

# FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Archival Operations Division.**

**Collection:** Gore Vice Presidential Records

**Office of Origin:** Office of Staff Secretary

**Series:** General Files

**Subseries:**

**OA/ID Number:** 01437

**Folder Title:** Memos from Ron Klain (1996)

**Stack:** 20W4

**Row:** 10

**Section:** 7

**Shelf:** 2

**Position:** 2

June 6, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: RON KLAIN

SUBJECT: **TOWNSEND ARTICLE FROM WASHINGTON MONTHLY**

Attached is a copy of an article written by Kathleen Kennedy Townsend in the Washington Monthly, which takes a shot at ReGo.

Kathleen called to make three points about it:

- She is not responsible for the blurb on the cover ("Kathleen Kennedy Townsend: What Al Gore Needs to Understand") and she apologizes for it;
- She praised ReGo in the piece;
- She did not mean any sort of insult or attack.

The piece itself is fairly inoffensive, essentially making the argument that we should think of the public as "citizens" and not "consumers of government."

I told Kathleen that there was very little in the argument for promoting citizenship that you would disagree with, and that I was sure you would not be upset by it. But I did push back a little, saying that I regretted that:

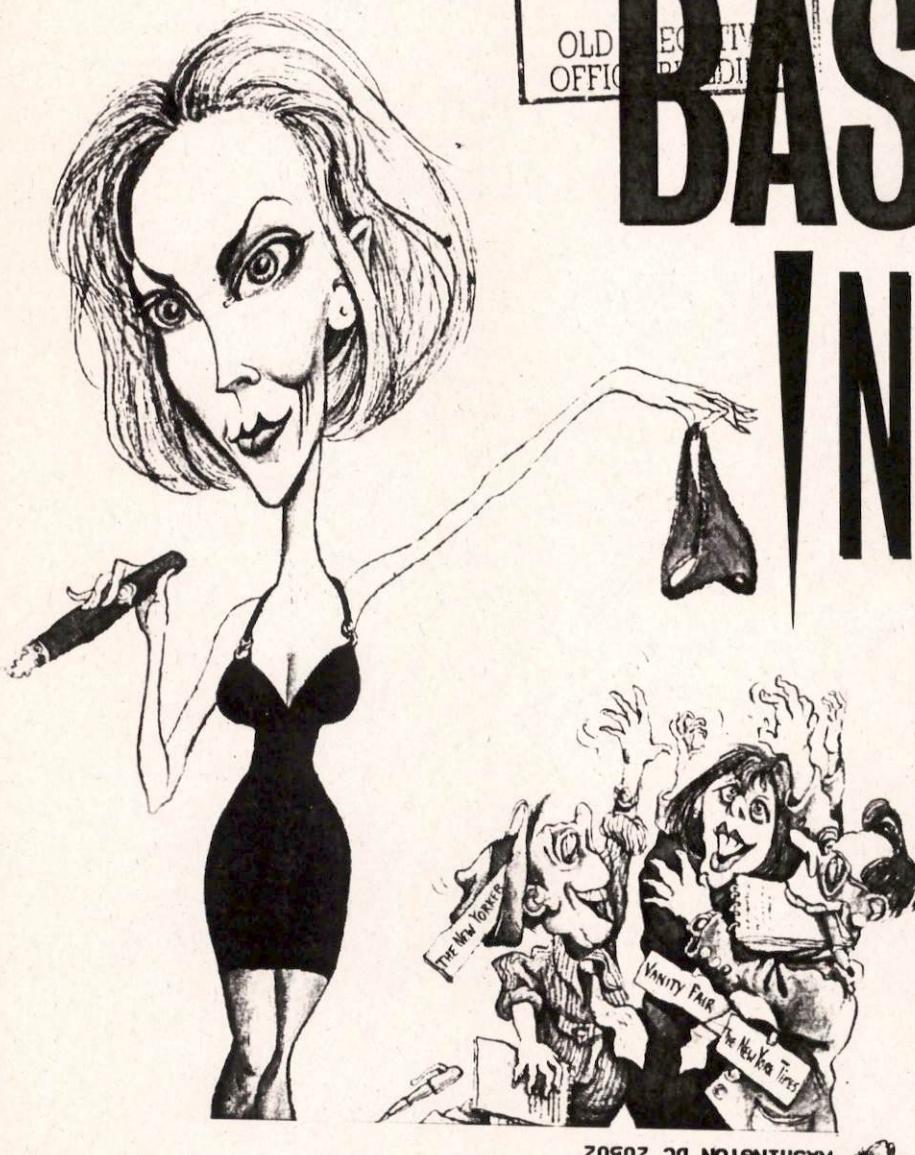
- She chose to use ReGo as a "straw man" for her argument about citizen participation, when it was unnecessary to her core point;
- She ignored your many efforts to promote citizen participation;
- She left you out of her mention of the Empowerment Zone program, which she hails as a model for citizen participation.

I think we can write this off to Kathleen's political naivete, and to some sharp and clever editorial promotion by Charlie Peters. But still, it is unfortunate, and is surprising given your generally good relationship with Kathleen.

CC: Elaine Kamarck

# The Washington Monthly

**JUNE 1996 \$3.95 (CAN \$4.95)**



# KATHLEEN KENNEDY TOWNSEND: WHAT AL GORE NEEDS TO UNDERSTAND

## TELE-MUDSLINGING: THE LATEST IN CAMPAIGN SLEAZE

## **THE HIGH COST OF FAILURE: WHAT WE LOST IN THE HEALTH CARE DEBACLE**

# BASEST INSTINCT

# What we lose when our best writers reach for the stars

*By Joshua Wolf Shenk*

205052EPL308R0054 MTH JAN 1997 EOP LIBRARY DEOB ROOM 308 OLD EXEC OFFICE BLDG 20505 WASHINGTON DC 20502 BPN 425 308 305 305



# Don't Be An *Idios*

*The case for participation  
in public life*

BY KATHLEEN KENNEDY  
TOWNSEND

September 20, 1994, was "Customer Service Day," not for Wal-Mart or Chevron, but for the 2.2 million employees of the federal government. To spread the gospel of Al Gore's Reinventing Government initiative, top government officials left the confines of their offices and rolled up their sleeves: Roger Johnson, director of the General Services Administration, pumped gas at a filling station for government-owned vehicles; Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt welcomed visitors to Faneuil Hall, a national landmark in Boston; and State Department Undersecretary Richard M. Moose worked the desk at a passport agency. The day reflected the mantra of government reformers: The secret to restoring public faith in government is to imitate business and treat American citizens like customers.

We all want our government to deliver the services we depend on efficiently, whether it's drug approval, air traffic control, or drivers' licenses. President Clinton and Vice President Gore deserve praise for cutting the federal workforce and improving government performance. But making the government work better is a means to an end, not an end in itself. If all we asked of government was efficiency, most any form of government would do, even fascism. (After all, it took Mussolini to get the Italian trains running on time.) In America, we need our government to be more than just a McDonald's writ large. And as American citizens, we need to be treated as more than mere customers who plunk down a portion of their paychecks in exchange for goods and services.

The Founding Fathers rebelled against monarchy because a life subject to another's rule is intolerable. Democracy's promise was laid out for the Founding Fathers by the first democrats, the Greeks, who so valued public life that their word for idiot, *idios*, meant a private person—one who did not engage in public affairs. For Thomas Jefferson and his compatriots, the pursuit of the happiness democracy can confer was one of the principles upon which the nation was founded. Self-government did not mean just casting a vote every four years; it meant participation in the process of governing. Near the end of his life, Jefferson wrote of the afterlife to his friend

*Kathleen Kennedy Townsend is the lieutenant governor of Maryland.*

John Adams: "May we meet there again, in Congress."

Today, few people share Jefferson's vision of the pleasures of political participation. Over the past 80 years, government has closed the doors to civic involvement. Citizens, in turn, have been all too ready to surrender their role in public life, and all too willing to blame government for its shortcomings. Participation in politics and government is no longer seen as a right and an honor, but as something dirty and corrupting.

The chief challenge for government over the coming decades, then, is to help the public rediscover the pleasures that public life can offer by engaging them at every level of government action. When this happens, the destructive anti-government sentiment will subside, and so will the powerlessness and apprehension many Americans feel when they think about their future.

The model for this kind of government renewal can be found in some reform efforts directed at the two institutions where government is most visible and most directly affects the lives of average citizens: the police department and the public schools.

Let's consider the first. Several police departments across the country now employ community policing, which aims to increase public involvement in one of government's most basic roles, protecting the public. Community policing's principles are based on simple common sense. Built on the traditional model of the beat cop, community policing emphasizes proactive problem solving to prevent crimes rather than investigation after the damage is done. Instead of racing from one call to another, officers take time to familiarize themselves with the neighborhood and attempt to attack the local conditions that breed crime.

Community policing relies heavily on cooperation from community members, whether in identifying the homes of drug dealers, testifying in court, or actually forming community watch groups to help walk the beat. At its heart, community policing reinforces the message that public safety cannot be protected if we cede the responsibility for doing so to police and prison wardens alone. We can't think of cops as chambermaids

who do the jobs for which we don't have the time or stomach. Like all public objectives, the safety of our communities can only be secured when the entire public is involved. In no place is community policing more critical than in the inner city, where crime and drugs have eroded the conventions of society.

## We can't think of cops as chambermaids who do the jobs for which we don't have the stomach.

Community policing has proven effective at fighting inner-city crime, in large part by restoring the bonds of trust between citizens and the police force. In Kansas City, the police department embarked on a "stop-and-frisk" operation that used traffic stops as a pretext to search for illegal firearms. Normally, such an aggressive operation would spark community protest. But officers knocked on every door in the target area before the operation began to explain what they were going to do and thus build support. The results were phenomenal: Residents cooperated and gun-related crime fell 58 percent from the previous year's levels. In the Boyd-Booth section of Baltimore, residents identified drug dealers for police, and community associations brought civil actions against houses serving as havens for drug dealers. Community policing tactics have helped cut violent crime in Boyd-Booth in half.

In Maryland over the past year, dozens of community watch groups known as Citizens on Patrol (COPs) have formed to accompany community policing programs. The routine for the COPs is simple: Each night, one volunteer drives around the neighborhood, checking on known danger spots and reporting potential problems to the police. There are, of course, certain types of crime the patrols cannot stop, such as domestic abuse and most murders. But for those crimes that occur in public, such as robbery or vandalism, the citizen watches have succeeded in bringing crime rates down.

Over the past year, I've held forums around Maryland to discuss the new policing methods, and I've been struck by the change in attitude among people whose communities employ community policing or citizen watch groups. Too often, crime leads to a general pessimism about the future of a neighborhood and residents' ability to turn things around. The quick success of commu-

nity policing and the citizen patrol groups in bringing crime rates down overrides those feelings of powerlessness and fear. When a neighborhood implements a patrol group, "you see people coming out of their homes," Oppenheim says. "There's a feeling that [the neighborhood] is safer because the patrol is out."

Communities across the country are now trying similar efforts. In Los Angeles, for instance, hundreds of citizens have undergone police training on their own time and expense in order to serve as police reserves. They perform the full range of police services as unpaid volunteers, accompanying regular police on their patrol throughout the city.

And in Maryland, we are now planning for the introduction of the Police Corps. This federally supported program will be a sort of ROTC for the police in which a group of young people will receive help financing four years of college in return for serving as local police officers for a minimum of four years after graduation. Those people, particularly liberals, who have properly criticized police excesses and abuses now have the opportunity—indeed, the responsibility—to join the police for a defined period of time and improve its services through their own direct efforts.

### **The PTAdvantage**

There are few questions on which there is more unanimity than parental involvement in the public schools. In his book *Politically Incorrect*, Christian Coalition Director Ralph Reed writes that the key to saving schools lies in "greater parental input into school board decisions on matters affecting their children.... [C]hildren ultimately belong to their parents, not the government." The same line could have been written by any number of liberals.

Even though most people believe parents should have more influence in public schools, few schools encourage it. A forthcoming book by David Matthews, former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and current president of the Kettering Foundation, reports one father's response to the question, "Who owns the public schools?" The man wasn't altogether certain, he said. But he was sure it wasn't his community.

The question is no longer whether to involve parents, but how to institutionalize parental involvement so that their participation doesn't de-

pend on the energy and efforts of a single principal or school commissioner. Schools have tried various methods, but perhaps the most effective has been to require a parent-teacher committee to oversee all functions of the school.

Barnaby Manor Elementary School in Prince Georges County, Maryland, has had such a committee for the past decade. Before Principal Sharon Quarles began the experiment, Barnaby Manor fit the common stereotype of a school serving an impoverished area. "The school was down in the pits," says one parent, Bernice Waller. "The teachers weren't teaching; the children weren't learning anything.... The kids were running the school."

Since 1985, Quarles has worked to reintegrate parents into the school's decision-making process. The linchpin of this effort is the school's management committee, which is staffed in equal parts by parents and teachers. All major issues facing the school are brought to the committee, and when parents or teachers have a problem they want addressed, there is a forum to do so.

In addition, the school invites parents to visit their children's classes whenever they wish and has parent-teacher assemblies to help parents prepare their children for the Maryland School Performance Assessment Program (MSPAP) test. Academically, the school has made great improvements: Its scores on the California Test of Basic Skills have gone up every year since 1985, and it has scored in the top 15 percent of Prince Georges County Schools on the MSPAP, far ahead of similar schools.

Another result has been a relationship between parents and teachers that is far stronger than those in average schools, public or private. "My daughter is in the third grade and is having problems with math, and I'm able to pick up the phone and call the teacher at home," says Brenda Minor. "It's terrific." The effect of the school's openness is to strengthen the sense of ownership and responsibility among parents. Consequently, parents are more willing to volunteer their time. Jan Stocklinski, the director of a Prince Georges County schools program to involve parents, says the increase in volunteerism has been astronomic. One father, whose son graduated from Barnaby Manor several years ago, still uses his annual vacation time to help out in the school's kindergarten classes.

Schools that are open to parental involvement teach the lesson that schools succeed only when everyone in the community assumes a share of the responsibility. It is the same lesson that community policing teaches about public safety. Communities are most likely to succeed when people work alongside their neighbors and government toward public objectives.

Even the federal government can make its programs more open to citizen involvement. In 1994, for example, President Clinton instituted a little-noticed rule change to the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Empowerment Zone initiative. Before a neighborhood can even apply for empowerment zone benefits, there must be a community council comprising business and other community leaders. The logic is simple: Without a network of ties between residents, businesspeople, and government officials—without a legitimate community—no amount of public or private investment will make the kind of difference that the inner city needs. Empowerment zone councils have successfully drawn new businesses everywhere from Detroit to Atlanta. But even some communities rejected as empowerment zones have decided to maintain the councils.

The good news is that these initiatives show, as the Perot phenomenon did, that there is among Americans a yearning to participate. The challenge for government institutions is to find a way to capture and channel that yearning. As it is now, too many Americans consider government a remote and overwhelming force, wholly resistant to the public's will to change it.

There are several things we need to do to resurrect the notion of self-government. We need to make it easier for people to run for office, through campaign finance reform and also by challenging the perception that political participation always requires huge sums of money. We also need to make it easier for people who aren't politicians to lend their hands to the enterprises of government, through service in government agencies at the local, state, and federal level. Doing so, however, will require nothing less than reversing the course of the last 80 years.

During the Progressive Era, in the early years of the century, "Good Government" advocates began professionalizing all aspects of government in an effort to curtail government corruption. Government jobs were no longer given to supporters

of the party in power, but to "experts" who set upon the problems of society with scientific method. This new class of technocrats, it was thought, could run government, schools, police departments, hospitals, and other public institutions better than the average citizen.

What the Progressives began, Johnson's Great Society completed. As the ranks of public policy experts grew, both at the federal and state level, Americans' connection to—and responsibility for—the workings of government grew ever more tenuous. The number of political appointees, the only government employees directly accountable to voters, has diminished to around one tenth of one percent. Meanwhile, the permanent bureaucracies have consolidated their power, guarding it jealously. "We systematically removed the institutions from public control," says David Smith of the Kettering Foundation, "in the name of progress, with the noblest intentions, but with some unexpected results."

One such result has been an unnatural bifurcation between working in politics and working in government; where the former was once the path to the latter, and the two were seen as integrally related, now campaigns are handled by consultants and others who have little interest in the real work of government itself. One way to change the situation is to increase the number of political appointees, and then encourage more campaign workers to become public servants by taking at least short-term jobs in government. Decreasing the number of career civil servants would also allow many other citizens to undertake at least short-term government work—say, two or five years. Then they would return to the private sector with an understanding of both how government works and how citizens can improve it.

The challenge now is to return to the original Jeffersonian ideal, in which everybody—not just the experts, not just the wealthy—can participate in government. For too long, Republicans have simply knocked national government and looked only to voluntary local solutions. For too long, Democrats have thought that the national government had to solve every problem on its own, meanwhile forgetting the need for local participation. But clearly we need both. If we really hope to restore a sense of the rewards of citizenship, we have to stop treating people like customers and start treating them like Americans. □

This is RE:  
today's Heritage  
Study.

## VED HERITAGE "STUDY" ON CLINTON ECONOMY

April 30, 1996

L, METHODOLOGICALLY FLAWED "STUDY". IT WAS  
'O WEEKS AGO TO BE USED AS NOTHING MORE THAN  
T.

e Dole campaign two weeks ago -- builds fictional  
'ian into their analysis in order to get the political result they  
inal tax rates were raised on all tax payers when the clear fact  
'op 1.2 percent of tax payers saw their tax rates increased. This  
whole study. Since it is flawed, their whole study is

[Source: "The Dole Campaign's 'Study' on the Income Tax Consequences of the Revenue Reconciliation Bill of 1993," August 1993.]

**THE FACTS AND THE EXPERTS AGREE THAT THE PRESIDENT'S 1993 ECONOMIC PLAN HELPED TURN THE ECONOMY AROUND AND FUEL A STRONG RECOVERY.** The President inherited a fragile, stop-and-start economy with historically weak job creation, high unemployment, and high deficits. Experts such as Paul Volcker, *Fortune* Magazine, Alan Greenspan, and Lehman Brothers recognize that President Clinton's deficit reduction plan helped lower interest rates, fueling a solid economic recovery.

- For example, two months ago (2/21/96), Alan Greenspan reiterated that the President's 1993 plan was "an unquestioned factor in contributing to the improvement in economic activity that occurred thereafter."

**IT'S NOT SURPRISING THAT THE VERY PEOPLE WHO COULDN'T RECOGNIZE A RECESSION IN THE EARLY 1990s CAN'T RECOGNIZE A STRONG ECONOMIC RECOVERY TODAY. THE FACTS -- NOT SUBJECT TO ANY "STUDY" BY HERITAGE -- ARE CLEAR:**

- The unemployment rate was over 7 percent every month in 1992. It's now 5.6 percent. [Source: BLS.]
- The deficit was \$290 billion in 1992. It will be half that at the end of this year. [Source: CBO.]
- The economy was barely even creating jobs in 1992. Now, the economy has added 8.5 million new jobs -- that's a faster annual rate than any Republican Administration since the 1920s. [Source: BLS.]

**WITHOUT PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP, THERE WAS NO GUARANTEE THAT A STRONG RECOVERY WOULD HAVE OCCURRED OR ANY PARTY WOULD HAVE A BALANCED BUDGET PLAN TODAY.** The Heritage "study" is based on the same flawed theory adopted by the Bush Administration in 1992: *Do Nothing and Hope The Economy Gets Out Of The Woods*. The fact is President Clinton did something and now the economy is strong and a balanced budget is within our reach.

- **Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, Barron's, and DRI/McGraw-Hill all agree that the economy is the healthiest it's been in 30 years.** For example, Barron's (3/18/96) wrote, "Clinton also rightfully boasted that, 'our economy is the healthiest that it has been in thirty years,'" and Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole (2/20/96) said, "It is also true, as some have said, that our economy is the strongest it's been in 30 years."
- **GOP budget only balances by adopting President's 1993 deficit reduction plan.** Without President Clinton's 1993 deficit reduction plan -- which every Republican voted against -- the GOP budget would not even come close to reaching balance in 2002. That is why -- for all the talk -- the Republicans have chosen to adopt it -- not repeal it.

# THE FACTS ON THE FLAWED HERITAGE "STUDY" ON CLINTON ECONOMY

April 30, 1996

**THIS IS A COMPLETELY POLITICAL, METHODOLOGICALLY FLAWED "STUDY". IT WAS PROVIDED TO SENATOR DOLE TWO WEEKS AGO TO BE USED AS NOTHING MORE THAN A PARTISAN POLITICAL DOCUMENT.**

- The Heritage "study" -- provided to the Dole campaign two weeks ago -- builds fictional information about the 1993 Economic Plan into their analysis in order to get the political result they wanted to produce. It assumes that marginal tax rates were raised on all tax payers when the clear fact is -- confirmed by H&R Block -- only the top 1.2 percent of tax payers saw their tax rates increased. This incorrect assumption is the crux of their whole study. Since it is flawed, their whole study is meaningless. ["H&R Block Analysis of the Income Tax Consequences of the Revenue Reconciliation Bill of 1993," August 1993.]

**THE FACTS AND THE EXPERTS AGREE THAT THE PRESIDENT'S 1993 ECONOMIC PLAN HELPED TURN THE ECONOMY AROUND AND FUEL A STRONG RECOVERY.** The President inherited a fragile, stop-and-start economy with historically weak job creation, high unemployment, and high deficits. Experts such as Paul Volcker, *Fortune* Magazine, Alan Greenspan, and Lehman Brothers recognize that President Clinton's deficit reduction plan helped lower interest rates, fueling a solid economic recovery.

- For example, two months ago (2/21/96), Alan Greenspan reiterated that the President's 1993 plan was "an unquestioned factor in contributing to the improvement in economic activity that occurred thereafter."

**IT'S NOT SURPRISING THAT THE VERY PEOPLE WHO COULDN'T RECOGNIZE A RECESSION IN THE EARLY 1990s CAN'T RECOGNIZE A STRONG ECONOMIC RECOVERY TODAY. THE FACTS -- NOT SUBJECT TO ANY "STUDY" BY HERITAGE -- ARE CLEAR:**

- The unemployment rate was over 7 percent every month in 1992. It's now 5.6 percent. [Source: BLS.]
- The deficit was \$290 billion in 1992. It will be half that at the end of this year. [Source: CBO.]
- The economy was barely even creating jobs in 1992. Now, the economy has added 8.5 million new jobs -- that's a faster annual rate than any Republican Administration since the 1920s. [Source: BLS.]

**WITHOUT PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP, THERE WAS NO GUARANTEE THAT A STRONG RECOVERY WOULD HAVE OCCURRED OR ANY PARTY WOULD HAVE A BALANCED BUDGET PLAN TODAY.** The Heritage "study" is based on the same flawed theory adopted by the Bush Administration in 1992: *Do Nothing and Hope The Economy Gets Out Of The Woods*. The fact is President Clinton did something and now the economy is strong and a balanced budget is within our reach.

- **Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, Barron's, and DRI/McGraw-Hill all agree that the economy is the healthiest it's been in 30 years.** For example, Barron's (3/18/96) wrote, "Clinton also rightfully boasted that, 'our economy is the healthiest that it has been in thirty years,'" and Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole (2/20/96) said, "It is also true, as some have said, that our economy is the strongest it's been in 30 years."
- **GOP budget only balances by adopting President's 1993 deficit reduction plan.** Without President Clinton's 1993 deficit reduction plan -- which every Republican voted against -- the GOP budget would not even come close to reaching balance in 2002. That is why -- for all the talk -- the Republicans have chosen to adopt it -- not repeal it.

# Who Should We Trust?

## A Flawed Heritage Foundation "Study" or The Facts

	<b>Heritage "Study"</b>	<b>The Facts</b>
<b>Private-Sector Job Growth</b>	1993 Economic Plan cost the economy 1.2 million additional private-sector jobs.	<b>Stronger Private-Sector Job Growth Than Any Republican Administration Since the 1920s.</b> The economy has added 7.9 million new private-sector jobs during the Clinton Administration -- that's a faster annual rate of job growth than any Republican Administration since the 1920s. [Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics.]
<b>Business Starts</b>	1993 Economic Plan cost the economy 40,600 new business starts.	<b>Record Numbers of New Businesses In Each of The Last Three Years.</b> New business incorporations have increased by 731,000 per year since President Clinton took office, with all-time records of new businesses in each of the last three years. [Source: Dun & Bradstreet.]
<b>Economic Output</b>	1993 Economic Plan cost the economy \$208 billion in economic output.	<b>Stronger Private-Sector Growth Than Either Reagan or Bush.</b> The private-sector of the economy has grown 3.2 percent annually since President Clinton took office -- that's stronger than either the Reagan or Bush Administrations. [Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis.]
<b>Wages And Salaries</b>	1993 Economic Plan cost the economy \$112 billion in wages and salaries.	<b>Turning The Corner On Wages.</b> After declining by 79 cents during the Reagan and Bush Administrations, real average hourly wages have increased slightly since President Clinton took office. As <i>Business Week</i> (3/11/96) wrote: "Real hourly wages are rising, for the first time in 10 years." [Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics.]
<b>Disposable Income</b>	1993 Economic Plan cost the economy \$264 billion in disposable income.	<b>Biggest Increase In Incomes In Nearly A Decade.</b> <i>Washington Post</i> (4/26/96): "Americans' average incomes grew 2.6 percent faster than inflation last year, the biggest rise in nearly a decade..."
<b>New Car And Light Truck Sales</b>	1993 Economic Plan cost the economy 1.3 million new cars and light truck sales.	<b>World's #1 Auto Producer.</b> After trailing Japan during <i>every</i> year of the Reagan and Bush Administrations, the United States surpassed Japan as the world leader in automobile production in 1994. And in 1995, America retained its status as the world's largest car producer. [Source: American Automobile Manufacturers Association.]

FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: RON KLAIN

You might want to see the attached.

Document No.

159093

## REFERRING MEMORANDUM

REFERENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

3-31 Noon

DAT

SUB

on of Utah lands as national

VALD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CURRY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
EMANUEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GIBBONS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HALE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HERMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HIGGINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HILLEY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KLAIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LAKE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LINDSEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	ACTION	FYI
McCURRY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
McGINTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
NASH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
QUINN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
RASCO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REED	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SOSNIK	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STEPHANOPOULOS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STIGLITZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STREETT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
TYSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
WALLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
WILLIAMS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please advise.

RESPONSE:

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3-29

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3-31 Noon

SUBJECT: Possible designation of Utah lands as national monuments

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McCURRY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
PANETTA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McGINTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McLARTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NASH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ICKES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	QUINN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
LIEBERMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RASCO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
RIVLIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	REED	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SOSNIK	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CURRY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STEPHANOPOULOS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
EMANUEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STIGLITZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GIBBONS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STRETT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HALE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TYSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HERMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WALLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HIGGINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WILLIAMS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HILLEY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KLAIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LAKE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LINDSEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please advise.

RESPONSE:



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

March 29, 1996

96 MAR

Letter to  
Sec. Babbitt  
re:  
Utah public  
lands

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KATHLEEN A. MCGINTY

RE: ATTACHED LETTER TO SECRETARY BABBITT FOR YOUR SIGNATURE

I. ACTION-FORCING EVENT

As you know, we are putting together a package of national park protection actions for your consideration that, if you approve, may be announced at an event on April 9. As part of that initiative, and in response to the threat to Utah wilderness lands that was posed by the recently-defeated Republican parks bill, we have been reviewing Utah public lands to ensure that we are doing everything possible to provide appropriate protection to those lands. We have focused particularly on public lands that contain historic or scientific resources or are threatened by development.

It has come to my attention that there may be federally-owned lands adjacent to Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, Canyonlands National Park and Arches National Parks in Utah that may warrant protection as national monuments. Statutory authority to issue a proclamation declaring public lands to be national monuments is available only to the President, who cannot delegate such authority.

Case law interpreting this authority has further held that the President can request information from his advisors on the suitability of certain lands for such designation, but that the action must be initiated by the President, not an advisor. For that reason, it is necessary that you formally request Secretary Babbitt to provide you with such information before we can obtain the necessary background to consider such designation on the merits. We need to do that as soon as possible so that this designation can be completed in time for a possible April 9 announcement. The attached letter makes that request.

II. BACKGROUND ANALYSIS

The Antiquities Act of 1906 provides the President with discretionary authority to declare by public proclamation objects of historic or scientific interest that are on lands owned or controlled by the Government to be national monuments. Only an Act of Congress can disestablish a monument.

Reservation as a national monument generally offers protection to the area comparable to that of a National Park, including closure to future mineral leasing claims. The agency managing the monument can grandfather existing uses of the land, such as

grazing permits.

No final decision about the designation of Utah lands as national monuments can be made without additional material from the Department of Interior. However, currently available information indicates that significant Bureau of Land Management acreage adjacent to each of the areas addressed in the letter contains historic and scientific objects of importance, including numerous archeological sites, Indian rock art, geological formations and wildlife habitat.

### III. RECOMMENDATION

I recommend that you sign the attached letter requesting information on Utah lands from Secretary Babbitt

### IV. DECISION

Approve  Approve as amended  Reject  No action

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 29, 1996

The Honorable Bruce Babbitt  
Secretary of the Interior  
1849 C Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20240

Dear Bruce:

It has come to my attention that there may be public lands adjacent to Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, Canyonlands National Park and Arches National Park in Utah that contain significant historic or scientific areas that may be appropriate for protection through National Monument status under the Antiquities Act of 1906. Therefore, I am requesting any information available to your Department on lands owned or controlled by the United States adjacent to Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, Canyonlands National Park or Arches National Park that contain historic landmarks, historic or prehistoric structures, or other objects of historic or scientific interest.

Please respond as soon as possible. If there are land areas that you have already reviewed and that may be appropriate for immediate consideration, please provide that information separately and as soon as possible.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

# Daley says Democratic convention should have 'entertainment' day

BY JIM ALLEN  
Daily Herald Staff Writer

On second thought, Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley stammered on Tuesday, the Democratic National Convention should be a four-day event.

FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT  
FROM: RON KLAIN

You might want to see the attached.

This is the  
last Daley  
proposal, as  
we discussed.

Ron

hite  
stry,  
ther  
the  
was

that convention planners replace a business day with an "entertainment" day — not eliminate a day.

William Daley had suggested earlier this week that a four-day convention was not necessary because there was little Democratic Party business to conduct since the ticket and the platform are virtually decided.

With an entertainment day, performers with names like Barbra Streisand would be less likely to

bore viewers, Daley said.

But seeing that he had just predicted the convention might bore voters, Daley went on to say he didn't mean that, either.

"No, it's still four days, the convention's still four days, but you use one day, the second or third day, for an entertainment day,"  
Daley said at a city hall news conference.

For the hotel industry, which blocked off thousands of rooms to

on,  
nic.  
ven-  
has  
the  
was  
ies-  
ady  
,000  
for  
ossi-  
,000

media types who will be on hand," DeLee said.

Daley struggled to contain the damage without causing more.

"What are you going to do for four days?" Daley said to explain his plan to add an entertainment day.

Pointing to a basketball tournament he was promoting at the same news conference, Daley said, "If you knew who the winner was, not many people would go to a basketball game. We know Bill Clinton

is the president, the Democratic president. To me they have to change the whole concept of conventions."

Was he suggesting the first three days will lack pizzazz? "No," Daley said sternly, adding that he didn't want to see headlines to that effect.

"You need a break to really build up (to the acceptance speech)," Daley said. "It gains a better perspective of what the convention will be."

# Daley says Democratic convention should have 'entertainment' day

BY JIM ALLEN  
Daily Herald Staff Writer

On second thought, Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley stammered on Tuesday, the Democratic National Convention should be a four-day event.

Feeling heat from the White House and the hospitality industry, Daley said what he and brother William Daley, a top planner for the convention, meant to suggest was

that convention planners replace a business day with an "entertainment" day — not eliminate a day.

William Daley had suggested earlier this week that a four-day convention was not necessary because there was little Democratic Party business to conduct since the ticket and the platform are virtually decided.

With an entertainment day, performers with names like Barbra Streisand would be less likely to

bore viewers, Daley said.

But seeing that he had just predicted the convention might bore voters, Daley went on to say he didn't mean that, either.

"No, it's still four days, the convention's still four days, but you use one day, the second or third day, for an entertainment day," Daley said at a city hall news conference.

For the hotel industry, which blocked off thousands of rooms to

accommodate the convention, Daley's original words set off panic. And Democratic National Convention CEO Debra DeLee, who has been the chief cheerleader for the event, said the organization was ready to listen to ideas but questioned why the city would be ready to shun free attention from "15,000 media types."

"We want our delegates here for the longest amount of time possible, getting the benefit of the 15,000

media types who will be on hand," DeLee said.

Daley struggled to contain the damage without causing more.

"What are you going to do for four days?" Daley said to explain his plan to add an entertainment day.

Pointing to a basketball tournament he was promoting at the same news conference, Daley said, "If you knew who the winner was, not many people would go to a basketball game. We know Bill Clinton

is the president, the Democratic president. To me they have to change the whole concept of conventions."

Was he suggesting the first three days will lack pizzazz? "No," Daley said sternly, adding that he didn't want to see headlines to that effect.

"You need a break to really build up (to the acceptance speech)," Daley said. "It gains a better perspective of what the convention will be."



THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY  
WASHINGTON

BACK  
TO VP

February 6, 1996

96 FEB 6 P 4: 10

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: ROBERT RUBIN *R. S. R.*

FROM: LAWRENCE SUMMERS *L.S.*

SUBJECT: Gold Standard and the Economy

Steve Forbes has talked about returning America to the gold standard. You asked what this would mean. Here are some key points:

**A gold standard is a system under which the only aim of U.S. monetary policy is to keep the value of the dollar constant when measured in gold.**

- Monetary policy is used to keep the gold price of the dollar fixed, and as long as monetary policy is used for this purpose it cannot be used for anything else.
- Under a gold standard, interest rates cannot be reduced to try to stop (or at least ameliorate) a recession -- had the U.S. been on a gold standard, the Federal Reserve-produced reductions in interest rates that have been used to fight every recession since 1950 would have been next to impossible.
- Under a gold standard, interest rates cannot be reduced to try to stop a wave of bank failures -- had the U.S. been on a gold standard, the beginning of the 1990s would have seen a large wave of commercial bank failures.
- In fact, the recent definitive history of the Great Depression by Berkeley professor Barry Eichengreen, *Golden Fetters*, gives the gold standard the lion's share of the blame for the failure of governments to prevent the bank failures that deepened the Great Depression.
- Politicians' beliefs in the gold standard were the "golden fetters" that kept them from taking the steps needed to keep the Great Depression from becoming a decade-long catastrophe.

**The U.S. would lose control of its money supply under a gold standard.**

- Inflation or deflation in the U.S. would depend on conditions in the gold market.
- The world's largest source of gold is South Africa: the principal determinant of inflation or deflation in the U.S. under a gold standard is the state of South African politics as it affects gold production. Political crisis in South Africa means deflation--and probably depression -- in the United States.
- The world's second largest source of gold is Russia: the secondary determinant of inflation or deflation in the U.S. is the state of Russian politics as it affects gold production.
- The third important factor influencing the world's supply of monetary gold is *Chinese* politics: instability in China that led to an increase in gold hoarding could also generate deflation -- and perhaps depression -- in the United States.
- In the early 1970s no one imagined that a decade-long economic crisis in the U.S. could be set in motion by the combination of an Arab-Israeli War, a U.S. policy to build up the Iranian military, and the key role played by oil in the U.S. energy sector. Adopt a gold standard and the health of the U.S. economy is once again made hostage to overseas political developments in less-than-stable countries.

take into account comments received during lengthy rulemaking process.

(G) **Tyson cover note and Reich memo on pension portability.** Bob's memo discusses ideas for making 401(k) pensions more portable. He notes that portability isn't possible for half of all workers because: employers aren't required to accept transfer of 401(k) savings from previous employment; and, option of rolling a 401(k) pension into an IRA is complex. Laura says that an NEC pension working group, with DOL's participation, has been developing a revised pension portability proposal and consequently doesn't believe any separate response to Bob's memo is needed at this time. She hopes to have a proposal to present to you within the next several weeks.

→ (H) **Cutter/Gibbons/McGinty note on greenhouse gas report.** In September 1994, the Administration established a 30-member Advisory Committee to develop recommendations on policies to reduce greenhouse gas emissions from cars and light trucks in the years after 2000. *The Advisory Committee met 11 times over a one-year period, but was unable to reach consensus on either policies or a report.* The Interagency Steering Committee report describes the nature of the problem, the Advisory Committee's charge, its areas of agreement and disagreement, and the staff's conclusions. The area of greatest agreement was that federal support for research into more efficient vehicles and alternative fuels is appropriate and should be continued. Executive summary and list of committee members is attached FYI.

(I) **Cardinal Mahony Pastoral Letter on programming for children.** Via Leon. The Archbishop of L.A. developed this 1992 pamphlet for members of the motion picture industry, but suggests that much of the material is also applicable to television.

We also received the following items:

- **Tyson note on World Bank support for poor countries.** Laura responds to an editorial suggesting that the World Bank use IDA resources in poor countries in Africa rather than in China (with foreign reserves of \$70 billion and foreign investment of \$33 billion in 1994). She reports that Treasury has been working hard to phase out lending to China despite opposition from Japan -- China's share of IDA is down from about 14% two years ago, to about 6% this year. China is projected to receive 4 % of IDA's next replenishment, and then "graduate" while Sub-Saharan Africa is expected to get 50% of new IDA commitments.
- **Tyson follow-up on base closure process.** Laura thanks you for forwarding the op-ed on "base closure doldrums." She believes that although the process is much improved, many communities still cannot get the cooperation they need from the military and that, "We may need a more effective mechanism for translating Secretary Perry's strong support for base reuse into action by base commanders and other military personnel." She will give you a progress report in a few weeks.
- **Dingell note.** "Your visit to Michigan was a complete success. I have only heard

FYI  
per  
RON

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

96 FEB 23 Ag: 08  
February 23, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

BO CUTTER *BOC*  
JACK GIBBONS *JG*  
KATIE McGINTY *km*

SUBJECT:

**Report of the Interagency Steering Committee on the  
Outcome of the Deliberations of the policy Dialog Advisory  
Committee to Assist in the Development of Measures to  
Significantly Reduce Greenhouse Gas Emissions from  
Personal Motor Vehicles**

In September 1994, the Administration established a 30-member Advisory Committee to develop recommendations on policies to reduce greenhouse gas emissions from cars and light trucks in the years after 2000. The Advisory Committee was an outgrowth of the Climate Change Action Plan, which recognized that the personal transportation sector will be a major -- and fast-growing -- producer of the greenhouse gases that raise climate change concerns, particularly after 2000.

As described in the attached report of the Interagency Steering Committee, the Advisory Committee met eleven times over a one-year period, but was unable to reach consensus on either policies or a report. The Steering Committee's report describes the nature of the problem, the Advisory Committee's charge, its areas of agreement and disagreement, and the staff's conclusions. The Committee's area of greatest agreement was that federal support for research into more efficient vehicles and into alternative fuels is an appropriate approach to this problem and should be continued.

The staff concludes -- and we concur -- that: "the Committee's ultimate disagreement is an important indication of the difficulty stakeholders with widely divergent, deeply-held and long-standing views and interests have in reaching consensus absent a powerful external incentive to compromise, such as strong dissatisfaction with the status quo or effective public demand for a solution. It is noteworthy, however, that various groups of members of the Committee, including seventeen members with differing perspectives, were able to agree on packages of policies that could achieve the Committee's charge for some or all of the target periods. These packages could provide a framework for future action."

The thirty members of the Advisory Committee, the Committee's Chair and Facilitator, as well as the members of the Interagency Steering Committee and Analytical Support Group all worked extremely hard on this project for -- in the case of the Administration participants -- well over two years. We are disappointed in the outcome, but, as described in the report, the Committee's existence raised awareness of the problem. Its recognition of the size of the problem and discussion of various potential policy solutions is an important step forward.

**REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT  
ON THE OUTCOME OF THE DELIBERATIONS  
OF THE POLICY DIALOG ADVISORY COMMITTEE  
TO ASSIST IN THE DEVELOPMENT  
OF MEASURES TO SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCE  
GREENHOUSE GAS EMISSIONS FROM  
PERSONAL MOTOR VEHICLES**

**February 1996**

## *Table of Contents*

	<i>Page</i>
<i>Summary</i>	1
<i>Section 1: Background on the Federal Advisory Committee</i>	1
<i>Section 2: Background of the Problem</i>	3
<i>Figure 1 – Base-Case (Millions of Metric Tonnes)*</i>	4
<i>Section 3: Range of Policies Considered</i>	5
<i>Section 4: Common Ground</i>	6
<i>Figure 2 – Greenhouse Gas Savings Needed to Return to 1990 Levels*</i>	7
<i>Section 5: Disagreements</i>	8
<i>Section 6: Staff Conclusions</i>	11

---

\*Source: Projections from Analytic Support Group model of personal transport sector greenhouse gas emissions. This model utilized an analytic protocol developed in cooperation with many advisory committee members. This analytic protocol involved agreed-upon vehicle travel, vehicle sales, vehicle fuel economy, fuel carbon content and fuel price forecasts. In addition, it utilized agreed-upon elasticities of travel and fuel economy with respect to the price of fuel.

***Table of Attachments***

<i>List of Committee Members and Alternates</i>	<i>Tab A</i>
<i>Letter from Committee Facilitator and Chair</i>	<i>Tab B</i>
<i>List of Members of the Interagency Steering Committee</i>	<i>Tab C</i>
<i>Report of 17 Members of the Committee</i>	<i>Tab D</i>
<i>Letter From Automobile Industry Representatives</i>	<i>Tab E</i>