans, LA; Buffalo, NY; and Asheville, NC. However, there remains a well-organized pocket of private property rights advocates who have succeeded in generating opposing press in places like Colorado.

This week a property rights supporter, Senator Tim Hutchinson (R-AK), offered a property rights to the Interior appropriations bill that could have had the effect of killing the initiative. The Administration succeeding in defeating the amendment 57-42 with a bipartisan coalition that was led by Senators Chris Dodd (D-CT), Dale Bumpers (D-AK), John Chafee (R-RI), and Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY). Next week, I am scheduled to testify before the House Resources Committee on a bill by Representative Helen Chenoweth (R-ID) that would block the initiative.

THE FILES

September 19, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: THURGOOD MARSHALL, JR. TM

SUBJECT: Summary of Cabinet Weekly Reports
September 12-19, 1997

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DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY

- **Croatian and Bosnian Loans:** During the past week, State and Treasury met with G-7 and other donor countries to postpone several lending projects. First, the disbursement of Croatia's next International Monetary Fund (IMF) tranche of \$100 million was delayed until October 10. Second, World Bank management agreed to postpone opening an office in Zagreb until at least October 10. These efforts at the IMF and World Bank are part of a coordinated U.S. campaign to delay all lending by international financial institutions to Croatia until the authorities comply with the Dayton peace agreements. In addition, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development agreed to postpone consideration of a \$16 million emergency power system loan for Bosnia. Treasury and State pressed for postponement due to concerns that the loan would be controlled by three ethnically-controlled utilities in Bosnia, including those controlled by hard line Serbs in Pale and hard line Croats in Mostar.
- **Electronic Funds Transfer (EFT) '99:** On September 16, Treasury published a proposed rule implementing EFT '99, the congressional mandate that all federal payments, except tax refunds, be made electronically by January 1, 1999. Interest in the subject has centered on the question of waivers for those individuals who would have difficulty with the EFT requirement and the role of non-depository institutions such as check cashing stores. The next challenge will be to accommodate those without current access to a bank account. Treasury is developing options for basic, low-cost accounts for 1999 and seeking bids from banks to provide these accounts.
- **NADBank:** On September 11, Treasury convened a conference call meeting of the Finance Committee of the NADBank's Community Adjustment and Investment Program (CAIP) to discuss twelve additional eligible communities. CAIP was established to assist

in the creation of job opportunities in areas experiencing difficult transition to NAI
It will provide loans or loan guarantees to businesses in these areas. The Finance
Committee will designate 47 communities in 23 states as eligible for the program.

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DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mexico Extradition: On September 11, two U.S. citizens, Jesus Ismael Alfaro-Ri and Edgar Israel Alfaro-Ruelas, were extradited to Mexico to face charges for killing Mexican police officer and critically wounding another officer in April 1997.

Minority Farmers: On August 28, three individuals filed a putative civil rights class action against the Secretary of Agriculture. Plaintiffs allege that the Farmers Home Administration and the Farm Services Agency engaged in more than a decade of racial discrimination in the administration of plaintiffs' requests for farm loans and other farm program assistance, and that USDA failed adequately to investigate.

- **AZ Interstate Stalking:** In one of the first cases charged under the Violence Against Women's Act new Interstate Stalking statute, a UT resident pled guilty to writing profane, threatening, and harassing statements to a female National Park Service employee in AZ.
- **LA Violence Against Women Act:** Because of his history of domestic violence, including solicitation of murder, a defendant was sentenced to life imprisonment after being convicted of interstate domestic violence for raping and beating his estranged wife. While awaiting sentencing in this case, the defendant hired a fellow inmate to kill his wife. The murder solicitation came to light during the sentencing hearing.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

- **Pfiesteria Outbreak:** On September 15, Senator Mikulski visited National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) facilities in Silver Spring to discuss the fish-killing microbe *Pfiesteria*, the Advanced Weather Interactive Processing System, Global Positioning System amplifications in MA and satellite activities. The Senator was briefed on NOAA's role in combating *Pfiesteria* following from a September 11 White House interagency meeting convened to coordinate the response to *Pfiesteria* in Chesapeake Bay tributaries.
- **China and Hong Kong:** In early October, Secretary Daley will visit Hong Kong, co-chair the eleventh meeting of the U.S.-China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade in Beijing, and attend the first-ever China-America Telecom Summit in Dalian.
- **THAP Grants:** The National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA) expects to announce its FY 97 Telecommunications and Information Infrastructure Assistance Program (THAP) grants late in late September. THAP provides

September 22, 1997

Time In	Status	Name/Agency	Phone No.	Message
'97 SEP 23 PM 3:16		David Horowitz <i>See</i>	310-279-2291 fax 310-475-1369	said he spoke to you in Feb. About giving the Medal of Freedom to the founder of Toys for Tots. He sent all the info. To Jim Dorskind and the request has gone through the process and is now w/ the Staff Sec. Waiting for BC decision. They are planning an event in Nov. To celebrate the 50th anniv. Of Toys for Tots and to kick off the Christmas giving season and were wondering when BC might meet w/ the Staff Sec. To decide so they could incorporate this into their program. He's in the hospital and will not be able to talk Fri./Sat. And 5 days after that but we can fax him if we need to.
9123197				
Send to Dorskind?				
Yes ✓				
Jim - No				
IS THIS				
RE: ROBBY BROWN				
LET ME KNOW, PLEASE				
<i>PA</i>				

September 19, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN
9-24-97

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARIA ECHAVESTE

SUBJECT: OPL WEEKLY REPORT - September 13 to September 19

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page 1
J. Winston
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ACTIONS SUPPORTING PRESIDENTIAL INITIATIVES

HEALTH CARE FOR CHILDREN

- OPL continues to work with the Children's Health Coalition on outreach to states on Kids Implementation. The key children's health groups -- Children's Defense Fund, Families USA, National Association of Children's Hospitals, March of Dimes, National Association of Chain Drug Stores, and the American Academy of Pediatrics--are engaged in various activities to highlight this issue.

RACE

A representative of Bob Haas, CEO of Levi Straus, came to a meeting this week to express their desire to participate in the race initiative. Levi's has a program that focuses on increasing feelings of equality among its diverse workforce. We will be setting up a meeting for him and Bob Thomas of Nissan.

FAST TRACK

On Tuesday, we hosted the American Business Conference, an influential group of CEOs of mid-size companies. Secretary Daley, Mack McLarty and Larry Summers spoke to them; upon the conclusion of the briefing, several CEOs went to the stake-out to share their public support for your Fast Track bill. Their announcement was covered by *CNN Headline News*. We also picked up endorsements for your proposal from Salomon Brothers, the Small Business Exporters, National Small Business United, the Emergency Committee on Trade and America Leads on Trade.

The day after legislation was sent to the Hill, Secretary Glickman and Peter Scher met with approximately 55 key leaders in the agriculture community to press upon them the importance of Fast Track. The agriculture leaders are very pleased with the new language and will publicly express their support, although they expressed some reservations with the labor and environmental provisions, particularly the language on sustainable development. They will not, however, go public on the issue. We know that many of the agriculture representatives will lobby hard on commodity specific issues. OPL is working on getting statements from the groups endorsing the legislation.

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Takes CEO
asked to
be involved
we should
discuss it
later on Monday
we do it with
them at lunch
around 11
him or there's
problem

EDUCATION

- We met with Chairwoman C. Delores Tucker and the National Political Congress of Black Women (NPCBW) to discuss your Education Standards Initiative. They support efforts to elevate student standards; however, they are concerned that African American students who fail the tests will be assigned to remedial classes and not receive sufficient training.
- ✓ We have been in contact with the minority and disability communities to educate them on the details of, and our opposition to, the Gorton Amendment. It would block-grant education funding targeted at low income students and adults with severe disabilities in employment programs.

CLIMATE CHANGE

- OPL is putting together the invite list for the climate change conference on October 6th. We have assembled a list of over 225 leaders from industry, environmental, labor, religious, science, academia, local elected officials, Congress, and many others. The first round of calls went out this week.

CONSTITUENT AND OTHER ISSUES

AIDS

- On Wednesday, several hundred people staged a demonstration at HHS to protest the Administration's current unwillingness to lift the ban on the use of federal funds for needle exchange programs. AIDS activists continue to express serious concern over how the Labor/HHS Appropriations Bill will affect the HHS Secretary's authority over needle exchange decisions. Dr. Scott Hitt, Chair of your HIV/AIDS Advisory Board, was in Washington for meetings with Secretary Shalala, Sylvia Mathews, Bruce Reed, Sandy Thurman and myself to express the Council's concern.

AFRICAN AMERICAN OUTREACH

- OPL is assisting in the coordination of the celebration of the 40th Anniversary of Desegregation at Central High School in Little Rock, and is working on the invitation list with Ernie Green and Carol Willis.

VETERANS OUTREACH

- In coordination with NSC, we met with 90 veterans organizations with the hope of educating them on the landmine issue, as many groups have misconstrued our intentions. Key leaders have spoken to Gen. Jones and are now comfortable with the landmine policy.

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ASIAN OUTREACH

- Leaders of the Indo-American community have applauded your inclusion of Indo-Americans in the delegation to Mother Theresa's funeral. They see it as a sign of inclusion and understanding from the Administration, and of the growing respect for their community.
- OPL held a very successful conference call with the NSC and Indo-American leadership from across the country on the Wolf/Specter religious persecution bill. The participants were very interested in learning about the true aspects of the legislation. They expressed enthusiasm for educating others about its danger and for organizing their communities to work on the troubling areas of the bill.

JEWISH OUTREACH

- Numerous press reports both here and in Israel are highlighting a growing schism in American Jewish response to the Secretary's trip. Most noteworthy has been the actions of the Israel Policy Forum, a group of mainstream Jewish leaders who are breaking a taboo by openly criticizing the policies of the current government in Israel. This group has been meeting with administration officials, circulating letters on Capitol Hill and printing ads in major papers to support you and Secretary Albright in your efforts to revive the stalled peace process. Overall, most groups were pleased with the Secretary's emphasis on ending terrorism but more conservative groups were less pleased with the Secretary's call for a 'time out.'

IMMIGRATION

- This week we held a briefing for business groups on 245(I) and other immigration issues. The group was comprised of leaders who helped us last year in our efforts to split legal and illegal immigration. They were eager to hear our position on 245(I) and discussed their actions in this area. We discussed legislative and Administration options and agreed to keep each other informed during the process.
- Also, this week, Sen. Mack (D-FL) tried to attach the Administration's Immigration Bill to the Department of Interior's Appropriations Bill. At the last minute Sen. Graham (R-TX) threatened to filibuster if Mack introduced it. Legislative affairs is still looking for a vehicle for the bill.

HEALTH CARE

- The reaction to your speech to the SEIU was favorable. Val Halamandaris, President of the National Association for Home care, wrote a letter to you expressing his support for your position on home care fraud and abuse. Val says their association called for similar action a couple years ago. They have 200 state executives and presidents coming to DC to talk about this issue next week; the Health Care Finance Administration will attend the meeting.

Show follow up
letter to Wolf & shared
with others
from them

9-24-97

WOMEN'S OUTREACH

- OPL continued conversations with family planning, environmental, and population advocates about Mexico City policy and population amendments. They continue to voice support for Gillman-Pelosi and their opposition to metering (which they believe would undermine the quality and delivery of services). We are concerned that Gillman-Pelosi compromises the Administration's long held public position on international family planning.
- We participated in a legislative strategy discussions with USAID, DOJ and State and shared USAID information on long term impact of metering. Our goal in these meetings has been to reach agreement with our partners on possible alternative language to Gillman-Pelosi and to hopefully avoid metering as an approach. We are planning to hold a meeting with internal and external parties on Monday.
- OPL participated in a roundtable sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce and the SBA on access to venture capital for women and minority entrepreneurs. The goal of the meeting was to find ways to more effectively connect women entrepreneurs with the venture capital segments of the market. Also, there is a new SBA initiative called ACE-Net; it is a nationwide Internet-based listing service that provides information to investors on small growth businesses.
- We made a presentation to Women's Legislators Lobby (WILL), a coalition of over 150 local women legislators from across the country on your accomplishments on behalf of women and families. We responded to their questions on a number of issues including nuclear waste and its impact on communities, transportation, and child care as it relates to welfare to work.

SATCHER NOMINATION

- As a result of press inquiries from pro-choice groups, our office responded to questions about Satcher's position on choice, which we confirmed is the same as the Administration's. Pro-choice groups are very supportive of Satcher and hope that the issue of choice does not impede the nomination process. Letters of support are being generated from a wide variety of women's groups.
- The announcement was well received in the health community. We have received over 80 endorsements representing the medical, nursing, hospital, pharmaceutical, business, academic health center, allied health, education, Jewish, African American and women's groups.
- We are continuing to fax and receive official letters of support for Dr. Satcher from African American National Leadership and have received over 50 letters from the African American community.

ETHNIC OUTREACH

- This week the Italian community held a press conference in New York protesting the proposal to give seats on the Security Council to Germany and Japan. They are initiating a petition drive demanding that you abandon the plan or that the Senate block its approval. They plan to have the petitions ready by Columbus Day. Many leaders in the community have recommended that you not mention the Security Council issue in your address to the United Nations as it would provide additional "fuel for the fire."
- The Irish community is ecstatic over the decision on the Irish deportees. Attached is an advertisement from the back page of the *Irish Voice* thanking you for your leadership. The *Irish Voice* has circulation in the Irish communities of major cities throughout the country.
- The Arab community met with NSC to discuss the Religious Persecution legislation. They feel this legislation is targeted to discriminate only specific groups and are extremely concerned with the sentiments of the bill. They are looking for strong leadership, and feel that unless you commit to vetoing the legislation, they will have no leverage in this debate.

GAY & LESBIAN OUTREACH

- On Monday, the Vice President will address an enthusiastic crowd of more than 300 at a reception honoring Coretta Scott King, AFL-CIO's John Sweeney and the Mautner Project for Lesbians with Cancer, sponsored by the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. The *AP* ran a story on the event, which was picked up in the *New York Times*, and the response to the Vice President's remarks in the lesbian and gay community has been extremely positive.
- Your nomination of John Berry to be Assistant Secretary of Interior for Policy, Management and Budget, makes him the first openly gay person to be nominated for a position requiring Senate confirmation since 1993. Late last week, the appointment was announced of Commerce Assistant Secretary Bruce Lehman as Acting Chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities under the Vacancy Act.
- On Saturday, Richard Socarides delivered the keynote address at the 4th International Conference of Lesbian and Gay Law Enforcement Professionals in Miami Beach.

NATO ENLARGEMENT

- There has been wide distribution throughout the ethnic community of your letter supporting NATO and of the letter signed by the New Atlantic Initiative. Editorials are starting to appear in local newspapers from ethnic leaders supporting NATO expansion.

DISABILITY OUTREACH

- We organized a meeting with Bill Lee and leaders of the disability community to discuss the merits of his nomination. The meeting resulted in an endorsement letter to Senator Hatch from sixteen national disability organizations.

TOBACCO

- Secretary Shalala and Bruce Reed met with 60 representatives of the public health community following the tobacco announcement. Your tobacco principles were very well received by the community. However, the questions of immunity and of liability continue to be raised by the groups.

cc: Erskine Bowles
John Hilley
Ron Klain
Susan Liss
Sylvia Mathews
John Podesta
Craig Smith
Gene Sperling

Rahm Emanuel
Mickey Ibarra
Ann Lewis
Thurgood Marshall, Jr.
Michael McCurry
Bruce N. Reed
Doug Sosnik

THANK YOU, PRESIDENT CLINTON



We wish to express our appreciation of the decision by your administration that no further deportation action is to be taken against Matt Morrison, Gabriel Megahey, Noel Gaynor, Brian Peterson, Gerald McDade and Robert McErlean.

We also regard the efforts of your administration has made -- not only in this regard -- but in other matters which have stemmed from your continued interest in the problems of Northern Ireland. You are to be commended for having kept faith with the Irish-American community and we look forward to your continued success in bringing peace with justice to all people.

We also wish to acknowledge the efforts made on behalf of their clients above-named by our colleagues at the bar -- namely Martin Galvin, Jim O'Malley, Michael Dowd, Michael Maggio, Daniel Devereux and James Harrington -- and the help rendered by the Brehon Law Society.

In addition, we recognize and appreciate the work of the Congressional Irish Caucus members -- Representatives Ben Gilman, Thomas Manton, Peter King, Eliot Engel, Richard Neal, Nydia Velazquez, Charles Rangel, Charles Schumer, Carolyn Maloney, Carolyn McCarthy, Joe Kennedy, Robert Menendez, William J. Pascroll, Nita Lowey, Sue Kelley and James Walsh, in seeking to prevent the gross miscarriage of justice which the deportation of these men and their families would have brought about.

Frank Durkan, Bruce Morrison, Brian O'Dwyer

Copied
Emanuel
CES

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 19, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-24-97

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

CRIME/DRUGS: On Friday HandGun Control released a study on the Brady Bill and its impact on criminals access to guns. We released a statement by the President sighting the success of the legislation and called on Congress to pass a juvenile Brady Bill.

Martha Foley was very successful in removing the gun amendment from the Treasury Postal bill. This amendment impacted the flow of certain types of guns like relics into this country.

Speaker Gingrich has threatened General McCaffrey with a six month funding bill for his office on the condition General McCaffrey produce a report on how he will cut teen drug use in half by 2000. General McCaffrey has met with Senator Biden on a strategy to deal with this issue.

General McCaffrey's attitude is to tell the Speaker that his goal is stupid and unachievable. I want him to change the focus from when we achieve the goal to how we achieve the goal and what Congress can do to help.

The larger point I would like to make is that the Speaker indicated he would only attend the White House meeting on tobacco if we also discussed drug use. He has clearly seen the same polling we have seen on teen age drug use and the women's vote. He is developing an issue for the spring by creating conflicts with the Administration on the issue of drugs.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE: John Hilley and I met with Senator McCain and Senator Feingold on Friday. We discussed strategy and tactics for an upcoming legislative effort. I am confident that sometime in October the Senate will address this issue.

Senator Levin is negotiating a soft codification of Beck with Senator McCain and Labor. John and I believe that if we are successful in beating back a tougher Beck amendment offered by Senator McConnell, we will succeed in passing some legislation. At that point Senator Lott will look to work out something on the legislation.

POLITICS: I have attached a copy of Friday's Wall Street Journal. Their research reveals that our original strategy of an early balanced budget would open the playing field to Democratic issues like education, health care and the environment. In addition to an issues agenda that favors

Democrats, the voters at play in 1998 are younger, most are under 35, but including 35-49, as well as self-styled independents. The region where this is most pronounced is the Midwest (key to the 1998 congressional races.)

✓ One could already draft the 1998 agenda based on such research: a tobacco settlement, a major child care initiative, complete the education agenda, a fight on a major environmental proposal, further legislation on pension reform and a consumers Health Care Bill of Rights.

The research also shows that the African-American community was more supportive of national testing than the white community by a few points. However the national standards are supported by 78% of the public, it is a big winner according to Peter Hart. The GOP's voucher plan received a less than favorable backing by the public.



For the Congress, GOP Control Is Favored, But Democrats Lead

Democrats have opened up a clear lead when the public is asked about voting intentions for next year's congressional elections. But some of the underlying fundamentals still seem more favorable to Republicans.

Questioned in this month's Journal poll about whether they plan to vote for the Democratic or Republican candidate for Congress in 1998, people preferred the Democrats 36% to 29%. This is a turnaround from a few months ago, when the GOP had a small edge.

The Democrats' margin was greatest among women, blacks, the youngest and the oldest voters, and regionally in the Northeast and Midwest.

Still, when asked whether they would prefer the next Congress to be controlled by the Democrats or the Republicans, the public opts for the GOP, 41% to 39%. One plausible theory for this difference is that the first answer—on whom to vote for next year—mainly reflects party identification, where the Democrats now enjoy an advantage. The answer to the second question may reflect basic satisfaction with the political status quo, and thus it may be a better barometer.

Buttressing this point is that Americans, by a lopsided 67%-to-25% margin, say it is better that Congress and the White House are controlled by different parties than the same party. This is the highest support for split government in six years, and, if it holds up, would seem to augur well for Republicans in 1998.

Predicting Outcomes

Results of U.S. House trial heat vs. actual results

	TRIAL HEAT	ACTUAL RESULTS
1993-94		
Democrat	32%	45%
Republican	29	52
1995-96		
Democrat	36	49
Republican	34	49
1997-98		
Democrat	36	?
Republican	29	?

"The larger political environment is more favorable to the Republicans' retaining the House because people do not want to rock the boat," suggests Fred Yang, one of the Journal's pollsters.

The critical swing group may be in those areas where Democrats hold the advantage on the individual-preference question and Republicans on the party-control preference. The most important blocs here are younger voters, chiefly under 35 years of age but also including those aged 35 to 49, as well as self-styled independents. Significantly, the region where this is most pronounced is the Midwest, suggesting that once again this region will be the critical background for control of Congress in 1998.

Congressional trial heats are watched closely by both parties, and thus aren't without significance even this far from the election. If Republicans were to fall further back, for instance, some party analysts believe that would increase the pressure to dump Speaker Newt Gingrich, who is highly unpopular with the public.

With the off-year elections almost 14 months away, however, there are sure to be numerous intervening events that will shape those contests. These, political analysts from both parties suggest, range from whether the economy continues to flourish and how the campaign-financing scandals unfold to whether the Republican-controlled Congress avoids the excesses it demonstrated in 1995.

Fourteen months before the watershed 1994 congressional elections, when the GOP gained control of the House for the first time in 40 years, the Democrats still had a slight edge in the congressional trial-heat preference. Indeed, even in September 1994—just two months before that election—a Journal/NBC survey showed the Democrats with a six-point edge. But the Democratic-controlled Congress botched up a crime bill, and then the Republicans seized the welfare issue and went on that November to capture 52% of the vote and control of Congress.

—Albert R. Hunt

Environment, School and Health Issues Capture Imagination of American Voters

By JACKIE CALMES

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Stuart Rothenberg, one of this town's best-regarded election specialists, was hard at work this week on his latest bit of analysis. The hot political topic?

Environmental Protection Agency regulations. Such is the often-obscure stuff of campaign discourse as politicians approach next year's midterm contests for control of Congress: environmental emissions, national education testing, school choice, "partial-birth" abortion. Republicans and Democrats alike are groping for issues and symbols to capture the attention of voters, who have moved in this decade from angry and vengeful to content and happily apathetic.

The political terrain for 1998, and perhaps the presidential year 2000, is still being mapped. Economic issues have been the dominant backdrop for American politics since the Vietnam War: high inflation, tax cuts, unemployment, deficits, income inequality. Now such issues are muted, thanks to the current good economy and the summer agreement between President Clinton and the Republican-controlled Congress to balance the budget and cut taxes.

While economic and fiscal issues won't ever disappear—and would of course come roaring back in the event of a recession—both parties, but especially Republicans, are trying to find their voices in social and quality-of-life issues such as the environment, education and health.

"With the fiscal issues now neutralized, the new agenda of education, social responsibility and protecting Social Security and Medicare works to the Democrats' favor," says Peter Hart and Robert Teeter, who conducted the latest Journal/NBC News poll.

No single issue dominated in voters' rankings of concerns, reflecting their generally favorable feelings in a good, peacetime economy. Nearly two-thirds of those polled pronounced themselves satisfied with the economy. In contrast, 57% described themselves as dissatisfied in a Journal/NBC poll as 1996 began.



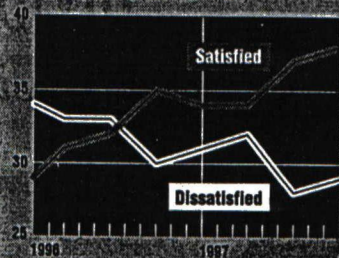
Not surprisingly, economic issues are low on Americans' scale of concerns. Asked to rank five of the nation's problems, respondents put "economic insecurity" last, with only 11% naming it as the country's biggest problem. Social and cultural issues scored higher: Nearly a third of those polled cited declining moral values as the biggest problem, followed by a belief that public institutions such as schools and hospitals aren't performing well.

To another question gauging Americans' concerns, asking what one thing needs the most government attention, just 14% of those polled cited the budget deficit. The current federal deficit, estimated at \$34 billion for the fiscal year ending this month, is the lowest in 23 years, and the Clinton-Congress budget deal promises surpluses by 2002. Only 11% of respondents cited the economy as a top concern, and 2% put trade pacts at the top, just as the

Things Are Good and Priorities Have Changed

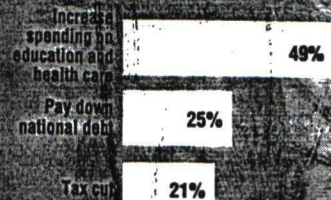
Assessing Satisfaction

Economic satisfaction index: satisfied (score of 81 to 100) vs. dissatisfied (score of 0 to 39)



Spending Money

If the federal government started developing a surplus of funds in the federal budget, how would you most like that money to be used?



Job Security Not a Concern

Percentage of respondents who say they are satisfied or dissatisfied with the following elements relative to the current economy

	VERY SATISFIED	SOMEWHAT SATISFIED	SOMEWHAT DISSATISFIED	VERY DISSATISFIED	NOT SURE
Current job security	41%	37%	10%	11%	1%
Opportunities for career advancement	23	38	18	18	3
Current interest rates	14	43	23	16	4
Job opportunities in your area	19	34	18	25	4
Retirement security	18	34	20	25	3
Income keeping up with cost of living	14	37	21	27	1
Rate of inflation	14	31	26	24	5
Amount of money you are saving	11	28	25	35	1

president is seeking fast-track authority to negotiate such international agreements.

A cluster of social, cultural and moral issues resonated more, although, to be sure, no single issue stands out for an electorate that seems increasingly disengaged from its government. Education was at the top, with 28% saying it demanded the greatest federal attention, and next, at 19%, was the financial stability of Social Security and Medicare.

These social issues play to Democrats' strengths because theirs is traditionally seen as the party most concerned and best able to deal with them. Republicans get higher marks on economic issues. "Republicans don't talk about these quality-of-life issues as well as Democrats," says Mr. Rothenberg.

Even Republican strategists are cautioning their party's incumbents and candidates that the Democrats have the advantage on issues for 1998, and perhaps 2000. "The Republicans face the most severe agenda vacuum since Ronald Reagan ascended as their leader in 1980," wrote GOP strategist Ralph Reed, the former Christian Coalition leader, in a recent memo to party leaders. His top advice: "Our candidates should address values and morals as the centerpiece of their campaign message in 1998."

Yet the party's conservatives and moderates differ vehemently on just how to translate that advice on issues, such as abortion, schools, the environment and much more. Those intraparty divisions, together with Mr. Clinton's popularity, should it weather the current ethics probes, probably could rob Republicans of the big "six-year-itch" gains that an opposition party typically wins in the sixth year of a president's term.

Yet even if the issues don't favor Republicans, the persistent good news about the economy is itself good news for them. With a satisfied electorate, the 1998 contest shapes up as a status-quo election—suggesting continued GOP majorities, if narrow, in the House and Senate.

Meanwhile, Democrats are happily on the offensive. "Without the deficit hanging over us, without 'tax-and-spend' as the defining issue against Democrats," says Paul Begala, a senior political adviser to Mr. Clinton, the party can push "a whole cluster" of work and family issues—education chief among them.

That is "the No. 1 issue in America" today.

Mr. Begala says. Democratic proposals, such as the president's plan for national testing of schoolchildren, are generally popular, while most Republicans oppose the idea and promote the more divisive ideas of tax breaks and vouchers for those attending private schools.

Environmental groups, meanwhile, are telling politicians that, with economic issues off the table, such causes as clean air, water and ozone protection gain prominence. GOP leaders, acknowledging they can't compete fully with Democrats on green issues, go so far as to advise their members to seek photo opportunities back home planting trees and joining river cleanups.

The political jousting over the environment is where Mr. Rothenberg's analysis of EPA rules comes in. The Clinton administration has proposed to tighten regulations against smog-producing emissions, angering utilities, auto makers and other manufacturers but cheering environmentalists and health advocates. The issue has come to be a defining one for competing GOP factions. The most conservative Republicans are pushing in Congress to delay the regulations, arguing privately that such pro-business defiance is essential to fire up the party's base. But party moderates oppose delay, warning of a potential pro-environment backlash against Republicans in critical suburban districts.

Democrats have internal tensions, too, and those are likely to flare by 2000 when Mr. Clinton is no longer on the ballot. Already, liberals and moderates are skirmishing to define the party on a full range of social issues as they look to pick the next presidential nominee.

Mr. Rothenberg, who provides nonpartisan analysis through newsletters, speeches and media commentary, contrasts the current political landscape with the past three election cycles of the 1990s—when the voters were mad, and the parties seemed to know their respective messages, mostly economic. "We've flipped," he says. "The country is relatively content, and the parties are searching for something to say."



Journal Link: For the full text of The Wall Street Journal/NBC News Poll, see The Wall Street Journal Interactive Edition at <http://wsj.com>

Education Is the Top Priority Among Public-Policy Concerns, A Benefit to Democratic Party

By SARAH MCBRIDE

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Education has soared to the top of Americans' public-policy concerns, and so far, Democrats are reaping the benefits.

In the latest Journal poll, 28% of respondents picked education as their top concern, building on a trend that emerged earlier this year. In past years, education fell well behind issues such as the economy.

A clear majority—64%—backed national testing of schoolchildren, a favorite initiative of Pres-

ident Clinton. But on school choice, a proposal beloved to Republicans, the nation splits 53% to 44%, with the majority against tax-funded vouchers or tax deductions for parents who send their children to private schools.

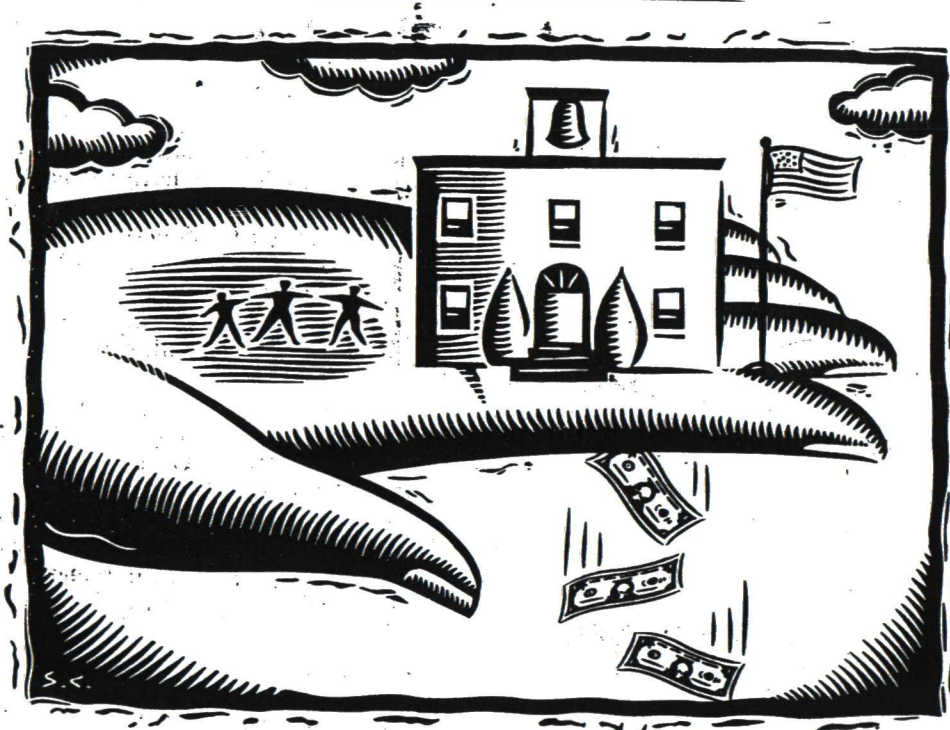
The voucher issue doesn't garner support in the same way national testing does, perhaps because many Americans worry that the plan would divert resources from marginal public schools that need it most. Also, most Americans are satisfied with their schools, so the need for more choice doesn't seem so pressing. According to an August Gallup poll, 64% of public-school parents asked to grade the school attended by their eldest child gave it an A or B.

Republicans have often touted the advantages of vouchers for inner-city minority students trapped in failing school systems. But blacks oppose the proposal by a decidedly larger majority than the rest of the population.

Not surprisingly, school choice is favored by a clear majority of Republicans, while almost two-thirds of Democrats oppose it. One bright light for proponents: The key Catholic constituency supports it, 54% to 45%.

Widespread support for national testing apparently reflects parents' desires to know that their children are competitive with those in any area of the country, especially given the increasing mobility of many Americans.

"They know their kids might go to other parts of the country to get jobs," says Mike Smith, acting deputy secretary of education. "If my kids can



Illustrations by Stephanie Carter

cut it in California, they can also cut it in Wisconsin and Louisiana." Existing tests don't allow one school system to measure itself against another.

Testing enjoyed support among all groups, especially among Democrats and people with school-age children. While the Congressional Black Caucus opposes national tests, charging they would brand minorities in poorly performing schools as underachievers, the poll shows blacks favor national testing by a slightly higher margin than whites. Factors such as income or whether the respondents live in urban or rural areas made little difference.

The results show Democrats are riding the national mood on both major educational initiatives of the day, something that leaves the White House happy. Paul Begala, an adviser to President Clinton, called the testing issue "a real winner" for Democrats and hopes to turn the president's opposition on the voucher issue to his advantage as well. "We can win that battle if we wage it," he says.

The testing plan suffered a setback on Tuesday, when the House voted against using federal money to administer the exams. The Senate endorsed a testing proposal last week.

Education Agenda

Which issue is the most important for the federal government?

	1992	1995	1997
Education	15%	17%	28%
Economy	45	11	11
Crime	7	23	13
Budget Deficit	N.A.	15	14

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date

9/24

To: Steve Silverman

From: The Staff Secretary

NSC recommends against
Daley's request. (took them a while)

Full

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

5519

September 23, 1997

97 SEP 23 PM 3:19

MEMORANDUM FOR TODD STERN

FROM:

GLYN T. DAVIES 

SUBJECT:

Commerce Request for Presidential Advocacy Letter

With regard to the attached memo from Commerce requesting a Presidential advocacy letter, the NSC staff recommends this request be referred back to the Commerce Department with a suggestion that Secretary Daley first approach his counterpart on this issue.

We understand that neither Secretary Daley nor Secretary Albright has, to date, engaged the Namibian government to promote a level playing field for American bidders. The Vice President did raise this issue with the Namibian Prime Minister in Windhoek in February.

Attachment

Tab A Commerce Memo re Request for Presidential Advocacy Letter

A

8/6

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

- From Staff Secretary

- AFRICA Directorate to
provide recommendation
for my signature to
Staff Secy.

T X, C J

AUG 7 10:54

PLEASE STAFF



Am/Bhh - forward to staff sec/SBS
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Office of the Secretary
Washington, D.C. 20230

JUN 12 1997

5519

File
Bibb
Also
forward
K.

MEMORANDUM FOR KITTY HIGGINS
SECRETARY TO THE CABINET

FROM: Paul Donovan *PAU*
Chief of Staff

97 JUN 27 AM 10:42

SUBJECT: Request for Presidential Advocacy Letter

I am transmitting a draft advocacy letter for the President's signature, prepared by the TPCC Advocacy Center located in the Department of Commerce. The letter, prepared at the request of U.S. Ambassador George F. Ward, Jr., is directed to Namibian President Sam Nujoma and focuses on advocacy for U.S. aerospace companies seeking contracts in Namibia. Vice President Gore raised these aircraft procurements in his meeting with Namibia's Prime Minister, Hage Geingob, at Windhoek's airport last February. Ambassador Ward believes that President Clinton's intervention with President Nujoma -- the ultimate decision maker for these contract awards -- is now warranted to counter escalated European efforts to secure these contracts for European bidders. We believe his request dovetails well with the scheduled announcement of the President's Africa Initiative on June 17th. The Department of State concurs in this recommendation.

The Boeing Company and Gulfstream Aerospace have each requested Presidential advocacy support to counter aggressive tactics by the European competitors and their embassies in Windhoek.

In order to level the playing field for U.S. bidders, I urge that the President sign the attached draft letter.

Attachment

AUG 7 10:54

His Excellency
Sam Nujoma
President
Republic of Namibia
Windhoek, Namibia

Dear Mr. President:

Allow me to congratulate you on your recent re-election as President of the South West African People's Organization and for your honorary doctorate at New Jersey's prestigious Rutgers University. Such distinctions are richly deserved given your leadership role in Namibia's peaceful transition to democracy and in ensuring Namibia's economic growth through a private sector-led open economy. Your recent meetings in the United States with leading U.S. companies parallel my Administration's Africa initiative, which seeks to encourage U.S. companies to invest in Africa's most progressive economies, including Namibia.

I am writing to draw your attention to the considerable interest leading U.S. aerospace firms have in supplying aircraft to Namibia. The United States leads the world aerospace industry in technology, innovation, and experience. As Vice President Al Gore mentioned to your Prime Minister during his February visit to Windhoek, the best way to ensure that Namibia receives the

best products at the lowest price is through open and transparent competition. It is gratifying to me that so many leading U.S. companies are taking serious interest in the Namibian market. I am confident that you will find U.S. companies competitive and eager to respond to Namibia's needs.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: September 24, 1997

NOTE FOR: Judith Winston
Office of General Counsel
Department of Education

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
for your:

Information ☐

Action ☒

Thank you.

Staff Secretary
(x6-2702)

cc:

September 19, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN
9-24-97

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARIA ECHAVESTE

SUBJECT: OPL WEEKLY REPORT - September 13 to September 19

J. Winston
COS

ACTIONS SUPPORTING PRESIDENTIAL INITIATIVES

HEALTH CARE FOR CHILDREN

- OPL continues to work with the Children's Health Coalition on outreach to states on Kids Implementation. The key children's health groups -- Children's Defense Fund, Families USA, National Association of Children's Hospitals, March of Dimes, National Association of Chain Drug Stores, and the American Academy of Pediatrics--are engaged in various activities to highlight this issue.

RACE

A representative of Bob Haas, CEO of Levi Straus, came to a meeting this week to express their desire to participate in the race initiative. Levi's has a program that focuses on increasing feelings of equality among its diverse workforce. We will be setting up a meeting for him and Bob Thomas of Nissan.

FAST TRACK

On Tuesday, we hosted the American Business Conference, an influential group of CEOs of mid-size companies. Secretary Daley, Mack McLarty and Larry Summers spoke to them; upon the conclusion of the briefing, several CEOs went to the stake-out to share their public support for your Fast Track bill. Their announcement was covered by *CNN Headline News*. We also picked up endorsements for your proposal from Salomon Brothers, the Small Business Exporters, National Small Business United, the Emergency Committee on Trade and America Leads on Trade.

The day after legislation was sent to the Hill, Secretary Glickman and Peter Scher met with approximately 55 key leaders in the agriculture community to press upon them the importance of Fast Track. The agriculture leaders are very pleased with the new language and will publicly express their support, although they expressed some reservations with the labor and environmental provisions, particularly the language on sustainable development. They will not, however, go public on the issue. We know that many of the agriculture representatives will lobby hard on commodity specific issues. OPL is working on getting statements from the groups endorsing the legislation.

See J. Winston
They are good
Rayden CEO
asked to
be involved
we showed
discuss- we
Latham-McDonnell
we do it- we
stayed at home -
worked w/
him on Trade's
problem

'97 SEP 29 PM 4:11

DEAR SIR,

MY NAME IS TAMMY M. NAVA AND I LIVE IN SYLVESTER GEORGIA. I AM WRITING OUT OF DESPERATION TO GET MY DAUGHTER BACK. TWO YEARS AGO I SIGNED TEMPORARY GARDIANSHIP TO MY AUNT AND UNCLE. I ONLY DID IT SO I COULD GIVE HER A STABLE HOME UNTIL I GET BACK ON MY FEET. WHEN I WENT TO TERMINATE THE GARDIANSHIP WHICH THEY ASSURED ME I COULD DO AT ANY TIME THEY WENT AND FILED A PETITION TO GET PERMANANT CUSTODY. NOW IT IS A YEAR LATER OF CONTINUOUS DELAYS. EVERYBODY SAYING WHEN WE HEAR SOMETHING WE WILL LET YOU KNOW. JUST THIS WEEK THEY FINALLY RULED IN THEIR FAVOR BY GIVING THEM TEMPORARY CUSTODY. I HAVE DONE EVERYTHING I POSSIBLY CAN TO IMPROVE MY LIFE AND BECOME A BETTER MOTHER. I REALLY LOVE MY DAUGHTER WITH ALL MY HEART AND SOUL. I WANT HER BACK HOME WITH ME AND HER LITTLE SISTER. I AM NO LONGER ON WELFARE. I HAVE A JOB. I HAVE A STABLE HOME. SHE WAS NEVER ABUSED OR NEGLECTED. I HAVE NO CRIMINAL RECORD. EVERY NIGHT I PRAY TO THE LORD THAT HE GIVE ME STRENGTH TO GET THROUGH THIS. I DO NOT CAUSE TROUBLE. ALL I WANT IS FOR MY LITTLE GIRL TO BE WITH ME. IF THERE IS ANYTHING YOU COULD DO PLEASE LET ME KNOW. YOU ARE MY BIGGEST HOPE. THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME. TAMMY NAVA

9/29/97

Tammy Nava

Send to Daskind

Yes ☒ PC

No ☐

C.