

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEETING WITH LEW WASSERMAN
and COLLEAGUES FROM MOTION PICTURE INDUSTRY

DATE: OCTOBER 14, 1993
LOCATION: ROOSEVELT ROOM
TIME: 4 - 4:30 pm
From: ROY NEEL

I. PURPOSE

To consult with Wasserman and his colleagues about their concerns with the GATT process; i.e., the potential exclusion of audio visual copyrighted property from the GATT accord now in negotiation.

You saw Wasserman at the White House several weeks ago and agreed to this meeting. He has assembled a representative VIP group of studio executives and craft union officials to make the case that US entertainment properties will be excluded from European markets with impunity (see Jack Valenti letter, attached).

Note** FYI, Lew Wasserman this week agreed to host the larger Dec. 4 Los Angeles DNC fundraising event at his Universal Studios park. It will be a big, fun, family-oriented event.

II. BACKGROUND

Ambassador Kantor is now in Brussels negotiating the GATT agreement on copyrighted audiovisual properties with the Europeans. Mickey believes a resolution is near, but cautions against unrealistic promises to the group. (See his memo, att.)

III. PARTICIPANTS

Lew Wasserman, Chr. & CEO, MCA/Universal
Alan Levine, Pres., Sony Pictures
Sumner Redstone, Chr., Viacom
Sindey Sheinberg, Pres., MCA/Universal
Frank Wells, Pres., The Walt Disney Co.
Martin Davis, Chr. & CEO, Paramount Communications
Stanley Jaffe, Pres., Paramount
Chase Carey, Pres., Fox, Inc.
Alfred DoTolia, Pres., IATSE (Craft Union)
Carl Gottlieb, V.P. Writers Guild
Gene Reynolds, Pres., Directors Guild
Paul Hecht, C.P., Screen Actors Guild
Nick Counter, Pres., Motion Pictures & TV Producers
Jack Valenti, Pres., MPAA
Roy Neel, Deputy Chief of Staff

Meeting with Lew Wasserman, et al
P. 2

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed press.

V. Sequence of Events, Remarks

- A. POTUS welcome the group, note long friendships with many in attendance. Note that you have briefed on the GATT issue by USTR, and that Ambassador Kantor is a strong advocate of their position.
- B. Recognize Lew Wasserman, who will defer to Jack Valenti to state the case.
- C. Recognize others who wish to make comments.
- D. Assure the group that you are in complete agreement with their position, and that you intend to reinforce that view with Ambassador Kantor as his negotiations proceed. Do not, however, go so far as to state that you will not approve any GATT accord that does not have the audiovisual provisions sought by the group.

THE UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE
WASHINGTON
20508

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: AMBASSADOR MICHAEL KANTOR 
DATE: October 13, 1993
SUBJECT: Your Meeting with the Motion Picture Association
of America on Thursday, October 14 at 4 p.m.

Tomorrow you will meet with a delegation led by Jack Valenti of the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA). The delegation will provide their views on Uruguay Round trade issues.

Of particular concern to MPAA are:

- treatment of the European Community's (EC) "television broadcast directive" in the Uruguay Round "General Agreement on Trade in Services" (GATS); and,
- the provision of "national treatment"¹ in the Uruguay Round "Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights" (so-called TRIPS text).

I have discussed these two issues on numerous occasions with Jack, as well as with my counterpart in the European Community, Sir Leon Brittan.

To Jack, I have reaffirmed my commitment to secure a final Uruguay Round deal that freezes the television directive and that provides national treatment to U.S. copyright holders.

To Leon Brittan, I have emphasized (and re-emphasized during my meetings today in Brussels) the importance to the United States of solutions to these problems. I believe that they could be deal breakers. Today, Brittan told me that he is working on a solution to these problems that includes audiovisuals in the GATS; however, he did not offer anything on the issue of national treatment. I will also raise these issues in my meeting tomorrow with EC President, Jacques Delors.

I suggest that you thank Jack for his assistance and that you appreciate his problem-solving approach to these negotiations.

¹ "National treatment" requires countries to provide foreign companies the same treatment that they give to domestic or national companies.

Background

In late September, Leon Brittan signaled a willingness to consider freezing current quotas in the television directive in exchange for an (undefined) "cultural hook." He also linked solution of these issues to a forthcoming U.S. proposal on opening maritime services. (Making commitments in the maritime sector (particularly "blue water" services) could engender domestic opposition.)

At that September meeting, I told Brittan that I could work with the EC's proposal for freezing the television directive's quotas on the condition that the freeze apply to all audio visual activities--including new technologies--and include the principle of full national treatment in TRIPS.

MPAA Objectives

MPAA seeks your commitment not to sign the Uruguay Round package unless it obtains their two goals.

1. Freezing Current Quotas.

MPAA seeks EC agreement to:

- a freeze (for the future) on the current level of quotas for foreign-made TV programs. (The television directive allows Member States to maintain a maximum quota of 50% for foreign-made TV programs. Some Member States currently exceed this level (i.e., France at 60%); some Member States have no quotas at all (e.g., Greece and Denmark); and,
- not to apply television broadcast quotas to new technologies (e.g., satellite transmission, pay-for-view TV and cable transmission) or to the prime-time period.

2. Full National Treatment in TRIPS.

MPAA believes that the Uruguay Round TRIPS text must include provisions to guarantee national treatment on access to the 'benefits' from their motion pictures. Several EC countries currently collect levies on video tapes, but make the funds collected available only to Europeans. Applying the principle of "national treatment" would assure that U.S. producers have equal access to these revenues.

[At past meetings, Jack has also raised the issue of European film subsidies. While he is not expected to raise it with you, the industry seeks to cap EC film subsidies at their current level or have them applied on a national treatment basis.]

Drafted by: USTR/ D Abelson/ C Balassa / B Harman



MOTION PICTURE ASSOCIATION
OF AMERICA, INC.
1600 EYE STREET, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 293-1966
FAX (202) 452-9823

JACK VALENTI
PRESIDENT
AND
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

October 11, 1993

TO: Mack McLarty, Roy Neel
FROM: Jack Valenti

Meeting with the President,
October 14, 4:00pm

The objective of this meeting is to illuminate for the President the vast, unique and unduplicatable worth of the U.S. film/TV industry as a priceless American trade asset, which must at all costs and in all ways be protected from discriminatory assaults by other countries.

In attendance will be the leaders of the industry, from the major studios, from the creative guilds, the broadcast networks, craft unions, and independent companies who are exporters of TV material.

We hope that this meeting will conclude with an explicit declaration by the President that the U.S. will never sign a GATT accord that either excludes audio visual, or is so full of restrictions that the Copyright Industries of the U.S. are seriously enfeebled.

The sullen fact is we are being assaulted by forces in Europe whose aim it is to demolish by parliamentary, EC and GATT fiat what American visual entertainment has won by popular approval of the citizens of Europe. Ambassador Mickey Kantor, who is totally knowledgeable about this problem, is championing our cause. But we cannot carve out a suitable future without the full, unhesitating support of the President.

I am attaching (1) a brief fact sheet, (2) a capsule summary of what the sensitive issues are, and (3) a resolution signed by a majority of the Members of the House, and a letter to the President signed by Senators Pat Moynihan, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, Senator Bob Packwood, ranking minority member, Senator Max Baucus, chairman of the sub-committee on trade and Senator John Danforth, ranking minority member on the sub-committee.

A Summary of the Issues
in Audio-Visual sections of
the GATT:

CULTURAL EXCLUSION:

The French are mounting an inflammatory campaign within the governments of the twelve member states of the EC to "exclude culture" from any GATT agreement. The French define 'culture' to be Intellectual Property, such as movies, TV programs, home video, cable programming, books, musical recordings, etc. 'Cultural Exclusion' carries with it the implicit authority for any nation to impose whatever discriminatory restrictions they choose without violating the rule of GATT. There is epidemic in France, particularly, a rising tide within the European cinema industry of anti-Americanism. All this fervor has one objective: To exile the American film/TV industry from Europe, and shrink the reach of American audio-visual material, which is hugely popular with the citizens of the EC countries.

QUOTAS:

In 1989, the European Community passed the Broadcast Directive which mandated that a majority of air time on all TV stations in the twelve-member states be devoted to EC material.

The French have ratcheted that 'majority' to 60%, and are sternly enforcing it. The Spanish, the Italians are backing the French. These Quotas will be a serious threat to the future of American movies and TV programs, unless they are halted or phased out over a number of years. Moreover, the 'new technology' -- satellite delivered programs, pay per view,

premium subscription channels on cable, all the magic of new ways to hurl programs all over Europe at the speed of light -- this new technology cannot be restricted by artificial barriers planted by parliaments.

SUBSIDIES:

The EC provides its audio-visual industry with huge subsidies, a little less than \$700 million in 1992, growing higher in 1993. These subsidies are funded by dedicated taxes at theater boxoffices and TV revenue turnover. This means that the American film/TV industry is the majority funder of these subsidies since the monies come out of our hide. There is no cap on these subsidies. There are plans floating around Europe to hike them higher and higher since the Americans provision most of these entitlements to European cinema. Moreover, even if we make a film in Europe, under so-called 'local content rules,' we are refused our just share of subsidies.

TRIPS (Trade Related Intellectual Property issues):

Under TRIPs, the American audio-visual industry is denied National Treatment. This means that when the French impose video levies (taxes on blank tapes and VCRs) which produce millions of francs, they refuse to allow Americans to share equitably in the dispersal of these funds, because they deny us National Treatment, which is the basis of any fair trade treaty.

Under TRIPs, contracts legally negotiated and signed in the USA can come under revision in Europe, disallowing sections of that contractual relationship. The preservation of our Contractual Rights is important..

**U.S. FILM INDUSTRY
MOVIES, TELEVISION PROGRAMMING, HOME VIDEO:
A WORLDWIDE ECONOMIC OVERVIEW¹**

ASSETS

- * **THE U.S. FILM INDUSTRY RETURNED AN ESTIMATED \$4 BILLION IN SURPLUS BALANCE OF TRADE IN 1992.**
- * **Worldwide Revenues From All Media - Theatrical, Television, Pay-TV and Home Video: \$9.12 billion for the first six months of 1993, Up 2% (\$180 million) from last year.**
- * **Theatrical, T.V. Pay-TV, and Home Video Foreign Revenues: \$3.65 billion for the first 6 months of 1993, Up by 10.2% (\$340 million) over last year.**
- * **International Markets: Accounted for **40% of worldwide revenues**, Up from 37.6 % last year.**
- * **European Community Revenues: \$1.93 billion for the first six months of 1993, Up 13% (\$222 million) from last year.**
- * **European Community Countries: Accounted for **52.8% of all foreign revenues** for the first six months of 1993.**

JOB CREATION

- * **Number of Workers in U.S. Motion Picture, Television and Home Video Industries: 414,700 as of April, 1993, Up 6.3% from a year ago.**
- * **Number of Motion Picture, Television and Home Video Jobs in California: Rose 9.2% over the past year to **139,800 jobs**.**
- * **Bulk of Job Growth in Los Angeles County: Up 11,300 jobs over the past year to **102,600 total jobs**.**

- * **FOR EVERY TWO NEW JOBS CREATED IN THE MOTION PICTURE INDUSTRY, ROUGHLY THREE OTHER JOBS ARE CREATED IN SUPPORTING INDUSTRIES (LUMBER, CONSTRUCTION, COSTUME, CATERING).**

¹ Figures obtained from the Motion Picture Association of America and the Los Angeles Times, September 11, 1993, p. D1.

**ALL COPYRIGHT INDUSTRIES
MOVIES, TELEVISION, HOME VIDEO, BOOKS, MUSIC, COMPUTER
SOFTWARE²**

VALUE ADDED TO U.S. GDP

- * Value Added by Copyright Industries to GDP: **\$331.5 Billion** in 1990 - an increase of \$174.7 Billion from 1977.
- * Copyright Industries' Share of GDP: **Rose from 3.8% in 1977 to 5.8% in 1990.**
- * Growth of U.S. Copyright Industries: **Twice** as fast as the rest of the economy.

- * **TOTAL COPYRIGHT INDUSTRIES ADD MORE TO THE GDP THAN THE ENTIRE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY AND MORE THAN THE AGRICULTURE AND MINING INDUSTRIES COMBINED.**

JOB CREATION

- * Number of Workers in U.S. Copyright Industries: **Rose to 4.8%** of all U.S. workers in 1990 - **5,574,800.**
- * Rate of Employment Growth in Copyright Industries: **Grew at 4.9% rate** between 1977 and 1990, **2 1/2 times the jobs growth rate** for the remainder of the economy.

- * **U.S. COPYRIGHT INDUSTRIES EMPLOY MORE WORKERS THAN ANY MANUFACTURING SECTOR INCLUDING TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT, PRIMARY METALS, FABRICATED METALS, TEXTILES, APPAREL, OR CHEMICAL AND ALLIED PRODUCTS.**

² Figures obtained from Copyright Industries in the U.S. Economy: 1977-1990. Prepared for the International Intellectual Property Alliance by Stephen E. Siwèk and Harold Furchtgott-Roth, September 1992.

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN NEW YORK CHAIRMAN
MAX BAUCUS MONTANA
DAVID L. BORER OKLAHOMA
BILL BRADLEY NEW JERSEY
GEORGE J. MITCHELL MAINE
DAVID PRYOR ARKANSAS
DONALD W. ROBBIE JR. MICHIGAN
JOHN O. ROCKEFELLER IV. WEST VIRGINIA
TOM DASCHLE SOUTH DAKOTA
JOHN BREAULOU LOUISIANA
FRY CONRAD NORTH DAKOTA

BOB PACKWOOD OREGON
BOB DOLE KANSAS
WILLIAM V. ROTH JR. DELAWARE
JOHN C. DANFORTH MISSOURI
JOHN H. CHAFFE RHODE ISLAND
DAVE DURENBERGER MINNESOTA
CHARLES E. GRASSLEY IOWA
OFFER G. HATCH UTAH
MALCOLM WALLOP WYOMING

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-8200

LAWRENCE TERNHELL JR. STAFF DIRECTOR
EDMUND J. MINALSKI MINORITY CHIEF OF STAFF

September 30, 1993

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

Dear Mr. President:

We near the end of the negotiations in the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). By December 15, the verdict will be in, and we will know the future rules of conduct for global trade. We want to be certain the rules are fair.

The objective of this letter is to support you in resisting any attempt to exclude "culture" from the final Uruguay Round agreement. Such a demand on the part of those who want to protect unfairly their films, television programs, sound recordings, and publications has one goal: to restrict the free movement of the goods and services of America's cultural industries.

American creative works have won the applause and patronage of citizens in over 100 countries on every continent. American films and television programs alone are an increasingly valuable trade asset to this nation, achieving a \$4 billion trade surplus annually.

Therefore, Mr. President, we most respectfully urge you and your Trade Representative to make it clear to all that no final Uruguay Round accord will be affirmed by the Congress unless the goods and services of America's cultural industries are not only included within GATT but, most importantly, are treated fairly and justly. To that end, we will support you.

Sincerely,


Daniel Patrick Moynihan
Chairman


Max Baucus
Chairman
Subcommittee on International
Trade


Bob Packwood
Ranking Member


John C. Danforth
Ranking Member
Subcommittee on International
Trade

CS

028343SS

IM



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: July 19, 1993

TO: David Geagen
George Stephanopoulos
Bob Rubin
Bruce Reed

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/19

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 16, 1993

93 JUL 16 PM: 31

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT E. RUBIN *RE*

SUBJECT: Secretary Reich Memorandum on Immigration

Bob Reich has written the attached memorandum on immigration, and, in talking with Bob, we both felt you would like to see it.

Most immigration issues are under the purview of the National Security Council, but some of these issues have significant employment and economic impacts. Bob and I feel that the issues raised in his memorandum will require some small administrative process and response. There is no action for you to take at this time, and we will follow up in organizing the necessary process and response.

Attachment

*1. This is a
part of our overall
immigration report
and clearly warrants
a clear answer*

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

SECRETARY OF LABOR
WASHINGTON, D.C.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL

FROM: ROBERT B. REICH 
SUBJECT: U.S. Immigration Policy
and its Workforce Effects

I. The Problems

In assessing immigration policy, three labor market issues are paramount:

(1) There is concern that the large number of immigrants during a sustained period of high unemployment may be affecting the employment opportunities of U.S. workers. These concerns are sometimes exaggerated, but may be on target in areas or occupations in which immigrants are intensively concentrated. Labor market effects should be considered when evaluating the overall impact of immigration policies.

(2) Immigrants are often subjected to abusive working conditions. These conditions can be particularly deplorable for illegal immigrants but there is increasing evidence that legal temporary nonimmigrants are being subject to abuse as well.

(3) There is also increasing evidence that certain features of temporary nonimmigrant employment programs are functioning poorly and leading to unintended consequences. Because of the Department of Labor's administrative responsibilities for aspects of these programs, abuses associated with these programs are of particular concern to us. Many of the abuses have occurred under the H-1B program¹.

* In Massachusetts, one firm has filed applications for more than 1,100 H-1B computer programmers and analysts after having announced and started to lay-off more than 1,600 U.S. workers, many in the same occupations.

¹ The H-1B program allows admission of "professional" nonimmigrants for temporary employment in "specialty occupations."

- From October 1991 to May 1993, there were at least ten California computer companies that laid off from 100 to 2,000 workers but each applied for at least 25 H-1B visa slots.
- We have found systematic underpayments of required wages in most of the H-1B investigations we have conducted. Recent immigration reforms may have made it easier for such abuses to occur.
- While annual H-1B admissions are capped at 65,000, one university alone has filed applications for 10,000 such workers.
- We have also seen reports, especially from California, that individuals admitted as "visitors for business" under B-1 visas are circumventing the H-1B program and also are replacing U.S. workers in the computer industry in large numbers, mostly through out-sourcing arrangements with job contractors. This nonimmigrant program is administered by INS and the Department of State.

II. Background

In FY 1992, we estimate that at least several million people entered the United States who could become active labor market participants:

- There were nearly one million permanent immigrants, the vast majority of whom were adults. Most of these immigrants were not admitted through employment programs.
- There were 4.3 million temporary nonimmigrants admitted into the country who could potentially have some connection to the labor market. Of these, 2.8 million were temporary admissions for business (many of whom were in the country for very short periods of time or were repeat visitors). More than 400,000 of the temporary nonimmigrants were explicitly admitted as workers.
- In 1989, it was estimated that there were two million undocumented immigrants in the United States. This figure is almost certainly higher today. Some of these illegal migrants are children, but most are presumably part of the labor market.
- Overall, the proportion of immigrants legally admitted specifically for employment purposes is relatively small -- representing only about 10 percent of the 5.3 million legal

permanent and temporary admissions -- but many more migrants are active in the labor market.

During the 1980s, as the economy grew and new (albeit relatively low wage) jobs were being created, the influx of large numbers of migrants to the U.S. caused relatively little public concern. Moreover, the economic activity, talents, and drive of these new entrants can substantially benefit the U.S. economy and create the potential for economic growth.

As the economy changed in recent years, however, and in light of current trends in downsizing of industries that require a relatively highly-skilled workforce -- exacerbated by the continuing shrinkage of defense-based industries -- we can expect immigration-related problems to continue to emerge and public concern to escalate in parallel. For example, in 1990 when our system for admitting legal immigrants and nonimmigrants was last revised, the national unemployment rate stood at 5.5 percent. It subsequently grew much higher and has -- despite recent improvements -- stubbornly remained at a level near 7 percent.

We have already begun to see signs of growing problems. We have read recurring reports involving lay-offs of highly-skilled U.S. workers -- e.g., computer programmers, analysts, and engineers -- who it appears are sometimes being replaced by lower cost foreign workers. These abuses often occur under non-immigrant programs which were supposed to be designed to preclude such employment (see attached news clips). CBS's 60 Minutes is currently producing a story on just such effects. And Congressman Smith (R-TX) has recently introduced legislation (see attachment) to link the ceiling on admissions of immigrants to the national unemployment rate.

III. Department of Labor Response

To address these emerging problems, we are taking a number of steps to remedy abuses and strengthen protections for U.S. workers both in the short and longer terms.

In the short term:

- We have asked the Congress to change the Immigration and Nationality Act to allow us the discretion not to proceed with a controversial program (see attached news clip) to use general labor market information in determining the admissibility of certain employment-based permanent immigrants.
- We are also developing regulatory changes in certain employment-based immigrant and nonimmigrant programs for which we have some administrative responsibility to

strengthen protection of U.S. workers. These include measures to:

- ▶ Require employers to disclose terms and conditions of employment to H-1B workers.
- ▶ Limit employers' labor condition applications (LCAs) to a single geographic area.
- ▶ Require employers to identify the source of the prevailing wage information they use as the basis for paying their H-1B workers.
- ▶ Limit the kinds of deductions allowed to be taken from workers' pay.
- ▶ Clarify what kinds of cash payments qualify, and which do not, toward meeting an employers' wage payment obligations.
- ▶ Clarify, to broaden, the sources from which complaints of violations can be accepted.

For the longer term:

- We are encouraging other Departments, particularly State and Justice, to work with us to strengthen controls on the admission of certain categories of nonimmigrants who are not supposed to engage in employment in the U.S., but appear to be doing so in increasing numbers, in some cases in deplorable conditions.
- We have also started working with our colleagues in the INS and the USTR to explore the feasibility of certain legislative changes we would like to see enacted to further strengthen protections for U.S. workers and discourage employers from seeking nonimmigrant workers in certain cases. In the H-1B program alone, these include:

MEASURES TO MANAGE THE NUMBER OF ADMISSIONS

- ▶ Reduce the H-1B cap of 65,000 admissions per year on an annual basis by 2,000 for each one-tenth of one percent that the national unemployment rate exceeds the rate when the current H-1B provisions were enacted (5.5%). The 65,000 cap would remain the ceiling if the national unemployment rate were to drop below 5.5 percent.
- ▶ Establish a separate "cap" per employer to limit H-1B admissions so that the employer's use of nonimmigrant workers in all categories does not exceed a fixed percentage -- e.g., 10 percent -- of the employer's

total workforce, or its workforce at any single work site.

- ▶ Limit H-1B period of stay to three (3) year duration, as opposed to the current six year duration.
- ▶ Disallow H-1B workers to adjust status to permanent residency or adjust to another legal nonimmigrant status until the worker has left the country for a minimum period of time (six months to two years).

MEASURES TO MANAGE THE "MIX" OF WORKERS ADMITTED

- ▶ Establish a pre-admission requirement that employers seeking H-1B workers attest that they have unsuccessfully recruited for U.S. workers for the target position(s) for some period of time -- e.g., 60 days.
- ▶ Establish authority for DOL to reject H-1B LCAs for occupations in which a labor surplus can be shown to exist.
- ▶ Raise the qualifications for H-1B admission eligibility to require a Masters degree or equivalent, as opposed to a Bachelors degree.

MEASURES TO BETTER PROTECT U.S. WORKERS

- ▶ Add "no lay-off" (past and duration) attestation provisions.
- ▶ Add requirement for employer to attest to taking timely and significant steps to develop, recruit, and retain U.S. workers in the occupations for which H-1B admissions are sought.
- ▶ Add provision that employers using H-1B workers obtained through contract must file separate attestation and be jointly liable for compliance with all attestation elements.
- ▶ Provide subpoena authority for enforcement.
- ▶ Allow directed, as opposed to only complaint-based, investigations.
- ▶ Add debarment penalty for failure to cooperate in DOL investigations or discrimination against individuals cooperating in investigations.

- ▶ Authorize DOL to reject LCAs where the wage promised is clearly less than that which prevails for the occupation in the area of employment.
- ▶ Require employers to pay H-1B workers in U.S. currency in the U.S., and to pay the cost of round-trip travel for any H-1B workers.

While we intend to pursue these and likely other steps in coming months, we realize that this issue extends well beyond the Labor Department and poses potentially serious problems for the Administration. We stand ready to assist this process in any way we can.

CC: RAHM EMANUEL
DAVID GERGEN
BOB RUBIN
MARK GEARAN
GENE SPERLING
GEORGE STEPHANOPOLOUS

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a publication.

Publications have not been scanned in their entirety for the purpose of digitization. To see the full publication please search online or visit the Clinton Presidential Library's Research Room.

Wt

I couldn't find
a number - sent this
+ send a copy to Sandy Levin
telling him I had decided to
write just before I got his
memo + thank him -
B.

Harcos told call
not made. ltr. sent.
+ have

They
Nancy copied
been

Nancy will
handle Cong.
Levin's
copy.

Tu 4/9

C O P Y
from ORM

Mayce (Chris) Webber
16725 Biltmore Street
Detroit, Michigan 48235

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 7, 1993

Dear Chris,

I have been thinking of you a lot since I sat glued to the TV during the championship game.

I know that there may be nothing I or anyone else can say to ease the pain and disappointment of what happened.

Still, for whatever it's worth, you and your team, were terrific. And part of playing for high stakes under great pressure is the constant risk of mental error. I know. I have lost two political races and made countless mistakes over the last twenty years. What matters is the intensity, integrity, and courage you bring to the effort. That is certainly what you have done. You can always regret what occurred but don't let it get you down or take away the satisfaction of what you have accomplished.

You have a great future. Hang in there. Sincerely, Bill Clinton

930409

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

APRIL 7, 1993

93 APR 7 P1:34

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Chris Webber, Michigan Basketball Player

DATE: At your convenience

RECOMMENDED BY: Karen Hancox, Legislative Affairs

PURPOSE: To help ease the public embarrassment experienced by Mr. Webber during the NCAA basketball finals.

BACKGROUND: Congressman Sandy Levin called and recommended that you call Chris and let him know that his calling a time out in the final seconds of the NCAA basketball finals and causing a technical foul to be called against his team is not the end of the world.

The Congressman suggests that we not tell the press, but rely on word of mouth to let the media know of your call.

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION:

1. Let Chris know you have seen ups and downs in your political career.
2. Let Chris know that while this may be a painful period in his life today, this too will pass.
3. Wish him all the best in his future endeavors.

CONTACT PERSON AND TELEPHONE NUMBER(S): Karen Hancox -- x6620

DATE OF SUBMISSION: April 7, 1993

ACTION: _____

NOT SENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 20, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR NEC WORKING GROUP ON THE MOTOR VEHICLE INDUSTRY

FROM: Ellen Seidman

SUBJECT: Summary of Michigan Delegation Meeting

What follows is a brief summary of the major points made by members of the Michigan delegation at the auto industry meeting on Wednesday, May 19. We can discuss any of these items further at our regular meeting next Tuesday. Please call me if you need any information earlier.

All members of the delegation except Bob Carr attended. The major spokesmen were Chairman Dingell, Senators Riegle and Levin, and Representatives Levin and Kildee. The meeting lasted about one and a half hours, about half of which was devoted to trade. Technology issues, except in the context of regulatory costs, were not discussed at all. Red Poling and Bob Eaton were present for about the first ten minutes of the meeting.

Although the meeting seemed largely to focus on the health of the manufacturers, the delegation was adamant that what they really care about is jobs in the United States. Senator Levin summed it up by saying that the bottom line for this Administration will be the economic health of workers and business people. The questions that will be asked about Administration actions (and inactions) will be, "What is the impact on jobs?" and "What does it mean for individuals' economic security?".

Trade and Other International Issues

The delegation emphasized that the United States must achieve results (in contrast to promises and plans) not only in trade discussions with Japan, but also in actual trade. (This includes access by auto parts manufacturers to transplants, which Senator Riegle seemed particularly interested in.) They stated that they regarded reclassification of MPVs as a commitment, and did not want the Administration to "trade it away." They urged the Administration to prepare to take and to take strong action -- including adoption of a "stronger, sharper super 301 procedure" and potentially including equivalent restrictions on Japanese products in the US -- if there were not measurable results soon.

Although NAFTA was not discussed fully, the delegation made it clear that there was no chance of support unless side agreements that keep jobs in the United States were complete before the agreement was presented for ratification. They seemed also to be

looking to the Administration to get a commitment from the auto manufacturers that the manufacturers would not use NAFTA to move jobs out of the United States, at one point saying that they're for "jobs, not investors."

The delegation strongly urged the Administration to hold tight against any temptation (or prodding by the Japanese) to assist in a weakening of the Yen. Their perception is that the Japanese auto manufacturers have been absorbing currency losses in hope of getting relief at the G-7 meeting. They believe prices of Japanese autos will have to be raised significantly after the meeting if there is no relief. Both the delegation and the manufacturers' representatives were quite candid that the Yen-dollar relationship is a major factor in the industry's current success.

Chairman Dingell raised the issue of ensuring the US maintains and improves access to markets other than Japan, naming Korea and Thailand in particular. He also was extremely critical of any negotiation of international agreements that would "amend" domestic law. He cited particularly global warming and CFCs (predicting a 1996 convention without air conditioning). He urged the Administration to "keep its negotiators under control," and to make absolutely certain that "good science and research" back US positions and agreements.

Regulations

At the start of the meeting, under questioning by Senator Riegle, Red Poling stated that about 35% of the \$73 billion the industry had invested over the last five years was due to regulations (this included items such as tooling for airbags). He stated that over the next several years, spending for regulation will add \$1,500 to \$2,000 to the cost of each car, primarily to comply with Clean Air and safety regulations.

The only other discussion of regulations came late in the meeting, when Chairman Dingell emphasized the need for the Administration to appoint "fair" people at EPA and NHTSA who would not "hurt the industries and workers we serve." He strongly urged that the Administration take actions with "exquisite fairness" and that the quality and honesty of science and research, particularly at EPA, be monitored and improved. He stated the oversight committees would be carefully looking at both these issues. The only specific regulatory issues that were mentioned were the GM recall and issues relating to state adoption of California clean car standards. On the latter issue, Chairman Dingell was concerned that states seemed to be adopting the standards without, for example, adopting the fuel standards, and with variations that would result in manufacturers having to meet multiple state standards, not just the federal or California standards.

Jobs

When asked by Secretary Reich what the delegation would be and the Administration should be asking of the auto companies in return for support, the quick and apparently unanimous response of the delegation was "keeping jobs in the United States." Representatives Levin and Kildee both suggested this was not an issue that should be left for the unions to fight for at the bargaining table, but rather one in which the government should play a role. As mentioned above, several of the Members stated that without a jobs guarantee of some sort, they (and, they suggested, many of their colleagues) would not support NAFTA. (They did not go on to say they would support NAFTA with such a guarantee.)

Other Issues

Congressman Levin said the Administration's actions concerning training and electric car development were good, and he was pleased to see them. He reminded the group that health care reform was of critical concern to the industry, and asked that we look at the tax code, which he stated penalizes automobiles in a number of areas, including depreciation.

Followup

Senator Levin asked that the group meet with us in three or four months to go over progress against the same list of issues.

CC:

Bob Rubin
 Gene Sperling
 Howard Pastor
 Mark Geran
 Christine Varney
 Chris Edley
 Bob Kyle
 Sylvia Mathews

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 27, 1993

03 APR 27 P3:15

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRUCE REED, DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
JOSE CERDA III, SENIOR POLICY ANALYST

SUBJECT: CRIME BILL CONSIDERATIONS

In structuring a proposal that meets your pledge to put 100,000 new police officers on the street, Domestic Policy has combined a series of crime-related initiatives. Inadequate funding caused us to take this piecemeal approach and to include Enterprise Zones, HUD's crime initiative, Safe Schools legislation and National Service participants in the 100,000 calculation. But the crime bill component of this plan has always been the central -- and most credible -- element of our 100,000 new police proposal.

Last year's crime bill conference report does not really include monies for hiring new law enforcement personnel. The bill's Cop on the Beat program does not allow funds to be used for new personnel, and the increase in funding for the Edward Byrne Memorial State and Local Law Enforcement Assistance Programs was enacted as part of separate legislation after the crime bill conference report failed last year. The Police Corps, as included in last year's bill, only offers scholarship assistance and provides no direct funding to put police on the streets. Moreover, given the scarcity of resources for the policing initiative, we do not believe the Police Corps is a cost effective means for increasing police force levels. Thus, without changes to the language and funding levels for these programs, the crime bill will not put more police on our streets.

So that the crime bill properly reflects your commitment to the 100,000 police pledge, we have been structuring a proposal, the Police on Our Streets Act, that would combine the Justice Department's spending for new programs and use that \$2.299 billion in budget authority to fund a single match grant program. We would then have a single direct funding source for the majority of our new police personnel.

We have spoken to Senator Biden's and Congressman Schumer's staff about such an approach, and they believe a "Police on Our Streets Act" could easily be incorporated as Title I of a new crime bill. We have not spoken to Chairman Brooks' staff about this specific proposal, but we believe he would be open to the idea. Chairman Brooks has been a critic of the large scale Police Corps included in the crime bill, and he may support scaling back the program.

A summary of the major provisions in the crime bill is attached.

CRIME BILL CONFERENCE -- SUMMARY OF MAJOR PROVISIONS

DEATH PENALTY

- Provides the largest-ever expansion of the Federal death penalty to cover 53 offenses. Included in the bill: assassination of the President; murder in the course of rape; murder for hire; drive-by-shootings.
- Provides the death penalty for killing a federal law enforcement officer and for killing state officers in the course of cooperative investigations with federal agencies.
- Provides the death penalty for "drug king pins" who are convicted of trafficking in massive amounts of drugs.

THE BRADY BILL

- Imposes a national, five-day waiting period for the purchase of handguns. Requires police background checks for gun buyers to keep weapons out of the hands of convicted criminals.
- Authorizes \$100 million for the development of a national "instant check" system for gun purchasers.

HABEAS CORPUS REFORM

- Limits time for filing a habeas petition to one year after conviction becomes final. No time limit currently exists.
- Limits the number of petitions allowed to one except for certain narrow exceptions such as newly discovered evidence or state interference. Under current law there is no limit on the number of petitions.
- Sets certain performance and qualification standards for trial and appellate counsel representing indigents.
- Before the Supreme Court adopted the Teague v. Lane doctrine in 1989, a prisoner could challenge his sentence in a habeas petition based on a favorable new court ruling that post-dated his trial and appeal. Teague significantly narrowed retroactive applications. The crime bill narrows Teague by never allowing new rules of law to be applied retroactively, but it also restores a narrower, pre-Teague definition of a new rule.

AID TO STATE AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT

- Raised the authorization level for the Byrne Memorial State and Local Law Enforcement Assistance Programs to \$1 billion. The Byrne program is the primary means of providing states and localities with federal law enforcement assistance.¹
- Other authorized appropriations for states and localities include:
 - \$150 million yearly for community policing grants;
 - \$300 million yearly for Drug Emergency Areas;
 - \$100 million yearly for Safe Schools grants;
 - \$100 million yearly for juvenile gang prevention grants.
 - \$10 million yearly for grants to states for DNA analysis;²
 - \$30 million yearly for law enforcement scholarships;
 - \$5 million yearly to provide family support services to law enforcement personnel;
 - \$15, \$20 and \$30 million over the next three years for substance abuse grants to community coalitions;
 - \$100 million yearly for grants to states and localities to drug test arrestees;
 - \$2 million yearly for grants to states to conduct racial and ethnic bias studies of their criminal justice systems;
 - \$2.5 million yearly for Midnight Basketball League grants;
 - \$100, \$100 and \$200 million thereafter for a National Police Corps;
 - a one-time \$100 million authorization to establish joint state-federal boot camps at closed military installations;
 - \$100 million yearly for drug treatment in state prisons;
 - a one-time \$700 million authorization for the construction and operation of 10 regional prisons for violent drug offenders;
 - \$10, \$15, \$20 and \$25 million for grants to state prisons for literacy programs;
 - \$50 million yearly for Rural Drug Enforcement Task Forces;
 - \$25 million yearly for Rural drug treatment and prevention programs.

TOTAL NEW SPENDING -- ALMOST \$1 BILLION YEARLY

(AND 800 MILLION IN ONE-TIME PRISON CONSTRUCTION COSTS)

¹After the crime bill failed to pass last year, this increased Byrne authorization was passed as part of separate legislation. Incorporating such an increase into a new crime bill would be redundant.

²This bill passed the House as separate legislation earlier this year.

PENALTIES FOR DRUG AND VIOLENT CRIMES

- Provides 56 new criminal offenses or penalty increases, including serious violent crime, drug trafficking and firearms offenses.
- Imposes four new mandatory federal prison sentences. They are: using minors to sell drugs in a drug-free zones; closing the loophole for the importation of small quantities of drugs; possessing or distributing drugs in a federal prison; and drug-related violations in newly created drug-free truck stops.

GANG VIOLENCE

- Launches a major new anti-gang initiative, including expanded juvenile courts, new law enforcement efforts, and gang violence prevention programs (e.g., Boys/Girls Clubs in housing projects).
- Creates a new federal offense for serious gang-related drug trafficking and violent crimes.
- Provides the death penalty for drive-by-shootings, one of the most common and serious types of gang crimes.

VICTIMS OF CRIME

- Increased federal aid to the victims of crime by removing the "cap" on the Crime Victims Fund and barred attempts by the previous administration to use the Crime Victims Fund to pay for expenses currently covered by Medicare and other federal programs.³
- Grants crime victims the right to speak at the sentencing phase of federal criminal trials, including death penalty.

RURAL LAW ENFORCEMENT

- Provides \$50 million in aid to rural law enforcement agencies.
- Establishes federal-state-local Rural Law Enforcement Task Forces in every federal judicial district with significant rural areas.

³These provisions were enacted separately when the crime bill failed last year.

- Establishes a specialized rural law enforcement training program at the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center in Glynco, Georgia.

POLICE CORPS

- Establishes an ROTC-style program to provide college scholarships to students willing to serve as police officers upon graduation.
- Provides new educational opportunities for police officers who are already on the beat and have demonstrated a commitment to a law enforcement career.

PRISONS

- Establishes 10 new regional prisons to hold up to 8,000 federal and state drug offenders.
- Creates 10 new military-style boot camps on closed military bases for first-time offenders and other non-violent drug offenders.

TERRORISM

- Provides the death penalty for terrorist murders and creates stiff new federal penalties for providing material support to terrorists.
- Implements United States' obligations under new anti-terrorism treaties by creating new federal offenses for terrorist acts committed against civil aviation and maritime targets.

GUN PENALTIES

- Provides new mandatory minimum penalties for serious gun offenses, including gun possession by convicted felons and for theft of a firearm.

FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT

- Authorizes \$345.5 million for federal law enforcement agencies to add hundreds of additional FBI and DEA agents, federal prosecutors, Border Patrol officers, and other law enforcement officials to combat violent crime and drug trafficking.

Specifically, these allocations are:

- \$45 million to hire and train 350 new DEA agents;
- \$25 million to expand DEA state and local task forces;
- \$5 million for special agents to investigate violations of the Controlled Substances Act relating to anabolic steroids;
- \$9 million for FBI drug trafficking investigations;
- \$500 million to hire and train 500 new border patrol officers;
- \$10 million for the U.S. Marshals Service;
- \$15 million for BATF to hire train 100 special agents to investigate firearms violations committed by drug trafficking organizations;
- \$20 million for U.S. Courts to address case overload;
- \$12 million for federal defender services.

EXCLUSIONARY RULE

- Codifies current law providing "good faith" exception to the exclusionary rule where police have a warrant.

CHILD ABUSE

- Creates a national system for background checks for workers in day care centers.
- Imposes the death penalty for child abuse murders.

703

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 15, 1993

03 MAR 15 A9:31

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: THE VICE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: APPEAL OF EDF v. MASSEY

I. ACTION-FORCING EVENT:

A decision on whether to file a petition for rehearing of the case must be made today (3-15-93).

II. BACKGROUND/ANALYSIS:

The issue is whether to petition for a rehearing in EDF v. Massey, a recent decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit holding that the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) applies to the National Science Foundation's proposed incineration of wastes from McMurdo Sound research facility in Antarctica. NEPA mandates the preparation of environmental impact statements (EIS's) for proposed major federal actions significantly affecting the quality of the human environment.

From its passage in 1969 until the late 1970s, the agencies interpreted NEPA to apply to their activities in Antarctica and in the global commons (i.e. the high seas and outer space). The legislative history of the Act strongly supports this construction. Moreover, the plain language of the Act encompasses the quality of the human environment, generally. There is no language indicating that the Congress was concerned only with environmental impacts within the United States.

In 1978, however, a dispute arose over the extraterritorial application of NEPA to actions within the sovereign territory of another nation. Because of the potential for interference in the conduct of foreign policy and concerns over the potential encroachment of another nation's sovereignty, President Carter determined that the Act did not apply. Instead, he issued Executive Order 12114 delineating the responsibilities of the federal agencies in assessing the environmental impact of their actions outside the territory of the United States. Although the dispute leading to the issuance of the executive order did not involve NEPA's application to the global commons and Antarctica, the order as written also expressly covers our actions in those geographical regions as well. The Court's holding in Massey was a rejection of this policy, at least with respect to its

application in Antarctica.

A. VIEWS OF THE AGENCIES

1. NSF -- Argues that compliance with NEPA will interfere with scientific research; recommends petition for re-hearing.

2. NOAA -- Complies with NEPA in activities on the high seas and in Antarctica without interference in research; recommends against petition for re-hearing.

3. EPA -- recommends against petition.

4. INTERIOR/AGRICULTURE -- given that the holding of the case is applicable only to Antarctica, recommends against petition for rehearing.

5. DEFENSE/NASA/NRC/USTR/DEA -- concerned that broader dicta in the case will be read to extend the holding of the case beyond Antarctica to our actions on the high seas (which could, for example, interfere with Navy maneuvers and operations) and to our actions within the sovereign territory of another nation. In the latter case, interference in the conduct of foreign affairs and risks to national security are feared if suits are brought under NEPA challenging -- and potentially enjoining -- significant federal actions. Harrassment suits are feared.

6. STATE -- also concerned about broader application of dicta in the case. Agrees, however, that NEPA should apply to our actions in Antarctica but recommends that we pursue that objective through legislation. Also recognizes weakness of E.O. 12114 in ensuring that environmental impacts are adequately assessed and therefore further recommends that a new E.O. be issued.

7. JUSTICE -- in a personal communication on 3-14-93, Attorney General Reno indicated to me that she is quite comfortable in not asking for a rehearing of the case. (Prior to General Reno's swearing on 3-12-93, lawyers handling the case at Justice had recommended that a petition be filed. However, the Acting Solicitor General in a meeting on 3-13-93 indicated that, if there is agreement with the holding of the case -- namely, that NEPA applies to Antarctica -- he would counsel against filing a petition. Nevertheless, you should be aware that in deciding not to file a petition, the dicta in the case will remain and will no doubt be used by plaintiffs until a case squarely addresses and resolves the question of NEPA's application to our actions in the sovereign territory of another country. (Such a case is now pending and our argument has been that NEPA does not apply.))).

B. CONSIDERATIONS:

1. National Security:

The concerns raised by those agencies seeking a rehearing are not lightly to be dismissed. In assessing the gravity of those concerns in this instance, however, the following factors should also be borne in mind:

a. While there is dicta in the opinion which extends beyond the narrow holding of the case, the court expressly stated that:

"[W]e do not decide today how NEPA might apply to actions in a case involving an actual foreign sovereign or how other U.S. statutes might apply to Antarctica. We only hold that the alleged failure of NSF to comply with NEPA before resuming incineration in Antarctica does not implicate the presumption against extraterritoriality."

b. The courts have been very sensitive to the relationship between NEPA and national security concerns. In no instance has NEPA been used to enjoin a federal action abroad when national security concerns have been raised. Indeed, even with regard to actions in the U.S. where there is no question that NEPA applies, the Courts have held that the Act gives way in the face of national security concerns. (Most recently, the court held in favor of the Air Force when planes violating noise restriction limits had to be landed in Massachusetts during the Persian Gulf War).

c. The availability of documents under NEPA is governed by the Freedom of Information Act. Classified information is therefore exempt from disclosure under the Act. Moreover, the Supreme Court has held that NEPA compliance is beyond judicial scrutiny when information critical to the national security would have to be revealed in trying the case.

d. As noted, for the first decade of its existence, NEPA was understood to apply to actions on the high seas. Thus DOD's NEPA regulations for the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Military Departments, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Unified and Specified commands, and Defense Agencies for most of the decade clearly specified that "Environmental statements are required for actions ... conducted anywhere in the world, except when conducted in, or partly in, areas which are in or under the jurisdiction of a nation other than the United States."

2. Other:

a. Your campaign statement: During the campaign, you provided the following statement to the league of Conservation Voter's:

"I support legislation to apply the National Environmental Policy Act to federal actions overseas."

b. Environmental community: Thirteen major environmental organizations have written you urging that the decision not be appealed. This is a major priority for them; there will be strong negative reaction to a petition for rehearing.

c. Congress: Legislation has repeatedly been introduced to apply NEPA to all federal actions overseas -- whether occurring in Antarctica, the global commons, or within the sovereign territory of another nation. Appeal of this case would likely trigger the reintroduction of that legislation. This will likely complicate efforts to pass the Department of Environment bill which may well be used as a vehicle. Moreover, passage of such legislation will take from you the discretion to decide, and to implement through a new executive order, the nature and extent of required federal environmental assessments for actions taken within the sovereign territory of another nation.

III. RECOMMENDATION: That the Department of Justice is directed not to file a petition for rehearing. Further, that the Department is instructed to distinguish this case from any pending or future cases involving the application of NEPA to actions anywhere outside the territory of the United States except Antarctica. Finally, that an interagency process is initiated to review policy with regard to the application of NEPA to the global commons and to the sovereign territory of another country, and that recommendations be developed in that process regarding possible application of NEPA, or alternatively, the development of a new executive order, in order to delineate environmental requirements in each of these areas.

IV. DECISION

____ Approve ____ Approve as Amended ____ Reject ____ No Action

DEFENSE REINVESTMENT AND CONVERSION

MARCH 11, 1993

Today, President Clinton announced a major Defense Reinvestment and Conversion Initiative that will go into effect immediately. In a sweeping policy shift, the Clinton Administration will distribute \$1.4 billion that Congress appropriated last year for defense conversion, which the Bush Administration had opposed and declined to spend. In addition, the Clinton Administration has redirected funds and proposed other FY93 spending totaling \$300 million. By 1997, the investments for defense conversion would almost triple to over \$5.2 billion, with a total of nearly \$20 billion invested in FY93-97. These investments will promote economic growth while preserving a strong military and defense industrial base.

In today's announcement, the President described in detail the \$1.7 billion in specific programs that will be implemented in 1993. The immediate conversion package includes four major areas of new investment:

- 1. WORKER TRAINING AND ADJUSTMENT**
- 2. INVESTING IN HARD-HIT COMMUNITIES**
- 3. DUAL-USE TECHNOLOGY AND COMMERCIAL-MILITARY INTEGRATION**
- 4. CONVERSION OPPORTUNITIES IN NEW CIVILIAN TECHNOLOGY INVESTMENT**

A National Economic Council interagency working group on defense reinvestment and conversion will issue a white paper in early April.

BRIEF SUMMARIES

1993 DEFENSE REINVESTMENT AND CONVERSION INITIATIVE:

1. MILITARY AND CIVILIAN WORKER TRAINING AND ADJUSTMENT: Now that we have won the Cold War and are readjusting our defense posture, we cannot leave the talented individuals who are responsible for that victory out in the cold. To achieve the economic strength that will ensure our national security in the new era, we must refocus the talents, energy and dedication of the men and women involved in national defense on creating economic growth and serving their communities. That is why the President's Defense Reinvestment and Conversion Initiative will dedicate over \$375 million in FY93 alone to transition assistance, employment services and job training. Some defense funds will be transferred to the Labor Department and other agencies to carry out these programs. During FY93-97, the President's defense conversion plan will allocate nearly \$4 billion for worker adjustment. FY93 funding includes:

- o \$150 million for government- and employer-sponsored training programs for displaced defense workers
- o \$112 million for transition initiatives for members of the guard and reserve and severance pay and health benefits for separating civilians

- o Early retirement benefits for military personnel with 15 or more years of service; retirement credit for service in law enforcement, teaching and other critical professions
- o Pilot programs to train separating military personnel and defense workers to enter critical jobs in teaching, law enforcement and health care

In addition:

- o The Department of Energy is redirecting \$25 million for employee retraining and assistance programs.

2. INVESTING IN HARD-HIT COMMUNITIES: There is a compelling need for actions that will speed and ease the transition of workers, communities and firms that are being hard hit by cuts in defense spending. Scores of defense-dependent communities are undergoing distress, as their workers lose jobs and their businesses contract. The recession and high unemployment have aggravated all of these problems. For communities that lose a military base, environmental clean-up is a major obstacle to base reuse. The 1993 package helps hard-hit communities by providing:

- o \$30 million to substantially expand DoD's Office of Economic Adjustment so that every community with a military base scheduled for closure will have the tools and expertise to plan and adjust and create new economic opportunities
- o \$80 million for revolving-loan programs and grants through the Commerce Department to target the communities that will be most hard-hit by declines in the industries affected by the defense contraction
- o \$84 million for Defense Department programs that allow retired military and reserve personnel to address unmet needs in the nation's schools and communities

In addition:

- o DoD will streamline environmental clean-up to speed local economic recovery; a new DoD deputy undersecretary for the environment is being created to make this happen.
- o The Administration will explore the potential for using unneeded military facilities for community health and other programs.

3. DUAL-USE TECHNOLOGY AND COMMERCIAL-MILITARY INTEGRATION:

For too long, our nation has denied itself the benefits to economic growth and technological advancement that could result from integrating the pursuit of defense and civilian goals. But we can no longer separate national security from economic security; in a post-Cold War world, they are one and the same. We must restructure the military-industrial complex so that commercial firms play the dominant role, since they now produce much state-of-the-art

technology. That is why the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) was renamed the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) -- as the agency was known before 1972. This change symbolizes the Clinton Administration's commitment to supporting dual-use technology and integrating the commercial and military sectors.

- o ARPA is now ready to accept proposals for over \$500 million in technology and industrial base programs. These funds will support industry-led R&D consortia in critical dual-use technologies and pioneering state/local efforts to commercialize and deploy technology. All programs require matching funds and merit-based selection. (For information, call: 1-800-DUAL-USE.)
- o ARPA and four other agencies (Commerce, NSF, Energy and NASA) are cooperating to jointly implement these programs through the Technology Reinvestment Project. The agencies will hold a series of regional outreach meetings in early April to brief potential applicants and answer questions. These programs, some of which were mentioned in our technology initiative, include:
- o \$255 million for government-industry partnerships to develop advanced materials, manufacturing and other dual-use technologies
- o \$100 million for "regional technology alliances" among firms to share information and develop new products and markets
- o \$100 million for state and local manufacturing extension programs to assist small defense firms in making the transition to commercial production
- o \$100 million for other programs to help small defense firms acquire dual-use capabilities

In addition:

- o ARPA has \$200+ million for industry research to develop electronics and materials technologies with both commercial and military application.
- o DoD is redirecting \$85 million of Small Business Innovation Research (SBIR) funds to companies that are developing dual-use technology in such areas as electronics, materials, and instrumentation.
- o To encourage large defense firms to pursue dual-use and commercial applications, DoD is enlarging the scope of independent research and development (IR&D) reimbursed under defense contracts. This should result in the redirection of some share of IR&D activities, which total several billion dollars annually.

4. CONVERSION OPPORTUNITIES IN NEW CIVILIAN TECHNOLOGY

INVESTMENTS: Technology is the engine of economic growth. By investing more in new civilian technologies, we can create exciting new opportunities for defense workers and firms, enhance U.S. competitiveness, and tackle unmet domestic needs. That is why the Clinton Administration has redirected funds and proposed other FY93 spending totaling \$300 million.

Proposed spending in the President's stimulus package includes:

- o an additional \$94 million for Department of Energy R&D partnerships with industry
- o \$117 million for the Advanced Technology Program and other activities of the Commerce Department's National Institute of Standards and Technology
- o \$64 million for pilot projects to demonstrate the benefits of computer networking to schools and libraries

10-Mar-93

Defense Reinvestment and Economic Growth Initiatives

Budget Authority (\$ in millions)

	<u>1993</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1993-7</u>
<u>Assistance for Defense Workers, Personnel and Communities</u>						
Department of Defense Personnel Assistance and Community Support	597	697	697 1/	697 1/	697 1/	3,385
Department of Energy Personnel Assistance	25	100				125
Department of Labor Displaced Worker Training	2/	300 3/	400 3/	400 3/	400 3/	1,500
Department of Commerce Community Diversification Assistance (EDA)	<u>15 4/</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>213</u>
Total: Worker and Personnel Assistance Programs	637	1,130	1,152	1,152	1,152	5,223
<u>Department of Defense Dual-Use Technology Reinvestment</u>	845 5/	964 5/	964 1/	964 1/	964 1/	4,701
<u>New Federal High Technology Investments</u> <u>(Conversion Opportunities) 6/</u>	185	1,206	2,329	2,758	3,175	9,651
Grand total: Programs that will assist Defense workers, personnel, communities and firms						
	1,667	3,300	4,445	4,874	5,291	19,575

1/ This is the 1994 level. Specific estimates for 1995, 1996, and 1997 will not be available until the DOD completes its comprehensive review of Defense programs this year.

2/ \$75 million will be transferred in 1993 from the Department of Defense.

3/ This is the portion of overall investment increase that could be expected to be used to retrain displaced defense workers.

4/ In addition, \$80 million will be transferred in 1993 from the Department of Defense.

5/ This excludes impact of broadened scope of allowable IR&D reimbursement.

6/ This includes investment programs that provide direct conversion opportunities (e.g., Department of Energy/industry R&D partnerships and NASA civil aviation research) and 50% of programs that provide some conversion opportunities (e.g., Department of Commerce programs for information highways, manufacturing and advanced and advanced technology.) Not included are increases for Enterprise zones, Community Development Banks, National Science Foundation, highway programs, and the R&D tax credit that will provide opportunities for defense firms and workers, and help develop infrastructure useful for community economic diversification.

10-Mar-93

Defense Reinvestment and Economic Growth Initiatives

Details of 1993 Programs
Budget Authority (\$ in millions)

Assistance for Defense Workers, Personnel, and Communities

Department of Defense Personnel Assistance and Community Support

Temporary early retirement	10
Temporary health transition assistance	11
Guard and reserve transition initiatives	40
Separation pay and civilian health benefits	72
Troops to teachers/healthcare/law enforcement personnel	6
DOD Environmental scholarships and grants	1/
Job training and employment services (Department of Labor)	75 2/
Job bank program	4
Military personnel occupational conversion & training	75
Transition Assistance/Relocation Assistance Programs 3/	60
Office of Economic Adjustment	30
Philadelphia Naval Shipyard Economic Conversion (1-time)	50
Community diversification (Department of Commerce)	80 4/
Retired military and reserve support of community programs 5/	84

Subtotal: Department of Defense

597

Department of Energy Personnel Assistance

25

Department of Commerce Community Diversification Assistance (EDA)

15 6/

Total: Community Adjustment and Assistance Programs

637

- 1/ Program in development.
- 2/ These funds will be transferred to the Department of Labor.
- 3/ Although this is a continuing program, it is shown here because it is an important element of the Department's transition program.
- 4/ These funds will be transferred to the Department of Commerce.
- 5/ This includes high school training programs and Civilian Community Corps/National and Service programs.
- 6/ In addition to this funding, the Department of Commerce will have \$80 million transferred from the Department of Defense.

10-Mar-93

Defense Reinvestment and Economic Growth Initiatives

Details of 1993 Programs
Budget Authority (\$ in millions)

Department of Defense Dual-Use Technology Reinvestment	845	2/
<u>Reinvestment Initiatives</u>	<u>327</u>	
Dual Use Technology Partnerships	95	
Commercial-Military Integration Partnerships	48	
Regional Technology Alliances	95	
Agile Manufacturing/Enterprise Integration	29	
Advanced Materials Partnerships	29	
Advanced Manufacturing Technology Partnerships	23	
Manufacturing Engineering Education Program	29	
US Japan Management Training	9	
Less baseline programs included above	(30)	
<u>Manufacturing/Technology Extension 1/</u>	<u>190</u>	
<u>Electronics and Materials Initiatives</u>	<u>243</u>	
High definition systems	92	
Optoelectronics	23	
Metal matrix and ceramics	9	
Diamond substrates	9	
Multi chip modules/high temperature superconductivity	14	
Multi chip modules	25	
Advanced lithography	71	
<u>SBIR refocused to dual use</u>	<u>85</u>	
<u>New Federal High-Technology Investments (Conversion Opportunities)</u>		
<u>Direct conversion opportunities for defense firms and workers</u>		
Department of Energy	94	
Government/Industry R&D partnerships, civil	47	
Government/Industry R&D partnerships, defense	47	
<u>Some conversion opportunities for defense firms and workers</u>		
Department of Commerce	181	
National Institute of Science and Technology (NIST)	117	
Information highways	64	
Assume 50% of this category provides conversion opportunities	91	
Total: New Federal high-technology investments (conversion opportunities)	185	
Grand total: Programs to assist defense workers, personnel, communities, and firms.	1,667	

1/ Program to be managed by DOC (NIST) with active DOD participation; FY 1993 funds support program over two year period.

2/ Excludes impact of broadened scope of allowable IR&D reimbursement.

**DEFENSE REINVESTMENT AND CONVERSION INITIATIVE
DOD PROGRAM SUMMARIES**

Personnel Assistance Programs

Early Military Retirement

This initiative would offer retirement benefits to military personnel with 15 or more years of service. Previously, DoD offered retirement benefits after 20 years of service. The goal of the new incentives is to encourage voluntary retirements of military personnel with greater than 15 but less than 20 years of service, and thereby minimize lay-offs. This program is targeted at military personnel who are not covered by other retirement or separation incentives, such as the Voluntary Separation Incentive/Special Separation Bonus, which are aimed at personnel with between 6 and 15 years of service.

Health Transition Assistance

This program is aimed at providing transitional health insurance to separating military personnel from the time they leave the armed services until the time they obtain health insurance through their civilian employer.

Guard and Reserve Transition Initiatives

These initiatives are designed to ease the transition for members of the guard and reserve who are released as a result of the defense cutbacks. The initiatives include, among other things, new retirement incentives, separation pay, and priority placement in open positions in guard and reserve units.

Separation Pay and Civilian Health Benefits

This initiative would offer retirement and resignation incentives to DoD civilian personnel. The goal of this initiative is to encourage voluntary retirements and resignations among the civilian workforce, thereby minimizing layoffs. The incentives would be equal to \$25,000 or the amount of severance pay to which an individual would be entitled, whichever is less. This initiative also offers transitional health insurance to separating civilians.

Troops to Teachers/Health Care/Law Enforcement Personnel

This initiative would establish three pilot programs to train separating military personnel, DoD and DoE civilian employees, and private sector defense workers to enter three public service professions for which many are particularly well suited: teaching, health care, and law enforcement. These programs use as a starting point the "Troops to Teachers"

legislation passed for fiscal year 1993.

DoD Environment Scholarship Program

The FY93 defense conversion package called for scholarships, fellowships, and training administered by DoD for the purpose of enabling individuals to qualify for employment in the field of environmental restoration and waste management in DoD. Program details are being developed.

Grants to Colleges for Training in Environmental Restoration

The FY93 legislation authorizes DoD to establish a program to assist institutions of higher education to provide education and training in environmental restoration and hazardous waste management techniques applicable to DoD and DoE facilities. Program details are being developed.

Job Training and Employment Services

This initiative will establish a \$75 million program to provide job training to separating military personnel, DoD civilians, and private sector defense workers. The program will be carried out by the Department of Labor.

Job Bank Program

DoD will expand access to the Interstate Job Bank, a Department of Labor-administered list of job openings. In addition, DoD will improve integration of existing databases of jobs and resumes to improve job search services for separating military and civilian personnel.

Military Personnel Occupational Conversion and Training

This \$75 million program will provide employer-sponsored, DoD-approved job training for veterans. Employers who participate in the program would agree to hire individuals following on-the-job training. DoD will work closely with the Departments of Veterans Affairs and Labor in implementing this initiative.

Transition Assistance/Relocation Assistance Program

Each of the armed services offer transition assistance programs for their separating personnel. These programs provide services such as pre-separation counseling, employment assistance, and a variety of other services and benefits.

Community Adjustment and Assistance Programs

Office of Economic Adjustment

DoD will increase substantially the activities of its Office of Economic Adjustment (OEA). OEA is responsible for leading DoD's efforts to work with communities severely affected by reductions in defense spending. In particular, OEA will assist each community affected by a base closing develop a plan for economic conversion and revitalization. OEA works closely with other federal, state, and local government organizations to bring the full range of assistance programs to bear on affected communities. OEA grants will help communities develop adjustment plans and states develop assistance and diversification programs.

Philadelphia Naval Shipyard Economic Conversion

The 1993 Appropriation Act stated that \$50 million may be available for conversion projects in Philadelphia. DoD is ready to work with Philadelphia to develop effective defense conversion programs using these funds. If the entire sum is not required for these programs, DoD proposes to use the remaining funds to run defense transition demonstration projects.

Community Diversification

DoD will dedicate \$80 million to pay for adjustment programs for defense-dependent communities to be carried out by the Economic Development Administration (EDA) of the Department of Commerce. The charter for EDA's Title IX program allows it to provide funds to pay for a variety of services in communities experiencing economic dislocation. EDA grants and revolving loan funds can be used to support business development, technical assistance, public works, or almost any other activity that addresses economic adjustment problems that have been identified in each community's economic adjustment plan. DoD will execute a memorandum of agreement with EDA to transfer the \$80 million. EDA will speed up the application process and provide priority attention to applications for these funds, and to reduce sharply its processing time for such applications.

Retired Military and Reserve Support of Community and Educational Programs

The Department of Defense will expand its support of a variety of programs that allow retiring and reserve personnel to address unmet needs in the nation's schools and communities. In particular, programs that foster youth development -- such as the National Guard Civilian Youth Opportunity Pilot Program and Junior ROTC Career Academies For At-Risk Youth -- can put to good use the mentoring skills of retiring defense personnel.

Defense Reinvestment Technology Programs

Dual-Use Critical Technology Partnerships

This program will support partnerships aimed at developing technologies that have both military and commercial applications. Industry will take the lead in submitting proposals, and may include federal laboratories, universities, and other entities.

Commercial-Military Integration Partnerships

This program will support partnerships aimed at developing and maturing dual-use technologies with clear commercial viability. Industry again takes the lead in submitting proposals, with other research institutions involved as industry deems appropriate.

Agile Manufacturing/Enterprise Integration Program

This program is designed to capitalize on the emerging shift from mass production to flexible or "agile" manufacturing. Agile manufacturing allows independently-owned companies to form instantaneous partnerships with firms that have complementary capabilities in order to exploit market opportunities. These partnerships -- called "virtual enterprises" or "virtual corporations" -- will leverage our nation's strengths in information technology. Agile manufacturing capabilities are required in both the commercial and military sectors and are key to reconstituting military capabilities in any future national emergency. Industry will take the lead in submitting proposals in partnership with universities and other appropriate institutions.

Advanced Materials Synthesis and Processing Partnerships

This program will support partnerships aimed at improving industry's ability to take new materials from the laboratory to commercial production. Industry takes the lead in submitting proposals with other institutions involved as appropriate.

Advanced Manufacturing Technology Partnerships

This program will fund partnerships aimed at developing new manufacturing technologies with dual-use applications with particular emphasis on significantly reducing health, safety, and environmental hazards associated with existing manufacturing processes. Industry will take the lead in submitting proposals with other institutions involved as appropriate.

Manufacturing Engineering Education Grant Program

This program will support manufacturing engineering education programs at colleges, universities and other institutions of higher education, on a matching basis. Educational institutions will submit proposals in partnership with industry and other institutions as appropriate.

Manufacturing Experts in the Classroom Program

This program will support teaching, curriculum development and other activities of manufacturing experts with practical experience at institutions of higher education. Educational institutions will submit proposals in partnership with industry or labor organizations and other institutions as appropriate.

US Japan Management Training Program

This program provides training for US scientists, engineers, and managers in Japanese technology management, language, and culture, and provides research opportunities in Japan to: 1) increase understanding of Japanese industry and technology management methods, 2) provide US scientists, engineers, managers, and students an understanding of Japanese business and social culture, and 3) provide opportunities for direct involvement in research, engineering and management activities.

Manufacturing/Technology Extension Programs

Manufacturing Extension Program: this program will assist small manufacturing (with up to 500 employees) in upgrading their capabilities to serve commercial and defense needs. Modelled after the agricultural extension program, this program will fund on a matching basis the efforts of state and local governments to deliver services to small manufacturers. State and local governments will submit proposals under this program in partnership with other institutions as appropriate.

Dual-Use Extension Assistance Program: this program will assist businesses economically dependent on Department of Defense expenditures to acquire dual-use capabilities through a variety of mechanisms. The program will involve state and local governments, the private sector, nonprofit organizations and other federal agencies.

Electronics and Materials Initiatives

These initiatives support industry research to develop dual-use technologies in: higher definition systems, optoelectronics, metal matrix and ceramics, multichip modules, multichip integration, advanced lithography, diamond substrates, multichip modules/high temperature superconductivity, battery technology, and composite materials manufacturing.

For information on the above programs, call 1-800-DUAL-USE.

New Civilian Technology Investments

R&D partnerships between industry and the National Labs: This initiative provides \$235 million in FY93 to encourage partnerships between industry and the Department of Energy's defense and civilian labs. These labs are home to more than 59,000 scientists, engineers and technicians who perform over \$6.6 billion worth of R&D each year. With the end of the Cold War, the mission of the National Labs should expand to include partnering with industry in areas such as renewable energy, microelectronics and photonics, environmentally-conscious manufacturing, and high-performance computing. Using Cooperative Research and Development Agreements (CRADAs) and other mechanisms, the labs can increase the share of their resources devoted to industry-driven, cost-shared partnerships.

Advanced Technology Program: The Commerce Department's Advanced Technology Program, managed by the National Institute of Standards and Technology, provides matching grants for industry-led R&D projects, which are proposed by single companies or joint ventures. The Advanced Technology Program has provided funding for projects in machine tools, advanced automotive manufacturing, recycling of plastics, and flat panel display manufacturing. ATP can help defense contractors make the transition to the civilian sector. One defense contractor commented that "I've got a better perspective of the way commercial businesses operate than I did prior to our collaboration with... [joint ventures partners]... on the ATP."

Information Superhighways: Although the private sector will take the lead in deploying an advanced communications network, government can act as a catalyst by helping non-profit institutions such as schools link up to national networks. With the right investments, students will be able to tap into on-line electronic libraries, conduct scientific experiments using equipment anywhere in the country, and collaborate with other students on a wide variety of learning projects. In FY93, the National Telecommunications and Information Administration will have \$64 million to promote networking pilot projects.

Post-It™ brand fax transmittal memo 7671

of pages ▶

To	From
Co.	Co.

Living With the Clintons

Bill's Arkansas bodyguards tell the story the press missed.

by David Brock

I

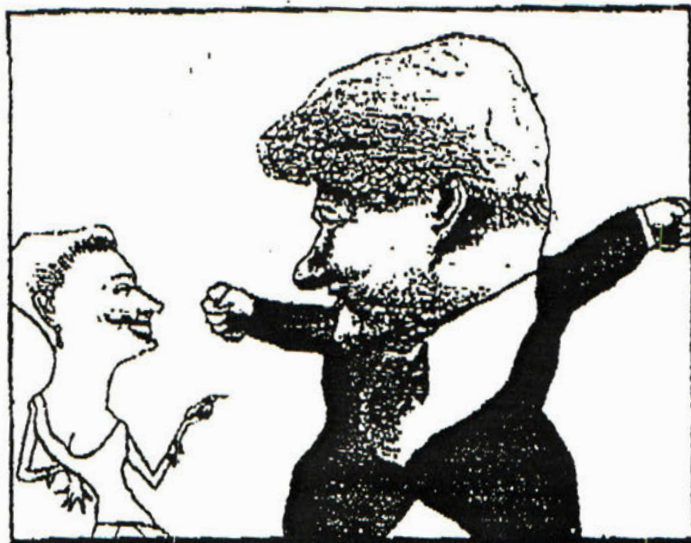
In a remarkable but little-noticed article buried inside the Sunday *Washington Post* four months before the 1992 presidential election, top Clinton campaign aide Betsey Wright said she had been spending the better part of her time since the Democratic National Convention trying to quell potential "bimbo eruptions."

Through the Little Rock gossip mills, the campaign was tracking nineteen potential allegations that had surfaced in the first week following the convention, in addition to seven others that had appeared earlier in the year, Wright said. The extensive effort to short-circuit such stories, Wright said, included the campaign's hiring of a private investigator to obtain information damaging to the credibility of the women involved, which was then used, presumably, to persuade them to stay quiet.

Perhaps unintentionally, the phrase "bimbo eruptions" cut two ways. Wright's choice of the epithet "bimbo"—and a later reference to "gold-digger growth"—was obviously meant to discredit in advance any reports of sexual liaisons between Arkansas governor Bill Clinton and women other than his wife, Hillary. Yet at the same time, Wright also seemed to be conceding, if not promising, that there was more to come—i.e., the imminent appearance of an unspecified number of such women, and a subsequent round of stories raising questions about Clinton's private life.

Wright was not the first to talk about the campaign's aggressive efforts to discredit sources and lobby reporters and editors to spike emerging news stories. Writing in the *New York Times* in March, Gwen Ifill reported:

David Brock is the author of The Real Anita Hill (Free Press) and an investigative writer for The American Spectator.



There have been constant, though undocumented, reports of articles that were never published because the Clinton damage controllers were on full alert before final publication decisions were made. This works "more often than you think," said George Stephanopoulos.

Even the recently released documentary about the 1992 campaign, *The War Room*, showed Stephanopoulos on the telephone on the eve of the election, warning a caller not to go public with damaging information about Clinton's private life.

The campaign had gone on "full alert" when Jennifer Flowers, the former cabaret singer, alleged in an interview with the *Star* supermarket tabloid that she had carried on a 12-year affair with Clinton ("Mistress Tells All, The Secret Love Tapes That Prove It"). With Hillary at his side, Clinton appeared on "60 Minutes" to deny that he had ever had an affair with Flowers, calling her only "a friendly acquaintance," but acknowledging unspecified "wrongdoing" and "causing pain in my marriage."

Flowers's story was tainted at the outset, when she was reportedly paid \$150,000 to cooperate with a publication of no journalistic repute. It was then discovered by the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette* that she had misrepresented parts of her educational background and work history. Writing in the *New Republic*, Sidney Blumenthal described Flowers as "the woman in red, trimmed in black to match the roots of her frosted hair."

On the other hand, there was direct evidence weighing in favor of Flowers. Though they had some unexplained pauses and ambiguous references, Flowers had tapes of conversations with Clinton, including his instruction that she deny that they had talked about her obtaining a state job ("If they ever ask you if you've talked to me about it, you can say no"). She also had corroboration for her story from her mother Mary, as well as from her roommate at the time, Lauren Kirk, who declared in an interview with the *New York Post*'s Cindy Adams, "There can be no doubt that she and Bill Clinton had sex with one another."¹ And finally, Clinton never denied the authenticity of the tapes; in fact, he apologized to Mario Cuomo for a taped remark imputing Mafia ties to the New York governor.

Yet with very few exceptions—Phil Donahue and the *Washington Monthly*'s Charles Peters among them—the press was untroubled by these wrinkles in Clinton's denial of the Flowers affair and accepted his suggestion that any marital indiscretions were history. Pressed by Donahue, Clinton seemed to assert that any peccadilloes were a thing of the past: "I've told you the only facts I think you're entitled to know. Have I had any problems with my marriage? Yes. Are we in good shape now? Yes." The contention that any marital infidelity was no longer occurring was crucial to Clinton's ability to put out the fire. As the *New York Times* paraphrased Clinton pollster Stan Greenberg at the time, "As long as voters believed the candidate had not lied and that his marriage was 'real,' they will not turn on him."

¹ After speaking to the press, Kirk was fired from her job as a realtor in Dallas.

For the most part, the press coverage quickly devolved into a tortured colloquium on whether or not infidelity was a Legitimate Issue. To the extent that members of the press corps had come to believe that it no longer was, that they had gone too far in destroying Democratic front-runner Gary Hart's political career by exposing his ties to model Donna Rice in 1987, Clinton may have been treated with kid gloves on the womanizing issue. Though opinion polls showed that 14 percent of the electorate would not vote for an adulterer, the indifferent public response to the Flowers story may have convinced many in the media that the public desire for "change" outweighed any concerns about Clinton's character. In addition, it was clear that many reporters viewed Clinton as "one of us," a product of the 1960s not only politically, but on sexual matters as well—a "liberal semi-hip contemporary who seems to share their [reporters'] values," as the *Boston Globe* described the candidate. Clinton booster Eleanor Clift of *Newsweek* candidly stated after the Flowers revelations, "Truth is, the press is willing to cut Clinton some slack because they like him and what he has to say."

Nonetheless, a competing if minority view among some journalists held that the press must not repeat the slavish self-censorship of the Kennedy days. Surely a number of news organizations continued to scrutinize Clinton's private life after the Flowers story faded, and even more so following his presidential nomination. Despite Clinton's tacit admission of infidelity, however, after Flowers no other "bimbos" erupted.²

Having recently spent a good deal of time in Arkansas with people who were close to the Clintons in their Little Rock years, I'm fairly certain that it was less a lack of professional interest in the subject, and more the lack of on-the-record sourcing due to the strong-arm tactics acknowledged by Wright and Stephanopoulos, that kept what could have been one of the biggest political stories of the campaign from seeing the light of day.

II

Much has been written of Clinton's fascination with JFK, dating back to the time he was introduced to the president while visiting Washington as a teenager in 1963. When Clinton returned from Washington, he announced to his mother that he was going to enter politics. This past September, President Clinton

² Other names surfaced in the tabloids but, unlike Flowers, were never mentioned in the mainstream press. Appearing on the Sally Jesse Raphael show in July 1992, Sally Perdue, a former Miss Arkansas, claimed that she had had an affair with Clinton, but the media generally did not report this. After the appearance, Perdue was fired from her job in the admissions office of a Midwestern university. A second woman had actually surfaced prior to Flowers, in *Parade*. Connie Hamzy of Little Rock said she had been sunbathing by a pool at a hotel in North Little Rock in August 1984 when an aide to Clinton approached her and arranged a sexual encounter with Clinton.

summoned journalist Richard Reeves, the author of the recent biography *President Kennedy*, to the White House to discuss his book. Reeves writes of how Kennedy and his handlers worked hard to keep stories of the president's womanizing out of the papers, much as the Clinton campaign would do some thirty years later.

[Kennedy] understood an important fact about the press and scandal: respectable journals generally avoided being the first to report on rumors or evidence concerning sex. But he knew that once something had been printed, no matter where, newspapers and magazines quickly quoted each other, using the first publication as a peg for their own reports... The idea was to stop the first mention.

Clinton followed his idol's strategy, and thus far he's been amazingly successful. On the Flowers tapes, Clinton is heard saying, "They can't run a story like this unless somebody said, 'Yeah, I did it with him.'" Given the way Flowers was made an example of by Wright, Blumenthal, and others, women who have been linked to Clinton were less likely to come forward. But aside from the women, there was another group of sources sought after by reporters in the fall of 1992 because they were uniquely positioned to have first-hand knowledge of the subject: the dozen or so Arkansas state police officers assigned to the governor's security detail both before and during the presidential run.

Under state law, these troopers are charged with safeguarding the first family of Arkansas, as well as the grounds of the gubernatorial mansion in downtown Little Rock. In practice, at least during the six terms that Clinton held office, the troopers functioned as chauffeurs, butlers, bodyguards, errand boys, and baggage handlers. They did everything for the Clintons, from receiving and placing telephone calls to changing bicycle tires and cleaning up after Socks the cat (who apparently retches with alarming frequency).

In late August and in September and October, I spent more than thirty hours interviewing four state troopers who had worked for the Clintons at various times over the years: in total, their experience covered most of the period from early 1979, when Clinton first took office, to January 16, 1993, when Clinton left Little Rock and flew east for his presidential inauguration. The meetings took place after I received an unsolicited tip that a group of Arkansas troopers was considering coming forward to tell all they knew about the Clintons, including extensive first-hand information about Bill's philandering.

The troopers' proximity to the Clintons had prompted reporters from many national news organizations to seek them out for interviews in 1992, calling them at home all hours of the day and night for weeks. Up until last fall, when I interviewed them, they had not talked. I spoke with the troopers separately and in various combinations and then re-interviewed them several times on tape to test and re-test their account for inconsistencies and embellishment.

Ultimately, two of the troopers, Larry Patterson and Roger Perry, decided to go on the record with the material and allow their names to be used in this piece. At that point, they retained two lawyers: Cliff Jackson, a former Oxford

classmate of Clinton's, who had accused Clinton of lying about his draft history in a series of media interviews in 1992; and Lyan Davis, a former director of the Arkansas state police and a former prosecutor.³

The troopers also spoke on the record and swore to affidavits furnished to the Los Angeles Times, which may make use of some of the material for a broader piece being developed on how the Clinton campaign kept these and similar stories from surfacing in 1992. The other two troopers have decided against going public at this time; their recollections are included here only if what they related to me in our off-the-record interviews corresponds with specific experiences they confided contemporaneously to one or both of the on-the-record troopers.

The troopers seem to have mixed motives. They say they are moved by public-spiritedness. They have come forward now because they believe the reckless personal behavior and poor judgment they witnessed by then-governor Clinton, if continued by the president, a subject on which they cannot speak authoritatively, could constitute a risk to the national security of the U.S. by making the president easy prey for blackmailers.

But as with all sources, there is also an element of self-interest and score-settling in their decision to speak to the media. As the troopers see it, Clinton behaved ungratefully and even rudely toward them after election day. "We lied for him and helped him cheat on his wife, and he treated us like dogs," Patterson said. When one of the troopers asked Clinton to sign some photographs for his family after the election, he said the president-elect snapped: "I don't have time for that s---." Clinton assured Patterson that he would secure for him a lateral transfer within the state police organization before leaving office, but he never found five minutes to make the telephone call. (The current governor, Jim Guy Tucker, later did.)

There is also a prospective financial interest. Patterson, 47, the articulate senior member of the group, with twenty-seven years of service in the state police, and Perry, 43, with sixteen years of service, hope to collaborate on a book about life at the governor's mansion. Perry, who worked for Clinton in his first term, returned to duty at the governor's mansion in 1989 and remains on Tucker's detail. Patterson had worked for Clinton on several special assignments

³The process of getting the material from Patterson and Perry on the record was a long one. In October we signed a written agreement authorizing me to publish this piece in this magazine while protecting their right to sell a book later. So great was their fear of retaliation from what they called "the Clinton machine," that the troopers then had Jackson make inquiries about establishing a defense fund to cover potential legal costs and lost income that could result from coming forward. In early December, however, the troopers decided to go on the record with no such protection, in order to guard against the potential criticism that they had been induced to talk for money. To allay my own concerns on this issue, I requested and received written assurance from Jackson prior to publication that no money had been paid or promised to his clients by anyone for disclosing any information.

before assuming full-time duties in 1987. They both served Clinton until his last day as governor in 1993.

The experiences of Patterson and Perry only a selection of which will be described here, show that, in addition to trying to lie to the American public when he denied his relationship with Gennifer Flowers and claimed that any infidelity had occurred only earlier in his marriage, Clinton had an elaborate damage-control operation that was reminiscent of John Kennedy's—and for a very good reason: For at least a decade, Clinton has been prone to extramarital affairs, often more than one at a time, and to numerous one-night stands. According to the troopers, the clandestine sexual encounters occurred even after the presidential election and continued through Clinton's final days in Little Rock.

Clinton is a man of gargantuan appetites and enormous drive, and not only in relation to women. "When he would eat an apple," said Roger Perry, a stout 6'2" chain-smoker who does not seem easily offended, "he would eat the whole thing, core, stem, and seeds. He would pick up a baked potato with his hands and eat it in two bites. I've never seen anything like it."

The troopers said their "official" duties included facilitating Clinton's cheating on his wife. This meant that, on the state payroll and using state time, vehicles, and resources, they were instructed by Clinton on a regular basis to approach women and to solicit their telephone numbers for the governor; to drive him in state vehicles to rendezvous points and guard him during sexual encounters; to secure hotel rooms and other meeting places for sex; to lend Clinton their state cars so he could slip away and visit women unnoticed; to deliver gifts from Clinton to various women (some of whom, like Flowers, also had state jobs); and to help Clinton cover up his activities by keeping tabs on Hillary's whereabouts and lying to Hillary about her husband's whereabouts.

How important such revelations are in any assessment of Bill Clinton as a man, and as a political leader, can be left for the reader's judgment. The *Newsweek* reviewer of the Reeves book identified the dilemma for journalists and historians:

Kennedy scholars have by now proved that his private life was less than admirable. He was a compulsive womanizer and, like most such men and many presidents, an accomplished liar. A biographer has to decide how far to interpret Kennedy's public performance as president through the medium of his private foibles.

Surely, it is nothing new that many politicians use their positions to solicit sexual favors and come to believe that the laws and mores that govern others don't apply to them. So far as the troopers knew, Clinton's activities did not include abuse of drugs or alcohol, and all of the women appear to have been willing participants in the affairs and liaisons. Some may well conclude, therefore, that Bill and Hillary Clinton's loose sexual morals and their habitual foul language are irrelevant to their public roles and, in any event, are not uncharacteristic of their generation as a whole.

Still, the Clintons hold positions that, it is possible to argue, ought to be subject to a higher standard, particularly for people so inclined to argue for their public policies in a moral context. While rumors of extramarital dalliances have surrounded many presidents in this century, the scale of Clinton's past indiscretions, if it has been sustained in the White House, as has been widely rumored, would appear to far exceed that of any of his predecessors, with the possible exception of John Kennedy. If, as the troopers describe it, he is a sexual predator and exploiter of women, his behavior may be more egregious than that which destroyed the political careers and reputations of Gary Hart, John Tower, and most recently Bob Packwood.



III

But there is a larger point in the case of Clinton that goes well beyond any moral or ethical judgment about—or prurient interest in—his private life. When

sources come forward of their own volition to describe how Clinton's private activities have caused lies to be told, threats to be made, and cover-ups to be undertaken, an issue of public integrity is raised, and the public's right to know outweighs a public figure's claim to privacy or journalistic discretion. Thus, even if one is inclined to give the issues of character, judgment, and self-control raised by the troopers' account of Clinton's behavior little weight—much of the material should strike readers as more farcical than scandalous, a view shared by the troopers, who chuckled through some of the telling—it became evident in the reporting of this story that Clinton and his surrogates continue to regard his private behavior as a political time bomb. Their effort to try to thwart publication of the story is itself newsworthy—and quite illustrative of how this information was kept from voters during the 1992 campaign.

Shortly after my first session with the troopers, three of the

four (Perry and the two who wished to remain off the record) received telephone calls from their former supervisor on the governor's security detail, Captain Raymond L. "Buddy" Young, who last July was named by Clinton to head a regional Federal Emergency Management Agency office in Texas. Perry said Young told him that he was aware that they had hired lawyers and were thinking of going public with a book or a story. Perry said that Young told him, "I represent the president of the United States. Why do you want to destroy him over this? You don't know anything anyway. . . . This is not a threat, but I wanted you to know that your own actions could bring about dire consequences." Patterson said Young sent him a handwritten note expressing concern for Patterson's health.

In an interview, Young confirmed that he had been in contact with the three troopers to discuss this matter. "I called Roger as a friend, and I told him I thought this was wrong, it was unethical, and it was a disgrace to security people. But I never said I spoke for the president, because I don't." Young denied having been in contact with the president or anyone in the White House on this subject. Young also confirmed that he sent a note to Patterson about his health, but denied any implication that the note was a veiled threat. "Larry has heart problems, and I was concerned about his cholesterol," Young said.

He went on to say that the thrust of Patterson and Perry's account was not true and that I should look closely at their motives. "These boys made this up to sell a book and because they were mad that Clinton didn't give them promotions," he said.⁴

Young also confirmed that one of the two troopers who decided not to go on the record—but whom Young voluntarily named, Danny Ferguson—subsequently obtained part-time employment at a Little Rock company, National Safety Consultants, in which Young owns an interest. "I started this consulting service for safety training for truck drivers a few years back as a part-time deal. I own an interest, but I don't have anything to do with the operation. They subcontracted with Danny. But it had absolutely nothing to do with what we're talking about. It was totally unrelated." Young also confirmed that the second trooper interviewed by me who decided not to come forward—whom he also voluntarily named, Ronnie Anderson—had a part-time job at this same company that pre-dated our first meeting. The job provides several thousand dollars a year in supplemental income to Anderson, Young said.

Ferguson also confirmed the arrangement but denied that it was related to his having decided not to go on the record with his stories about the Clintons. "I talked to Buddy more than a year ago about this job. But when I started, it was Ronnie Anderson who arranged it. Buddy didn't even know about it until after I started. I started a month ago, and I only made \$190 last month [November]. If I was going to do

something not to talk, it wouldn't be for that kind of money," Ferguson said.

Another attempt to suppress the story was allegedly made by Paul "Rocky" Wilmoth, a Clinton fundraiser and Arkansas bulk-oil dealer and distributor. According to Perry, Wilmoth recently stopped by the governor's residence and told two troopers who have not been involved with this story, Frank Tappin and Derrick Flowers, to convey to Perry and Patterson that they would be "destroyed" if they talked to the press. Wilmoth denied the story, as did Flowers. Tappin declined to comment.

Perry said that Ferguson told him that Clinton called him personally while he was on duty at the Arkansas governor's mansion on at least two occasions after our first interview. During the initial call, according to Perry, Clinton let it be known that he was willing to offer favors in return for the troopers' refusal to cooperate further. Clinton told Ferguson to tell Roger Perry that "Roger can have whatever he wants (not to talk)." In another call to Ferguson, Clinton asked what precisely Perry and Patterson were saying, Perry said. "If you tell me what stories Roger and Larry are telling, I can go in the back door and handle it and clean it up," Clinton allegedly said. Perry said that Ferguson told him that in the course of the conversations Clinton offered Ferguson a federal job—either as the U.S. marshal in Little Rock or as a regional FEMA director—explicitly in exchange for his help in thwarting publication of any stories. This could be a violation by Clinton of a criminal statute barring the solicitation of money or anything of value (in this case, information) in consideration for the promise of federal employment. Ferguson said, "I'm not going to confirm anything Roger is saying I said." Asked if he was denying receiving calls from Clinton, he said, "I've talked to a lawyer and I'm not denying it. No comment." (The White House did not return calls for this story.)

These rumblings from the Clinton machine notwithstanding, Perry and Patterson have hung tough and decided to be the first to pierce the shield of secrecy surrounding Clinton's indiscretions that has been so effectively maintained up to now. Readers should be forewarned about two aspects of their story. First, the many subjective observations and judgments made about the Clintons are the troopers' own and should be considered in the light of the troopers' inherent biases and limitations. That said, the unvarnished observations of these men warrant disclosure because they provide the kind of texture that would likely not be revealed until presidential biographies were published, years or decades after the Clintons left office. Second, the reader should be warned that when the troopers are describing events they witnessed and quoting verbatim statements made in their presence, much of what they have to say is vulgar tabloid fare. This, however, reflects not on them, but on the behavior of the first couple.

IV

As the troopers saw it, the Clintons' relationship is an effective political partnership, more a business relationship than a marriage. They described Bill as the public face, the communicator, the conciliator, a man

⁴ Young is currently being sued in Arkansas for allegedly lying in federal court to discredit a witness who claimed to have information about illegal drug money being funneled through the Arkansas bond market during Clinton's tenure.

who likes to be liked and even talked with them about his "star" qualities. "One time we got to talking while I was driving him back from a political event and he said, 'You know, I'm going to have to stay in politics now, because I'm too old to be a movie star,'" Patterson recalled.

The troopers charted a distinct change between the headstrong radical of Clinton's first term—"kind of a hippie," as Perry put it—and the chastened compromiser of later years. Rejection by the voters in 1980 left Clinton with a propensity to try to please all sides, therefore often pleasing none, and an aversion to taking potentially unpopular decisions, according to Patterson and Perry.

Clinton is a very quick study—Perry remembered a time when Clinton was filming a commercial and took a typed page he had never seen before, glanced at it for less than a minute, and then recited it verbatim into the camera—and a highly energetic, tenacious

worker, consumed by ambition. "He would call legislators late into the evening, lobbying for votes," said Patterson, "and we had to place the calls, waking up important state legislators well after midnight." One thing he wasn't was lazy. Clinton thrived on four hours of sleep a night, they said.

For all his intelligence and diligence, though, the troopers viewed Clinton as something of a klutz in matters of ordinary life. Patterson said he will never forget that he had to show Clinton how to operate a Mr. Coffee machine one Saturday morning—and then had to show him again on Sunday.

To be sure, Clinton rarely had to do anything for himself. During his twelve years as governor, Clinton had a full household staff, including several cooks and a babysitter on the premises paid for by the state, not to mention several inmates from Arkansas penitentiaries who worked gratis as gardeners and handy-men on the grounds. (They were also made to provide free labor on the Little Rock home of the Rodhams, Hillary's parents.) The Clintons owned no property, and the state rented Bill the Lincoln town car in which he was driven.

In private moments with his bodyguards, often on long highway drives through the state, Clinton—with little experience of work outside the public sector—would sometimes reveal his insecurities. "He told me that if he was forced out of politics, he'd have no idea how to make a living," Perry said.

Clinton was perhaps more out of touch with the average

voter than President Bush. One day during the presidential campaign, the troopers witnessed a group of aides briefing the governor on the prices of various common groceries following media reports (later shown to be erroneous) that President Bush did not recognize a price-scanner at a supermarket in Florida. When Clinton was later asked by a viewer on "CBS This Morning" if he knew the price of bread and milk, and he answered correctly, campaign strategist James Carville cited this performance in a *New York Times* op-ed as an example of Clinton's ability "to empathize with average people."

Spending virtually every waking hour with him, the troopers were well positioned to judge both the private and the public man. They marveled at Clinton's ability to pass himself off as something he was not, viewing it as the key to his political success.

Perry thought Clinton's facility with language allowed him to bridge the gap with the Arkansas voter. "He would always try to come across as old Joe the rag man, working beside you in Pine Bluff building shelves. He could give a great speech to the common people," said Perry. This false populism manifested itself in other ways, too, they said. Throughout his tenure, Clinton was careful to fly coach-class into and out of Little Rock; but during the rest of his itinerary, he insisted on flying first-class.

At other times, Clinton would enthusiastically talk shop, explaining to the troopers how he—a career politician who chuckled privately that he "never met a tax he didn't like," as Perry recalled it—managed to get elected and re-elected in

Arkansas. Clinton told Perry that his strategy amounted to little more than old-fashioned interest-group politics: If he could hold the black vote, generally about 18 percent in a state election, his victory would be sealed. "He used to say that that meant his opponent had to get his 51 percent out of 82 percent," Perry said. "It was pretty smart politics."

His outsized ego notwithstanding, the troopers found Clinton to be personable and easy to be around. When his adolescent arrogance shone through, he was always quick to apologize to the troopers for his outbursts, which have included throwing an apple at the windshield of his car from the back seat, busting a cellular phone on cement pavement, and clearing the contents of an entire desk onto the floor.



"They were the kind of tantrums that you would not tolerate in a child," said Perry.

One of the worst explosions of temper that Larry Patterson remembered followed Clinton's ill-fated speech to the 1988 Democratic National Convention. Clinton spoke so long that delegates were shouting at him "Get off, get off" by the end. The speech had been written to last no more than seven minutes, but the Dukakis staff demanded the insertion of various lengthy passages. When Clinton arrived, the lights in the hall were supposed to be dramatically dimmed, as they had been for Ann Richards and Jesse Jackson. Instead, the lights glared, and monitors on either side of the podium mistakenly beamed "Jesse! Jesse!" causing the crowd to chant incongruously.

As Clinton left the podium, Patterson was standing on the platform along with various Democratic dignitaries. He saw Clinton stomp about, denouncing "that little Greek motherf---er" and promising to "get his ass, because he tried to kill me politically." A few weeks later, Dukakis called Clinton in Arkansas. Clinton put the telephone down for a moment and summoned Patterson in to hear what he was about to say. "He called him every kind of son of a bitch you can think of. Then he refused to endorse him until a few weeks before the election," Patterson recounted. Dukakis did not return a call seeking comment.

Dukakis was not the only Democratic competitor who met with Clinton's scorn. He seemed to delight in sharing his views on various politicians. The troopers said they remember Clinton commenting privately on Cuomo's alleged "Mafia connections" and joking about how Ted Kennedy "couldn't get a whore across a bridge." Perry said that after meeting with Jesse Jackson in October 1991 in Little Rock to get the reverend's blessing before announcing his presidential candidacy, Clinton told him that Jackson—who is reportedly contemplating a 1996 primary challenge to Clinton—was "a smart man, but I can't stand that motherf---er."

The troopers also saw first-hand that their fiercely competitive boss was not above a dirty trick or two. In the 1990 governor's race, Clinton asked Larry Patterson to locate a woman who was rumored to have had an illegitimate child by one of Clinton's primary opponents. "He was always having us research his opponents. If he had a source, he'd ask us to drop a dime on them and report back, even though he knew it was a violation of state law for us to take part in political campaigns," Patterson said. "On this one occasion, Clinton told me to go to the Holiday Inn at the [Little Rock] airport, find the woman, and offer her money or a job to sign a statement (about the illegitimate child)." Patterson followed Clinton's instructions to offer the illegal bribe, but the woman declined the offer and never came forward.

V

The troopers were closer to Bill than to Hillary Clinton, who in their telling comes off as unflatteringly one-dimensional. The troopers chauffeured Clinton on a daily basis and were privy to his every move. Hillary, on the

other hand, kept her distance. When she left the residence, she never informed them of her schedule. In fact, when she could, Hillary avoided even speaking to them, preferring to speak through Bill or some other third party, possibly because she disdained their role in facilitating his philandering.

Although Hillary's circle of friends and advisers included more activist liberals, the troopers saw Hillary—like Bill—as a shrewd and practical operator concerned primarily with personal political advancement. While the troopers saw Clinton playing the candidate, they saw Hillary playing the bad cop, gutsy and decisive, all backbone. They remembered well the now-famous time that Hillary showed up at a news conference of Tom McRae, Clinton's opponent in the 1990 governor's race, and interrupted the candidate's statement with a sustained defense of her husband.

From their direct observations, Patterson and Perry said they believe that Hillary is more obsessed than Bill with his political fortunes. She expressed this concern, as she did most everything, in language that makes the Watergate tapes sound like a Sunday school lesson. "I remember one time when Bill had been quoted in the morning paper saying something she didn't like," Patterson said. "I came into the mansion and he was standing at the top of the stairs and she was standing at the bottom screaming. She has a garbage mouth on her, and she was calling him motherf---er, c---sucker, and everything else. I went into the kitchen, and the cook, Miss Emma, turned to me and said, 'The devil's in that woman.'"

Hillary, as described by the troopers, pursued power with a single-minded intensity, had few friends outside politics, and was not especially close to her family—just like her husband. "Everything was politics. They wouldn't go out to dinner with friends the way you or I would or the way I've seen this governor [Tucker] do," said Perry. "If they were invited to a private party, and there were only going to be eight or ten people there, she would say, 'We're not going to waste time at that thing. There aren't enough people there.' I never saw Hillary just relax and have a good time."

While Bill genuinely enjoyed shaking every hand in a room, Hillary seemed to view retail politics as a distasteful if necessary evil. "She hated Arkansas. She would always say how 'backward' the state was," Perry said. One trooper told Perry that Hillary forbade him to speak when he accompanied her on a trip to Washington because, as she put it, he "sounded like a hick from Arkansas."

One of Hillary's pet projects in Arkansas was HIPPY, the Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters, which provided the mothers of underprivileged pre-school youth with in-home instruction by state-sponsored tutors. During the presidential campaign, a commercial was filmed at the governor's mansion featuring dozens of the impoverished HIPPY children, who stood for several hours in the baking heat while the scene was set. For security purposes, the governor's residence is fitted out with several video cameras and one audio monitor—at the rear door—that connected it to the guard house. "They would usually forget that thing was on, and we would pick up a lot of what they said. On this particular day, I heard Hillary come out on the rear porch and say, 'I

want to get this s--- over with and get these damn people out of here," Perry remembered.

The troopers were also objects of Hillary's wrath. Patterson recalled the early morning of Labor Day in 1991, when Hillary came out of the mansion, got in her car, and drove off. Within a minute or so of leaving the gate, her aging blue Cutlass swung violently around and came charging back onto the grounds, tires squealing in the dust. "I thought something was terribly wrong, so I rushed out to her. And she screamed, 'Where is the goddamn f---ing flag?' It was early and we hadn't raised the flag yet. And she said, 'I want the goddamn f---ing flag up every f---ing morning at f---ing sunrise.'"

Such displays made Hillary by far the most unpopular member of the first family. Troopers volunteered to work several days of consecutive 16-hour shifts just to avoid traveling with her. Though it may have been a reflection of chauvinism on their part, the troopers thought Hillary "liked to intimidate men," Perry said. She would remark that troopers' guns are "phallic symbols." Or she would phone the mansion from her law office and order troopers to fetch feminine napkins from her bathroom and deliver them to her at the firm.

Though they believe she advised her husband on all important matters of state, it seemed to the troopers that the Clintons led very separate lives otherwise. Hillary drove herself in the Cutlass each morning to the Rose Law Firm, about a mile from the mansion. Clinton worked either from his office in the capitol or in the residence. More often than not, one of the troopers drove the Clintons' daughter, Chelsea, to school. In the evenings, the family members generally dined separately.

When Bill and Hillary did spend time together, they were barely civil to one another, in the troopers' assessment. Many times the couple would be driven to an event an hour or more outside Little Rock—with Bill sitting in the front seat of the Lincoln with the driver and Hillary in the back seat—and say nothing at all to each other, which struck the troopers as quite tragic. "If he was dead politically, I would expect a divorce in 30 days," Roger Perry said.

VI

Over the years, the troopers have seen Bill Clinton in compromising situations with dozens of women. They said their facilitation of the activities ranged

from wiping make-up off his shirt collar, to standing "Hillary watch" while Clinton cavorted, to arranging sex sessions in hotel rooms and parking lots, to sneaking women into the governor's mansion while Hillary and Chelsea slept.

The troopers said Clinton devised and they executed an elaborate plan to accommodate his sexual appetites. Not all of the dozen or so troopers were assigned to these special duties. Perry and Patterson were two of a select handful, chosen by Clinton because he evidently trusted them to protect him and appreciated their street-smarts. It was kind of a down-home replay of the Kennedy days, as described by Richard Reeves:

The logistics of Kennedy's liaisons with Judith Campbell and dozens of other women in the White House and in hotels, houses, and apartments around the country and around the world required

secrecy and devotion rare even in the annals of the energetic service demanded by successful politicians. The arrangements were frequent... The routine of clandestine comings and goings had to be taught to the willing among the women. Kennedy regularly propositioned, often within a couple of minutes of introduction. Some of the action was somewhat graceful—or at least roses were sent with a card that said: "Friends of Evelyn Lincoln" (Lincoln was JFK's private secretary). Some of it was in the back seats of cars... The delivery duty was shared by old friends and by almost everyone in the White House from the military attachés and typists—some of whom had made the backstairs trip a few times themselves—to members of the Cabinet... The

women, secretaries, stars, the wives of friends, were symbols and rewards of aggressive privilege. Sneaking around, cleaning up the mess, covering up was all part of the game... It was all good fun to those who knew—part of the thrill of being inside one of the president's closer circles. Keeping the secrets was part of the price of admission, and those who knew didn't tell those who didn't.

According to Clinton biographers Charles F. Allen and Jonathan Portis in *The Comeback Kid*, stories of Clinton's womanizing date back to the period when he was rejected by the voters in 1980 in his bid for a second term. "Clinton, seeing his political future vanish overnight, became careless about his actions," they wrote.

He had achieved so much so fast. Now it was gone. Rumors began filtering into the newsrooms and throughout the state offices that Clinton was having an affair with another woman. Such rumors about politicians are commonplace, but this one



had a persistence about it. Because Clinton was no longer in the public light, the reporters and editors decided to ignore the talk.

As the troopers described the situation, the scale of Clinton's extramarital activities only increased after he won election to a second term in 1982. When Perry returned to security duty at the mansion in the late 1980s, other troopers regaled him with tales of Clinton's affairs in the 1982-to-1987 period. During the last five years of Clinton's governorship, while Patterson worked at the residence, he said he gained first-hand knowledge that Clinton was involved with a group of Little Rock women—regular mistresses or girlfriends—numbering about a half-dozen. The names of the mistresses with whom Patterson was familiar, some of whom are married and have children, are known to me, but will not be revealed here, so as not to exploit them more than Clinton already has, or to punish innocent family members. Each of the names given me by Patterson was corroborated by Perry—who has knowledge of them dating back to 1989—and the other two troopers with whom I met. I located each of the women by telephone, but each either denied involvement or would offer no comment.

According to Patterson, the long-term mistresses since 1987, in addition to Jennifer Flowers, included a staffer in Clinton's office; an Arkansas lawyer Clinton appointed to a judgeship; the wife of a prominent judge; a local reporter; an employee at Arkansas Power and Light, a state-regulated public utility; and a cosmetics sales clerk at a Little Rock department store. They ranged in age from their early 30s to their early 40s. According to both Patterson and Perry, throughout the period of their employment at the governor's residence, Clinton visited one of these women, either in the early morning or the late evening, or one of them came to the residence to see him, at least two or three times a week.

Clinton also had a series of brief affairs and one-time encounters from 1987 through early 1993 of which the troopers had direct knowledge. He often met women at social functions in Little Rock or on the road. Sometimes he would even use troopers as intermediaries, sending them off with messages and outright propositions to women to retire to back rooms, hotel rooms, or offices with him.

One of the troopers told the story of how Clinton had eyed a woman at a reception at the Excelsior Hotel in downtown Little Rock. According to the trooper, who told the story to both Patterson and Perry as well, Clinton asked him to approach the woman, whom the trooper remembered only as Paula, tell her how attractive the governor thought she was, and take her to a room in the hotel where Clinton would be waiting. As the troopers explained it, the standard procedure in a case like this was for one of them to inform the hotel that the governor needed a room for a short time because he was expecting an important call from the White House. (Not a terribly plausible story during the Reagan and Bush years, but it seemed to work like a charm with hotel clerks in Arkansas.) On this particular evening, after her encounter with Clinton,

which lasted no more than an hour as the trooper stood by in the hall, the trooper said Paula told him she was available to be Clinton's regular girlfriend if he so desired.

Patterson—tall and trim, with the upright demeanor and closely cropped hair of a military officer—recalled another example he witnessed late in the evening on the night after Clinton's disastrous speech to the 1988 Democratic convention. "Norman Lear gave us a suite of offices in a building next to the CNN building where the governor and his staff were working. Sandy Berger [a longtime Clinton adviser and now deputy national security adviser] had flown in to write the speech. The day after, Clinton spent the day 'spinning' the press. Well, that night, when we finished, we went back to the offices around midnight and a young lady of about 30 or 32, [name withheld], who the governor had just met at the convention, was there to meet us. He took her back in a private office, closed the door, and stayed in there for an hour or so while I waited to take him back to the Marriott where he and Hillary were staying."

According to the troopers, Clinton often visited his regular Little Rock girlfriends in the early morning, during what were ostensibly long jogs. "He would jog out of the mansion grounds very early most mornings and then we would go pick up him at a McDonald's at 7th Street and Broadway," Patterson said. "When we picked him up, half the time he would be covered in sweat and the other half of the time there wouldn't be a drop of sweat on him, even in the middle of July in Little Rock. Sometimes I'd ask him, 'How far did you run today governor?' And he would say, 'Five miles.' I'd tell him there must be something wrong with his sweat glands because he didn't have a drop of sweat on him. He'd say, 'I can't fool you guys, can I?'"

As the troopers recounted events, several times a month in the late evening, Clinton would leave the residence in a state car borrowed from one of the troopers, because the governor's Lincoln was easily recognizable on the streets of Little Rock. "We were told to keep our cars clean for this purpose," said Perry, who often lent Clinton his green Corsica. A few minutes after the lights clicked off in the first couple's bedroom, Clinton would get out of bed and "go out for a drive," leaving instructions at the guard house that if Hillary woke up, he was to be alerted on his cellular phone. On more than a dozen occasions since 1987, Patterson said he saw one of the troopers' cars parked outside one particular girlfriend's condominium as he drove home after being relieved from his shift at the mansion at midnight. The woman lived just a few doors from Patterson on Shadow Oaks in Sherwood, on the outskirts of Little Rock.

The troopers also drove Clinton from the capitol late in the evening to various women's homes and waited for hours for him to emerge. They became expert at parking unobtrusively, by backing into driveways and the like. Patterson recalled that the first time he parked in this manner outside the home of the Clinton staffer in 1987, where he sat from midnight until about 4:30 a.m. waiting on the governor, Clinton congratulated him on his stealthiness. "He told me it was our responsibility to cover his ass so he wouldn't get in trouble," Patterson said.

By all accounts, whenever Clinton returned to the resi-

dance after one of these encounters, he went to the bathroom in the troopers' guard house, where he washed up before entering the main house.

During the day, when Hillary was in town but not at home and Clinton wanted privacy in the residence with a woman, the troopers said, they were instructed to buzz him on the intercom as soon as Hillary's car approached the front gate of the compound. When Hillary was out of town, the troopers remembered innumerable occasions when Bill wouldn't hesitate to seize the opportunity to entertain women at all hours of the day and night, clearing them through the gates for what the troopers said he called a "personal tour of the mansion."

After the presidential election, Bill instructed the troopers to clear women through the outer Secret Service blockade on the street by falsely identifying them as staff, or as cousins of the troopers. Shortly before the Clintons left Little Rock for Washington, Roger Perry said, one of the troopers (whom I also interviewed) told him that he had arranged for the AP&L employee to arrive at the governor's mansion at 5:15 a.m., dressed in a trench coat and a baseball cap at Clinton's instruction. The trooper told Perry he had told the Secret Service that she was "staff coming in very early." Clinton had arranged for the trooper to bring the woman through a basement door, which opened into a game room, where Clinton was waiting. The trooper said he was instructed to stand at the top of the stairs leading from the basement to the main floor of the residence and to alert Clinton if Hillary woke up, according to Perry.

Over time, as both Patterson and Perry described it, each mistress was assigned a particular trooper whose job it was to call her and find out when she could see Bill at her home, drive her to various events where Bill was appearing, and deliver gifts to her. "Three times after the [presidential] election I called [the judge's wife] to see if she was at home for the governor," Patterson said. They also said Clinton regularly slipped them cash to pay for gifts for the women they were told to pick up from Victoria's Secret in the Little Rock mall and other women's shops around town. "He told us to make sure they were kept in the trunk of the cars and never bring them into the house where Hillary might see them," Perry said. At Christmas 1992, the trooper whose request for autographed photos for his family Clinton had waved away was able to get his autographs only by insisting on a signature each time Clinton asked him to pick up and deliver a gift to a woman.

In everyone's estimation, Clinton built relationships with

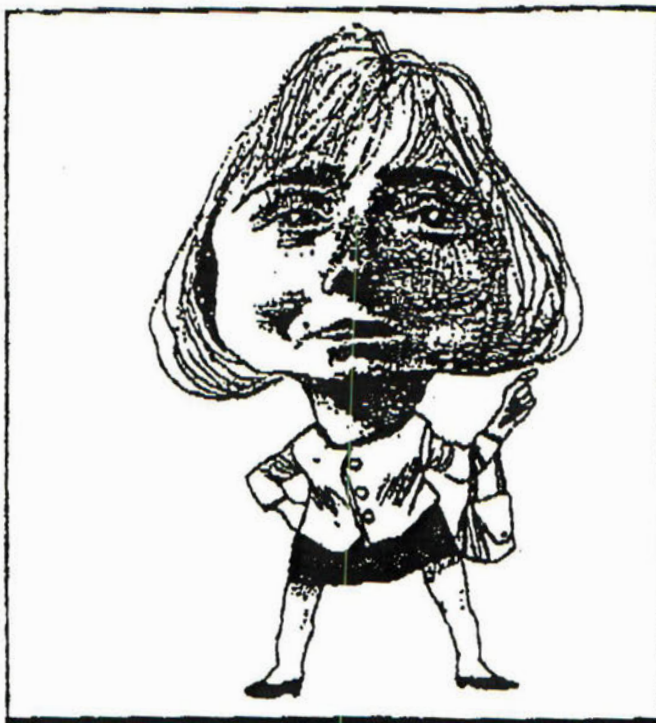
each of the long-time girlfriends and treated them well, though perhaps manipulating them to his own ends. He once told Roger Perry he was in love with one of them, though there is debate among the troopers as to which of the women he meant.

When speaking to the troopers about these liaisons, Clinton was usually quite circumspect, but on some occasions he inexplicably permitted himself to be caught *in flagrante delicto*. More than once, Larry Patterson said, he stood guard and witnessed the department store clerk performing oral sex on Bill in a parked car, including in the parking lot of Chelsea's elementary school, and on the grounds of the governor's mansion.

In one instance, in the fall of 1988 or 1989, as Patterson remembered it, he was driving Clinton to an annual reception for the Harrison County Chamber of Commerce in a hospitality suite at the Camelot Hotel in Little Rock. On the way, Clinton suggested a detour to Chelsea's school, Booker Elementary. When they arrived, Clinton told Patterson the sales clerk was sitting in her car, which was parked in the otherwise deserted front parking lot. "I parked across the entrance and stood outside the car looking around, about 120 feet from where they were parked in a lot that was pretty well lit. I could see Clinton get into the front seat and then the lady's head go into his lap. They stayed in the car for 30 or 40 minutes," Patterson said.

In a second instance, Patterson was on duty at the residence, again late in the evening, when the same woman drove up in a yellow and black Datsun or Nissan pick-up truck and asked to see Clinton. "The governor came out of the residence and climbed into the front seat of the truck, which she parked in an area off the rear drive," Patterson recalled. This time, Patterson said, with a gleam in his eye, he got an even clearer view of the sex act by aiming a remote-controlled camera with a swivel base mounted on a 30-foot pole in the back yard of the house right into the truck. The image was projected onto a 27-inch video screen in the guard house. "He was sitting on the passenger side and she was behind the wheel. I pointed the thing directly into the windshield, and watched on the screen as the governor [received oral sex]," Patterson said.

As this act was occurring, Chelsea's babysitter at the time, Melissa Jolley, drove into the compound. Realizing that she would usually drive right by the area where the



pick-up was parked on her way to the guest house where she lived, Patterson quickly intercepted her, told her there was a security problem on the grounds, and then instructed her to drive by a different route, go in her house, and stay there. "When they were done Clinton came running over to me and asked, 'Did she see us? Did she see us?' I told him what I'd done and he said 'Aha boy,'" Patterson said.

On yet another occasion that Patterson described, the governor and his security detail arrived at the Little Rock airport and Clinton told his bodyguards that he was going to be driven back to the residence by the Arkansas lawyer, who had met the plane, so that she could show him her new Jaguar. "On the ride back he drove and she was nowhere to be seen in the car," Patterson said. "Later he told me that he had researched the subject in the Bible and oral sex isn't considered adultery."

Like many men, Clinton and the troopers shared locker room comments about women and sex. "When he was in a down mood, all you had to do was start talking about sex and he would come alive," said Perry. "I remember one time when I asked him to sign an autograph for a female friend, and he asked me, 'Does she have big times?'"

"He told me there are two kinds of f---ing redheads," Patterson said. "Beautiful f---ing redheads and ugly f---ing redheads." About a local reporter (not the one with whom he was involved), Clinton told Patterson, "I bet she could give [good oral sex]." Complaining about the same woman, Clinton later said, "If you were a buddy you would f--- her and get her off my ass."

VII

Hillary apparently was aware of Bill's hanky-panky, at least in general terms. Patterson recalled one Sunday afternoon in the late 1980s when he heard Hillary complain to Bill in highly colorful language about their inadequate sex life. Listening to the audio monitor at the rear porch of the main house, Patterson said he sat in the guard house and heard Hillary tell Bill, during an argument in the kitchen, "I need to be f---ed more than twice a year." When Clinton spent an inordinate amount of time speaking with an attractive woman at a public event—apparently a common occurrence—several troopers said they have heard Hillary complain bitterly. "She would say, 'Come on Bill, put your dick up. You can't f--- her here,'" as Patterson remembered the unforgettable phrasing.

"Even though she knew what was going on, he would hide it because he didn't want the confrontation," Perry said. Bill did get caught every once in a while. Generally a heavy sleeper, Hillary once woke up in the middle of the night, flicked on the bedroom light, and called down to the guard house looking for Bill. "The sorry damn son of a bitch!" she exclaimed when told the governor had gone out for a drive. Perry grabbed the cellular phone, turning Clinton up at one of the women's homes, and told him to get back to the residence fast. "He started saying 'Oh god, god, god. What did you tell her?'" Perry recalled. When Clinton arrived soon after, Hillary was waiting in the kitchen, where, not unexpectedly,

a wild screaming match ensued. When Perry entered the kitchen after the dust had settled, the room was a wreck, with a cabinet door kicked off its hinges.

Another fight ensued on the Clintons' final day in Little Rock, according to Patterson. Clinton asked him to bring one of his women friends to the send-off ceremony at the Little Rock airport before he departed for Washington. "When I got there with [the judge's wife], Hillary turned to me and said, 'What the f--- do you think you're doing? I know who that whore is. I know what she's doing here. Get her out of here.' Clinton was standing right there. I looked at him and he just shrugged his shoulders, so I took her out of there and dropped her at the Holiday Inn Center City."

The troopers speculated that Hillary tolerated this behavior much as eighteenth-century aristocrats maintained marriages of convenience to suit the social and material needs of both parties. Hillary herself was intimately involved with the late Vincent Foster, a partner at the Rose Law Firm and later deputy White House counsel. Foster killed himself in July under circumstances that remain murky. "It was common knowledge around the mansion that Hillary and Vince were having an affair," said Larry Patterson, though he conceded that the evidence for this is more circumstantial than his first-hand knowledge of Clinton's behavior.

According to all of the troopers, whenever Clinton left town, no sooner would he be out of the mansion gates than Foster would appear, often staying in the residence with Hillary into the wee hours of the morning. One of the off-the-record troopers drove Hillary and Foster to a mountain cabin in Heber Springs, maintained by the Rose firm as an out-of-town retreat for its lawyers, where the two spent significant amounts of time alone. Patterson and Perry were both aware of this at the time. On several chance occasions—at the Heber Springs retreat, and once stopped at a traffic light in Little Rock—troopers said they observed Foster and Hillary embracing and open-mouth kissing.

Patterson once saw the two in a compromising position at a birthday party for Hillary held at the Little Rock French restaurant *Alouette's*. Bill also attended. While seated at the restaurant's bar, outside the dining room, Patterson said he observed Hillary and another woman from the Rose firm, Carolyn Huber, come out to the bar for a private chat. Soon thereafter, Foster emerged from the dining room on his way to the men's room. "He came up behind Hillary, and squeezed her rear end with both of his hands. Then he winked and gave me the 'OK' sign," Patterson said. "On the way back, Huber was turned away, and Vince put his hand over one of Hillary's breasts and made the same 'OK' sign to me. And she just stood there cooing, 'Oh Vince. Oh Vince.'" Huber, now an assistant to the president, said she never attended such a party.

VIII

The only person Bill Clinton has specifically denied having an affair with is Jennifer Flowers, yet all of the troopers agreed that Clinton and Flowers were roman-

ically involved for several years.⁵ They said Flowers called the mansion regularly, asking to speak with "Bill." As the troopers described the routine, when Hillary was not at home, Clinton generally took the calls. When she was, Clinton always instructed a trooper to tell Flowers that he would call her back. Soon thereafter, Clinton would trundle down to the troopers' guard house and retreat to a private back room, where he would then get on the telephone—a line that Hillary could not pick up from inside the mansion. This is how he regularly handled personal calls from women.

Patterson said he often drove Clinton to the Quapaw Towers in Little Rock, where Flowers lived, late in the evening, waiting in the parking lot for as long as two hours for Clinton's return. "Every place we ever went, even a private party, we would go in with him, except a woman's house," Patterson said. Perhaps because his relationship with Flowers began long before he began to acknowledge his behavior to the troopers, Clinton had a story to cover his tracks. Clinton told Patterson that he was visiting Maurice Smith, director of the state highway department, who lived in the same building, but Patterson believes that if this were true he would have gone into the building with Clinton, as was usual with business meetings.⁶

Yet despite this cover story, Clinton evidently couldn't resist bragging about his sexual exploits. On one occasion, Perry recalled, Clinton said that Jennifer Flowers "could suck a tennis ball through a garden hose."

According to Patterson and Perry, in the late spring of 1991, as Clinton was seriously considering making a presidential run, Flowers began calling him incessantly, sometimes four or five times a week. Shortly after this spate of calls, Flowers got a job as an administrative assistant for the Arkansas Board of Review's appeal tribunal, which hears unemployment cases. According to published news accounts, Flowers first asked Clinton about obtaining a state job in September 1990, and Clinton turned the request over to his special assistant Judy Gaddy. After applying for one position and being turned down, Flowers complained in a letter to Clinton the following January

⁵ It could be argued that Clinton did not categorically deny any romantic involvement with Flowers. For example, in the Kroft interview, Clinton was asked about Flowers's allegation of a "12-year affair" and Clinton answered, "That allegation is false." This could leave open the possibility that the affair lasted less than twelve years.

⁶ According to Flowers in a *Penthouse* interview in December 1992, Clinton often jogged over to her apartment from the nearby governor's mansion, "arriving sweaty but eager." On other occasions, Flowers said, Clinton's driver sat in the car in the complex driveway and waited for two hours or so. In an interview with me, Flowers said she knew Larry Patterson and also knew that Clinton's drivers waited for him in the parking lot. During the initial visit, Clinton entered the building through the lobby and was seen getting off the elevator at the second floor, where Flowers lived. Rumors soon circulated through the building. Thereafter, Flowers said, she waited on her balcony until she saw the governor's Lincoln pull in and then went to the first floor to prop open a fire exit door with a newspaper so Clinton could enter the building undetected.

and mentioned allegations linking the two romantically. Shortly thereafter, Judy Gaddy inquired about a job opening at the Board of Review for Flowers. Flowers applied. Bill Gaddy, Judy's husband and another Clinton appointee, is the director of the state's Employment Security Division, which oversees the review board. According to a state committee which later investigated the matter, with Gaddy's approval, Don K. Barnes, the chairman of the review board who hired Flowers, improperly waived certain hiring procedures, and Flowers got the job. Barnes later said that Gaddy had recommended Flowers for the job, but Gaddy has denied this. Flowers told the *Star* that Clinton "pulled strings" to secure the job for her, which Clinton has denied. Patterson, however, corroborated Flowers's allegation. "I remember I was driving the car when Clinton got on the phone and discussed that particular job with Bill Gaddy. There is no doubt in my mind that he was asking Gaddy to give it to Jennifer," Patterson said. Gaddy denied ever having a telephone conversation with Clinton about Flowers. (Flowers lost the job for failing to show up for work three days in a row, shortly after coming forward with her story in the *Star*. She is currently circulating a book proposal in New York.)

Even before the Flowers story broke, Clinton was aware that the issue of his womanizing would plague him in a presidential campaign. "He was walking along one day in 1991 with Bruce Lindsey [now a senior White House aide] and he said, 'If I make the race, I'm going to keep Larry around to deal with all the women,'" Patterson said. ("That never happened," Lindsey said.) According to Perry, Clinton told him in 1990 that he was considering not running for re-election in Arkansas because he feared his history of womanizing would be exposed. As it happened, during that year's campaign, a disgruntled former state employee named Larry Nichols filed a lawsuit linking Clinton to five named women and making the unsubstantiated charge that he had been fired as part of an attempted cover-up involving a secret fund used to facilitate Clinton's trysts. The suit was reported in Arkansas, but neither the precise nature of the allegations nor the women's names were mentioned.

In 1992, the task of "dealing with the women" was ultimately assigned to Buddy Young, the supervisory trooper in governor's security, the troopers said. "Buddy Young specifically told me that he was trying to keep a lid on the other women," Patterson said. "If one more came out, they knew Jennifer would be credible. He said they could weather the storm on one, but not two. He told me he went to Texas to talk to Elizabeth Ward [a former Miss America named in the Nichols suit]. He said that she had told him that she didn't need any money, but he said, 'If the money's right, I know she'll keep her mouth shut.'" Young denied this. "I've never spoken to Elizabeth Ward," he said. Ward could not be reached for comment.

According to Perry, about six weeks before the *Star* inter-

⁷ When Ward appeared in the May 1992 issue of *Playboy*, which did not mention the alleged affair, the Clinton campaign quickly circulated a written statement from Ward in which she denied any romantic involvement with Clinton.

view was published, Flowers again began calling the residence day and night asking to speak with Bill. Word around the guard house was that Flowers might be trying to blackmail Clinton by threatening to expose their affair. "She was constantly calling, sometimes several times a day. And we were aware that she was up to something. We were told that she might be trying to tape the calls with Clinton, so I called her Gennifer Fowler so it would look like I didn't know who she was." Here is an excerpt from a transcript of the Flowers tapes:

PERRY: Governor's mansion. Roger Perry.

FLOWERS: Is Bill Clinton in please?

PERRY: Ma'am, he's with some people right now. May I ask who's calling?

FLOWERS: This is Gennifer Flowers, I'm returning his call.

PERRY: Gennifer Fowler?

FLOWERS: Flowers.

PERRY: OK. Hang on just a second. . .

After the story broke, the damage controllers went into high gear. Pursuing the story further, reporters began filing requests for various state records, including personnel files and phone records. Up to the time the *Star* story appeared, the troopers said they kept two logs at the guard house. One was a gate log, produced on a typewriter, noting all vehicles coming into or out of the mansion gates. A second record was a standard telephone message log, with one copy of any telephone message going to Bill or Hillary and one copy retained in the log book.

Patterson said he was told by Buddy Young that Hillary Clinton ordered that the gate log no longer be maintained. And a new procedure was instituted for handling the phone log. Previously, old log books were stored in a maintenance house on the property after they were filled. Post-Flowers, the troopers said, they were told to bring the message log book directly to Buddy Young, who disposed of it. It was Patterson's understanding that the old logs from the maintenance house—records kept by state employees—were destroyed on Hillary's orders.

In another instance in the spring of 1992, aides to Clinton pored over telephone records for evidence of personal calls to women, Patterson said. "I was told by Buddy Young that there were several calls made by the governor on his cellular phone to a number in Sherwood, Arkansas, that belonged to [the Clinton girlfriend who lived near Patterson]. At the time, the media was covering the Flowers story. I was told that if the records were made public Betsy Wright had told Buddy that I was going to have to take responsibility for making the calls to protect the governor and he asked me to write a check to pay for them." In what Patterson believes was seen as an act of disloyalty by the Clinton clique, he refused to do so.

Young flatly denied this story. Wright, now a Washington lobbyist, said Patterson's account was "absurd." When she was the governor's chief of staff, Wright did regularly review all telephone records and ask people to pay for their personal calls, she said. "But I would never have asked someone to pay for calls that were not their own. Poor Larry has all of that screwed up." When I asked Wright if she knew this particular Sherwood woman, she said, "It is not an unfamiliar

name, but one of the wonderful things about a place like Little Rock is that you get to know everyone."

Throughout the tense period, Young constantly warned the troopers. "If you're smart, you won't talk to the press," the same warning they said he delivered a year later as they prepared to go public with this story.

Clinton, meanwhile, was by turns angry and very worried. From the back of his Lincoln he would say, "What does that whore think she's doing to me?" He also referred to Flowers as a "f---ing slut," according to Patterson. On the Flowers tapes, after telling Flowers "if they ever hit you with it just say 'no' and go on," Clinton had said he would be free and clear on the womanizing issue so long as "they don't have pictures." In a conversation in the kitchen of the governor's mansion after Flowers went public, Clinton asked one of the troopers for advice on how to handle the situation. Clinton said that without photos, nothing could be proved. "I told him, 'Then lie your ass off,'" the trooper said, and Clinton apparently did. □

© 1993 The American Spectator. All Rights Reserved.

REPRINTS AVAILABLE

Copies of David Brock's "Living With the Clintons" are available for \$5 each; ten for \$35; twenty-five for \$75; one hundred for \$250.

Send your order to:

The American Spectator,

P.O. Box 549, Arlington, Virginia 22216-0549

See page 37 for a complete listing of reprints available.

Subscribe to THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR today!

12 big monthly issues for only \$35.

Call 1-800-524-3469

or send this handy coupon

The American Spectator,

Subscription Department,

P.O. Box 657, Mt. Morris, IL 61054-0657.

☐ Yes, please send me 12 monthly issues of
The American Spectator for only \$35.00.

☐ Payment enclosed

☐ Bill me later

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____

State: _____

Zip code: _____

894001

The American Spectator

January 1994

703 243 781 4 ad 8.05 810