

This has been sent to:

B. Barnett

David Kendall

Bill Kennedy } FYI

Bruce Lindsey }

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Jan 15, 1994

MEMO FROM: MAGGIE WILLIAMS

TO:

Milli Alston	_____	Evelyn Lieberman	_____
Pam Barnett	_____	Diane Lino	_____
Anne Bartley	_____	Capricia Marshall	_____
Lisa Caputo	_____	Ann McCoy	_____
Kelly Craighead	_____	Alice Puskar	_____
Karen Finney	_____	Shirley Sagawa	_____
Sara Grote	_____	Patti Solis	_____
Julie Hopper	_____	Ann Stock	_____
Carolyn Huber	_____	Kim Tilley	_____
Neel Lattimore	_____	McLanne Verveer	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

The attached is for your:

Information _____

Advice _____

Action ~~_____~~

COMMENTS:

Patti,
Maggie is wondering if you received
this & what the status is.
Thanks,
Diane

*Ask Patty
About Her*

WILLIAMS & ANDERSON

TWENTY-SECOND FLOOR

111 CENTER STREET

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72201

W. JACKSON WILLIAMS

(501) 372-0800

TELECOPIER
(501) 372-6453

January 5, 1994

Ms. Patty Solis
Scheduling Assistant
Office of the First Lady
West Wing, White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Re: Federation of American Health Systems

Dear Ms. Solis:

I represent the Federation of American Health Systems which is the premier national organization for the nation's investor owned hospitals and health care systems, with over 1,400 members.

The Federation has invited the First Lady to their Annual Conference to be held April 13-15 at the Walt Disney Dolphin Hotel in Lake Buena Vista, Florida. A copy of the invitation extended to Mrs. Clinton on December 8 is enclosed.

I appreciate that Mrs. Clinton has the opportunity to make many appearances to discuss health care issues before many kinds of groups and organizations. However, this is the nation's largest investor owned hospital organization and we are aware that she did appear last year at the meeting of the American Hospital Association, the comparable not-for-profit hospital organization to the Federation. We think this would be a significant forum for Mrs. Clinton given the health organizations which will be present at this meeting and the caliber of the other program participants.

I would appreciate very much if you would evaluate the desirability of Mrs. Clinton making this appearance and place this invitation before her. I am sending a copy of this letter to Ms. Margaret Williams, Mrs. Clinton's Chief of Staff. The timing of this conference is likely to occur at a time in which the Administration's health care proposal is working its way through the appropriate Congressional committees and when there is going to be significant public discussion on this entire issue.

WILLIAMS & ANDERSON

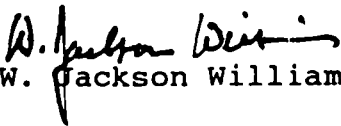
January 5, 1994
Page Two

I would appreciate very much your consideration of this request.

A response can be made directly to Mr. Michael Bromberg, the Executive Director of the Federation. However, if there is any additional information I can provide concerning this meeting and this invitation, do not hesitate to let me know.

Cordially,

WILLIAMS & ANDERSON


W. Jackson Williams

WJW:js
Enclosure

cc: Ms. Margaret Williams
Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady

Mr. Michael D. Bromberg

Federation of American Health Systems

December 8, 1993

1111 19th Street N.W.
Suite 402
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-833-3090

Michael D. Bromberg
Executive Director

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

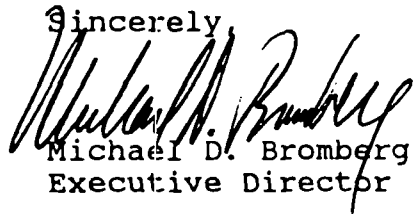
Dear Mrs. Clinton:

The Federation of American Health Systems, which represents the nation's 1,400 investor-owned hospitals and health care systems, will be holding its 1994 Annual Conference and Business Exposition April 13 - 15 at the Walt Disney Dolphin Hotel in Lake Buena Vista, Florida. The theme of this year's meeting will be "Partners Managing Change". We would be pleased if you can accept our invitation to address our audience of more than 1,500 representatives from all sectors of the health care industry.

Department of Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala, Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole, Rep. Dan Rostenkowski, and then - political analyst David Gergen spoke at our 1993 Convention here in Washington. Our 1994 program will include the Mayo Foundation's Robert F. Waller, M.D., news correspondent Cokie Roberts, and Bruce Vladeck administrator, Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA), Department of Health and Human Services (HHS).

I hope your schedule will allow you to be a part of the official program next April. An early, favorable reply, would be appreciated.

Sincerely,



Michael D. Bromberg
Executive Director

MDB/mls

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Date 1/24/94

MEMO FROM: MAGGIE WILLIAMS

TO:

Milli Alston	_____	Evelyn Lieberman	_____
Pam Barnett	_____	Diane Limo	_____
Anne Bartley	_____	Capricia Marshall	_____
Lisa Caputo	_____	Ann McCoy	_____
Kelly Craighead	_____	Alice Puskar	_____
Karen Finney	_____	Shirley Sagawa	_____
Sara Grote	_____	Patti Solis	<u>✓</u>
Julie Hopper	_____	Ann Stock	_____
Carolyn Huber	_____	Kim Tilley	_____
Neel Lattimore	_____	Melanne Verveer	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

The attached is for your:

Information _____

Advice _____

Action ✓

COMMENTS:

President
Harriet Woods -
Vice Presidents
Anita Perez Ferguson
Jean Crizian
Linda Targen
Jeanne Fox
Muriel Inabner
Deane Bonner

Treasurer
Betty Lou Harmon

Recorder
Lynda Van Scoyoc

Advisory Board
Sharon Rodina, Chair

Bella Abzug
Erik Alexander
Owanah Anderson
Edward Asner
Patricia Bailey
Polly Baca
Lisa Bell
Marjorie Benson
Polly Bergen
Rita Mae Brown
Charlotte Bunch
Yvonne Brathwaite Burke
Ellen Burtyn

Liz Carpenter
Sey Chastler
Shirley Chisholm
Roxanne Barton Collins
Midge Comas
Mary Dore Crip
Charles Curry
Lynn Cutler
Marian Wright Edelman
Coy Eklund
Myrlie Evers

Frances T. Foxworth
Ronnie Felt
Barbara Feldon
Sharon Flynn
Mary Harwood Furrill
Tracy D. Gary
Elizabeth Griffith
Lena Guerrero
Elmer Guggenheimer

Cherile Hefner
Dorothy Heigh
Elizabeth Holman
Korynn Horbal
Mildred Jeffrey
Correna Scott King
Oceana Kerner
Frances Letz
Norman Letz
Kate Rand Lloyd
Leon Lynch
Doris Meisner
Tanya Mellich
Joyce Miller
Midge Miller
Iris Mitgang
Irene Novick
Kathleen Nolan
Eleanor Holmes Norton

Jean O'Leary
Esther Peterson
Jane Picman
Betty Blumberg Polley
Lois Radford
Sharon Percy Rockefeller
Marge Roukema
Audrey Rowe
Carr's Rozelle
Jill Ruckelshaus
Claudine Schneider
Patricia Schroeder
Felice Schwartz
Donna Shalala
Sara P. Shward
Cathryn Simmons
Mary Louise Smith
Mary Stanley
Gloria Steinem
Marko Thomas
Joan Tobin
C. DeLores Tucker
Lucia Valente
Carmen Delgado Vozow
Julia Montgomery Walsh
Marianne Warren
Kathy Wilson
William Winpisinger

Executive Director
Jody Newman



National Women's Political Caucus

*Patti -
ASK Melanne
Hume name
to do*

December 1, 1993

Tipper Gore
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mrs. Gore:

I invite you to serve as an Honorary Chair for a very special event celebrating the women appointees of the Clinton Administration. It is scheduled for the evening of February 8 at The Mayflower Hotel.

This event will combine a general reception with a following dinner for several hundred senior women appointees that is designed to encourage ongoing mutual support among women within the Administration.

It will showcase the impressive number of women appointed, as well as the breakthrough responsibilities they have assumed. We expect to have all the women cabinet members joining in the invitation, and we have also requested Mrs. Clinton to serve as an Honorary Chair.

I know it would mean a great deal to all those involved if you could find time to join in this evening of recognition and mutual support.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Harriet Woods
Harriet Woods
President

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 1/24/94

MEMO FROM: MAGGIE WILLIAMS

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Lisa Caputo	___	Ann McCoy	___
Kelly Craighead	___	Alice Puskar	___
Karen Finney	___	Shirley Sagawa	___
Sara Grote	___	Patti Solis	✓
Julie Hopper	___	Ann Stock	___
Carolyn Huber	___	Kim Tilley	___
Neel Lattimore	___	Melanne Verveer	___
_____	___	_____	___
_____	___	_____	___

The attached is for your:

Information	___
Advice	___
Action	___

COMMENTS:

Patti

Dear Maggie -

ber 10, 1993

COPY

This memo is FYI -

It would be nice if
HRC could attend
both events.

Call me if you
have questions or
you need to talk
about it.

Thanks -

Doris

ation a couple of events involving
be on your radar screen.

scheduling request for a reception
ing Women Appointees. This would be
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nteets. This event will also serve as
tool for women.

I believe that the President should attend the February 8th event at the Mayflower Hotel, since it will be an opportunity for all attendees, both appointees and supporters, to see the commitment of the administration to women and to encourage the continuing support of women for other women. In addition, I further believe that the President should also host a reception here at the White House in honor of the top level women appointees.

Women are excited to be together and to reinforce each other and to advance the initiatives of this administration. The Office of Public Liaison is developing a comprehensive outreach strategy for women. I believe we will be able to form powerful coalitions for the Presidential initiatives. The White House Reception and the Women's Celebration at the Mayflower can be utilized to initiate the agenda for next year.

Since the NWPC Celebration Reception is scheduled for February 8th, and to give each event its proper due, I suggest that we schedule the White House Reception at the beginning of March, coinciding with Women's History Month.

Please advise as how I should proceed. Thanks.

cc Alexis Herman

December 10, 1993

COPY

MEMORANDUM TO RICKI SEIDMAN

FROM: DORIS MATSUI

RE: WOMEN'S EVENTS

I want to bring to your attention a couple of events involving women appointees that should be on your radar screen.

Some time ago, I submitted a scheduling request for a reception here at the White House honoring Women Appointees. This would be an opportunity for the President to honor and acknowledge the number and quality of his appointees.

There is also another activity underway that you should be aware of. Harriett Woods and the National Women's Political Caucus is sponsoring a reception on February 8th at the Mayflower Hotel to honor the women appointees and community and leadership network women who helped advance the cause. This is to be a large reception, on the order of 600-700, at which time women appointees and supporters would celebrate the high numbers and quality of the Clinton appointees. This event will also serve as a beginning of a networking tool for women.

I believe that the President should attend the February 8th event at the Mayflower Hotel, since it will be an opportunity for all attendees, both appointees and supporters, to see the commitment of the administration to women and to encourage the continuing support of women for other women. In addition, I further believe that the President should also host a reception here at the White House in honor of the top level women appointees.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 1/24/94

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Karen Finney	_____	Shirley Sagawa	_____
Sara Grote	_____	Patti Solis	☒
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Carolyn Huber	_____	Kim Tilley	_____
Neel Lattimore	_____	Melanne Verveer	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

The attached is for your:

Information _____

Advice _____

Action ☒

COMMENTS:

LEONARDO
DA VINCI'S
HORSE



Anne -
Are you looking
into this. Did you talk
to Evelyn

December 3, 1993

Dear Hillary Rodham Clinton:

You will recognize the background of the photograph of the eight-foot model of the Leonardo da Vinci Horse. We brought The Horse from the studio in Fogelsville, PA for a press conference at the Capitol on October 21 and as the prime attraction at Italian Ambassador Biancheri's reception the following day for 400 VIP's. The next evening we were pleased to hear you and the President speak at the Washington Hilton.

Archie Schaffer is a high school classmate of Charles Dent and gave information re The Horse to Trey Schroeder at Brooke Bumpers' wedding to pass on to Jean Baker with the request that she give it to you.

Charles Dent and I propose to bring this eight-foot model of The Horse to the White House lawn for a ceremony with you, the President, the Secretary of Education and a group of students of all ages to introduce the idea of Leonardo da Vinci as a role model in education.

Do you believe that only something radically creative will reform our educational system? Will you consider a plan to make Leonardo da Vinci a role model for all levels from kindergarten through high school in every discipline from art to zoology? (Rutgers University in two recent summer sessions directed 60 teachers in developing an interdisciplinary unit of study based on Leonardo. It works.)

Leonardo da Vinci received a commission from the Duke of Sforza in Milan to construct a twenty-four foot Bronze Horse, largest in the world. He arrived from Florence in 1482 and worked for ten years on a full scale clay model. Enter the invading French who destroyed his model. On his deathbed in France he lamented he could not finish his horse.

The *National Geographic*, 500 years later, in the September 1977 issue, carried an article on Leonardo with one chapter entitled "The Horse That Never Was." The right man to read it was retired air line pilot, painter, sculptor, and collector Charles C. Dent,

over -

who said: "Let's give Leonardo his horse." The Mayor of Milan gave him a medal for being the only one in 500 years to come up with the idea.

The twenty-four foot bronze Horse, once on its pedestal in Milan, will be a gift from the American people to the people of Italy reminiscent of the French gift of the Statue of Liberty to us. It will stand for centuries as the symbol of a man and a people who took giant steps in every realm of human endeavor through the relentless application of *curiosity, imagination and creativity*. This same application can cause education in the U.S.A. to take a quantum leap.

We recommend that you undergird Health Care Reform with Education Reform. We propose Leonardo da Vinci as a role model. This could turn out to be one of the more venturesome moves of the Clinton Administration. Before you accept or reject our offer to bring the model of The Leonardo da Vinci Horse to the White House lawn to meet with you, the President, the Secretary of Education and a group of students, we request you to consider that the reform of Education requires something radically creative.

If you are willing to be even more venturesome, an option would be to invite recent Nobel Prize winners in fields readily pertinent to education with several CEO's of major corporations who have given evidence of creativity, or vision beyond their corporations, including Mr. Scully of Spectrum and Mr. Fisher of Kodak and Mr. Gurien of Binney and Smith. Invite also the sixty teachers in the Rutgers Summer program on Leonardo da Vinci, sixty of their pupils and Dale Hirsch, the Project director of the Leonardo Teacher Institute, Rutgers University.

Please inform us of a convenient date for the meeting.

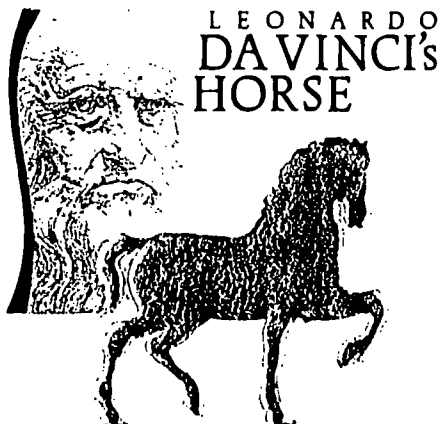
Respectfully,



Roger Enloe
President

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

✓ cc: Mrs. John Patrick Baker
The Honorable Richard Riley
The Honorable Harris Wofford
The Honorable Arlen Specter
The Honorable Paul McHale
The Honorable Robert Walker
Mr. Edward Donley
Mr. Archie Schaffer



Maggie —

Per our conversation —

Milli
(Photos, etc. inside envelope) →

December 3, 1993

Dear Trey Schroeder:

You, and possibly Mrs. Clinton, already know about the Leonardo da Vinci Horse, according to Archie Schaffer (the elder).

Now you would do us a great kindness to direct the attached letter to the attention of Hillary Rodham Clinton, following the protocol procedures you may deem appropriate.

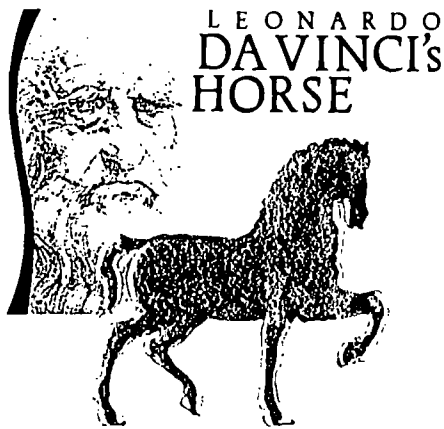
We will be grateful.

Sincerely,


Roger Enloe
President

Mr. Tray Schroeder
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

MCA DEC 9 1993



December 3, 1993

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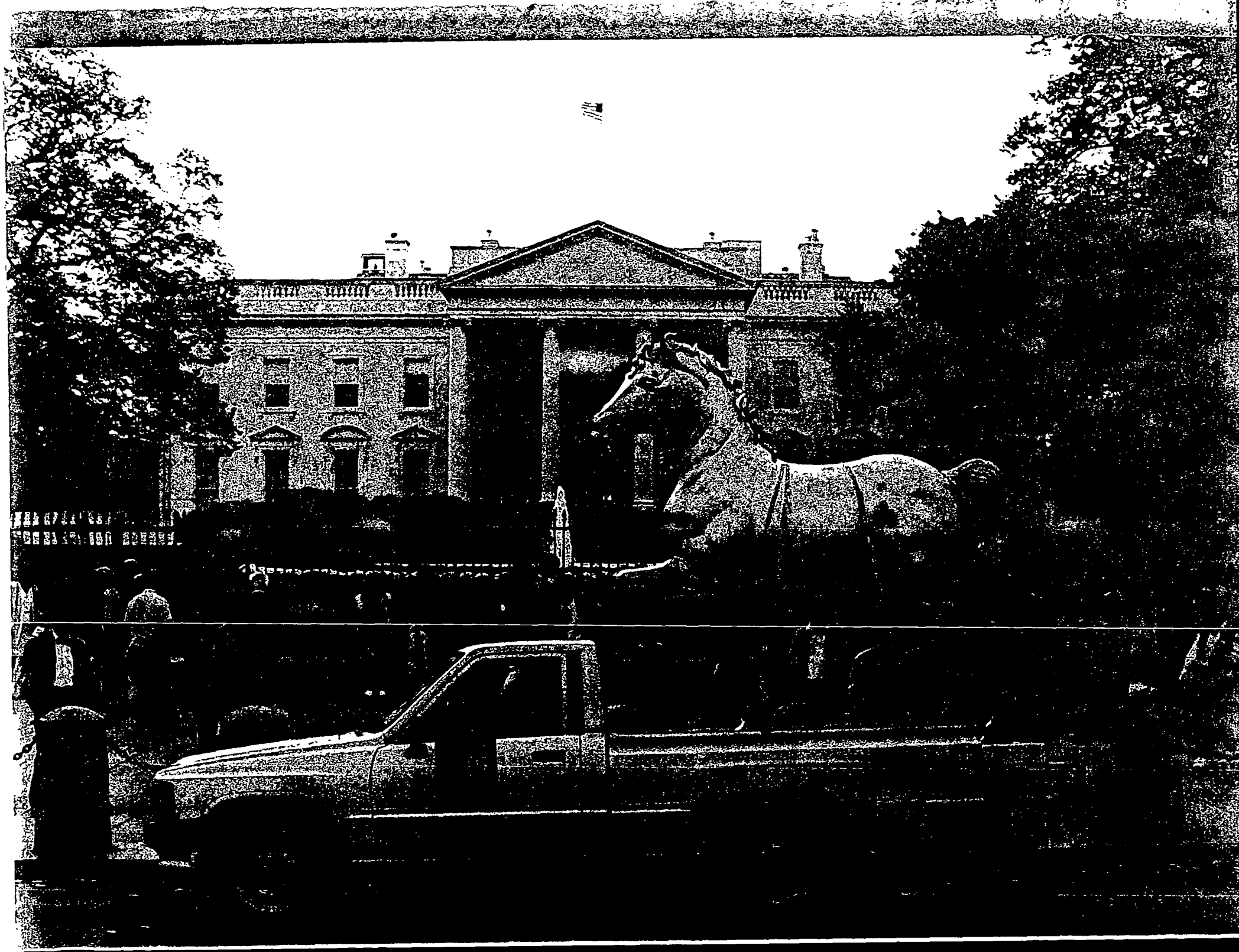
Respectfully,



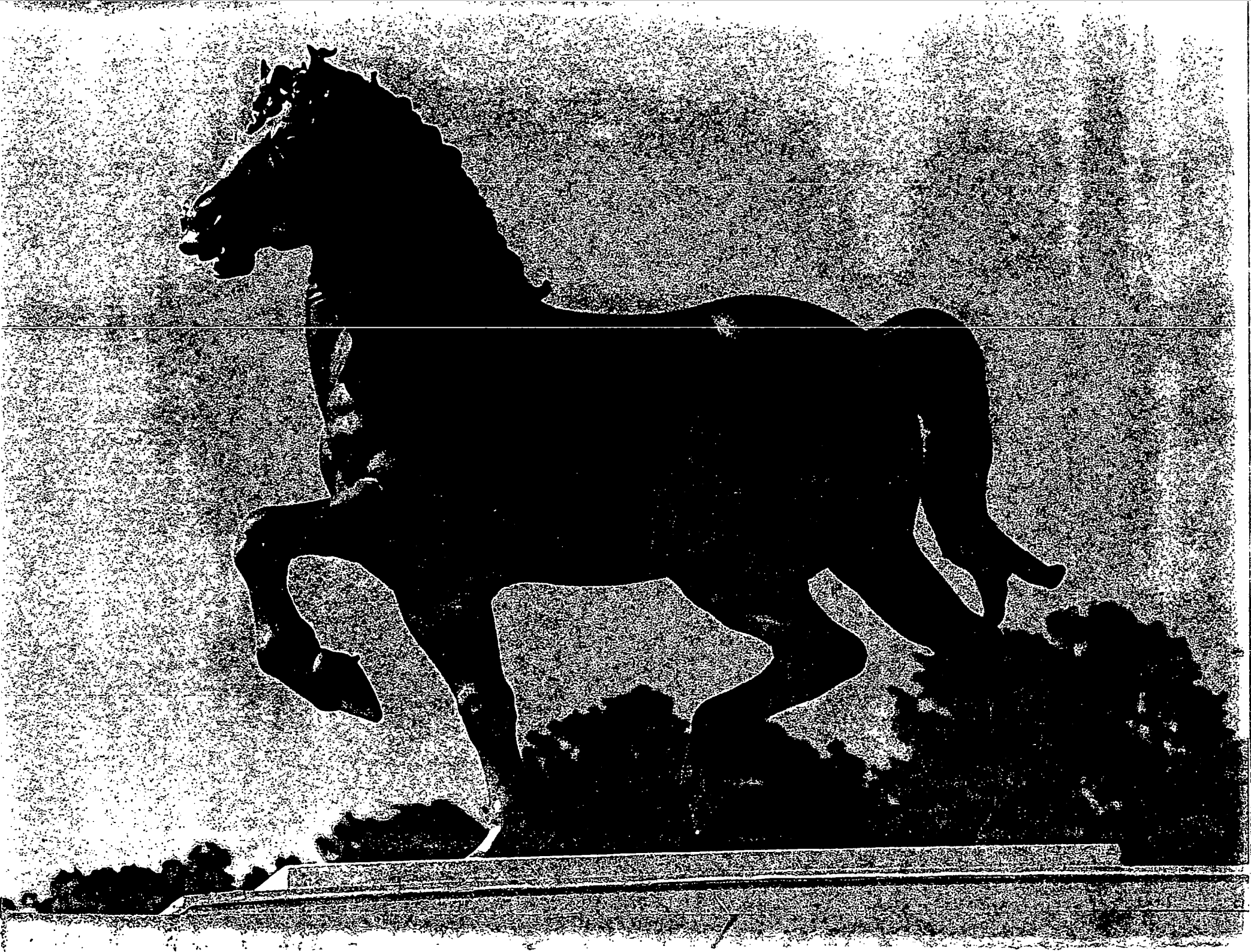
Roger Enloe
President

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

cc: Mrs. John Patrick Baker
The Honorable Richard Riley
The Honorable Harris Wofford
The Honorable Arlen Specter
The Honorable Paul McHale
The Honorable Robert Walker
Mr. Edward Donley
Mr. Archie Schaffer







THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 1/24/94

MEMO FROM: MAGGIE WILLIAMS

TO:

Milli Alston	_____	Evelyn Lieberman	_____
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_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

The attached is for your:

Information	_____
Advice	_____
Action	☒

COMMENTS:

LAW OFFICES
HILFMAN & FOGEL, P.C.

LOUIS HILFMAN
ROBERT L. FOGEL
PATRICK J. SULLIVAN
JOHN M. KOVAC
WILLIAM F. MARTIN
MICHAEL I. STARKMAN
STEVEN C. FUOCO
DANIEL C. HOFERT

OF COUNSEL
JEFFREY M. GOLDBERG
ZENON J. BLOZINSKI*

* ADMITTED IN ILLINOIS AND COLORADO

33 NORTH DEARBORN STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60602

TELEPHONE
(312) 236-5207
FAX
(312) 236-2321

TELECOPIER COVER LETTER

DATE: 12/7/93 TIME: 12:03 PM PAGE 1 of 4

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING PAGES TO:

NAME: MAGGIE WILLIAMS

FAX NO: 202 456 6244

FROM: ☐ Louis Hilfman ☐ William F. Martin
☒ Robert L. Fogel ☐ Michael I. Starkman
☐ Patrick J. Sullivan ☐ Steven C. Fuoco
☐ John M. Kovac ☐ Daniel C. Hofert

COMMENTS Maggie: See attached letters and please provide to Hillary for her review and response. I am hoping for some indication of willingness/ability to participate as soon as possible so plans can proceed. Call me with any questions, thoughts or comments. Thanks.

☒ THIS IS A RUSH, PLEASE DELIVERY IMMEDIATELY ☒ Bob Fogel

IF YOU DO NOT RECEIVE ALL THE PAGES, PLEASE CALL THE NUMBER LISTED BELOW AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.
PHONE: 312-236-5207

THE ATTACHED MATERIALS ARE INTENDED ONLY FOR THE USE OF THE ABOVE NAMED ADDRESSEE AND MAY CONTAIN INFORMATION THAT IS PRIVILEGED, CONFIDENTIAL AND EXEMPT FROM DISCLOSURE UNDER APPLICABLE LAW.

ROBERT L. FOCEL
33 NORTH DEARBORN STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60602
(312) 236-5207

November 19, 1993

President and Mrs. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500-2000

RE: National Committee to Prevent Child Abuse -
Healthy Families America

Dear Mr. President and First Lady:

Over the last several months I have become involved with the National Committee to Prevent Child Abuse and raising money for its 1994 Healthy Families America campaign. I am working with Anne Cohn Donnelly, the Executive Director, who I understand both of you know well.

She advised me of the Committee's intention to formally announce/kick-off the HFA campaign next spring in Washington. I suggested that they consider doing so in conjunction with a fundraising event and an award of some kind to you two and/or the Vice President/Tipper at a dinner.

The proposed date would be around April 14th and nicely coincides with April being National Child Abuse Prevention Month.

Obviously, I am aware of your deep and long-term commitment to the protection and needs of America's children and an event like this will not only be of great financial benefit to the National Committee, but would also produce significant media and public attention to the subject and your Administration's commitment and policies.

I have agreed to Chair/organize the event and would like to know your availability/interest in receiving such an "award" at the event. Anne will be raising the subject with the Vice-President and Mrs. Gore by the time you receive this letter.

Michael Bolton is the National Honorary Chairman and Anne is confident he will agree to attend and sing. I have contacted Barry Landau and hope that he will assist us in obtaining additional "celebrity" entertainment.

ROBERT L. FOGEL
33 NORTH DEARBORN STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60602
(312) 236-5207

A more formal communication would be sent by the National Committee in the near future, but I wanted to raise the idea with you as soon as possible.

I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Warm regards,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Bob', written over the typed name.

Robert L. Fogel



NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO PREVENT CHILD ABUSE

332 S. Michigan Avenue, Suite 1800, Chicago, IL 60604-4357

(312) 663-3520 TDD (312) 663-3540

Honorary Chairman
Michael Bolton

National Honorary Board

Bill Cosby
Christina Crawford
Melinda A. Cuomo
Senator Christopher Dodd
Dale Evans
Vincent J. Fontana, M.D.
Mrs. Gerald R. Ford
Rev. Billy Graham
Bob Hope
Robert Keeshan, "Captain Kangaroo"
Ann Landers
Tom Landry
An Lintletter
Lorena Lynn
Mrs. J. Willard Marriott
Rod McKuen
Dale Murphy
The Oak Ridge Boys
Donny Osmond
Marie Osmond
Walter Payton
Norman Vincent Pease
Izchak Padman
Roy Rogers
Jonas Salk, M.D.
Barbara Sinatra
Roger Staubach
Danielle Steel
Mrs. Peter Ueberroth
Lindsay Wagner
Dennis Weaver
Edward Woodward

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Arthur H. House, Ph.D.
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Executive Director
Anne H. Cohn Donnelly, D.P.M.
Founder
Conna J. Stone

November 23, 1993

The Vice President and Mrs. Gore
The Vice President's Mansion
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Vice President and Mrs. Gore:

In April of 1994 the National Committee to Prevent Child Abuse (NCPCA) hopes to formally introduce our Healthy Families America (HFA) campaign, which by then will be an initiative in all 50 states, with a very special kick-off in Washington, D.C. As you know, April is nationally recognized as Child Abuse Prevention Month, and for this reason we have chosen to do something special during this month. We have tentatively set the date for April 14th, 1994.

I know you are both familiar with Healthy Families America. I also know of the deep commitment you both share on this issue as well as the focus the Administration has placed on this nation's future -- our children.

We would be so pleased if the two of you and President and Mrs. Clinton would attend this special event that is being planned during the HFA kick-off. (Robert Fogel, a special friend of the Administration, has already contacted President and Mrs. Clinton regarding this.) At that time we would be honored to present you with a special award in recognition of your commitment and support of children.

We are also speaking with Michael Bolton, Honorary Chairman of the National Committee to Prevent Child Abuse, about attending this special event.

I will contact your office soon to see if you can save the date. Your support of this event would mean a great deal to us. In the meantime, please let me know if you have any questions. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Anne H. Cohn Donnelly
Executive Director

Love best wishes to
your whole family
Thanksgiving

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 1/24/94

MEMO FROM: MAGGIE WILLIAMS

TO:

Milli Alston	_____	Evelyn Lieberman	_____
Pam Barnett	_____	Diane Limo	_____
Anne Bartley	_____	Capricia Marshall	_____
Lisa Caputo	_____	Ann McCoy	_____
Kelly Craighead	_____	Alice Puskar	_____
Karen Finney	_____	Shirley Sagawa	_____
Sara Grote	_____	Patti Solis	_____✓
Julie Hopper	_____	Ann Stock	_____
Carolyn Huber	_____	Kim Tilley	_____
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_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

The attached is for your:

Information _____

Advice _____

Action _____✓

COMMENTS:



Southern Regional Council

LOTTIE SHACKELFORD • President
PAUL M. GASTON • Past President
RAY MARSHALL • 1st Vice-President
JEAN CHALMERS • 2nd Vice-President
BENNIE THOMPSON • Treasurer
STEVE SUITTS • Executive Director

Maggie,
Ms. Shackelford
left this for you
last week.

Di

Atlanta, GA 30303-1825
764 ■ FAX (404) 522-8791

PATTI

December 8, 1993

Ms. Hillary Rodham Clinton
First Lady of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Hillary:

Since we don't have a chance to chat about a full range of topics as regularly and leisurely in Washington as we did in Little Rock, I have decided to write to you about my request as President of the Southern Regional Council.

As you may recall, I've served since 1988 as the President of the Southern Regional Council, the oldest interracial organization in the South. In 1994 the Council will be celebrating its 75th Anniversary and would like very much to honor you at a gala dinner in New York City in the early summer or fall of 1994, as a part of our plans for activities throughout the year to recognize Southerners of goodwill who provide valuable examples of leadership within the best traditions of democracy.

As a Southerner by choice, you have shown over the last two decades a commitment and an effectiveness in government and out of government that embodies our best traditions. We can think of no one who captures the elements of public service and a commitment to democratic principles more than you.

With origins going back to 1919, shortly after World War I when Americans fought to make the world safe for democracy, the Council is celebrating its 75th Anniversary with the

Please
call
Lottie
about
this

Hillary Rodham Clinton
December 8, 1993
Page 2

theme of "Making History Behind the Headlines." As you may know, the Council actually began the South's interracial movement where people of different races began working together on a continuing basis for the common good. Since its beginnings, the Council has worked to promote democratic values and practices across the region and the nation.

No other private institution has had a more profound impact than the Council on developing the political revolution of the American democracy during the last 50 years. For example, the Council helped to enforce the end of the all white primary systems in the South; it documented for the first time the low levels of voter registration in all counties of the South, information which helped to establish a need for the first U.S. Civil Rights Commission with the first federal powers to investigate voting discrimination in this century. In the 1960s the Council began the first non-profit Voter Education Project (VEP) which established a model by which poor and minority citizens could register. As a project of the Council, VEP registered more than 2 million voters across the South and helped to bring an end to segregated politics once and for all.

Beginning in the 1970s the Council provided critical technical assistance to black officials who were newly elected and has had an instrumental role in developing fair districts by which minority voters can elect the candidates of their choice for school boards, state legislatures, and other government bodies.

Similarly, the Council's role in public education has been pivotal and historical. More than any other group, the Council and its states Human Relations Councils helped to save the South's public schools during the worst days of massive resistance. No institution stood more steadfastly for integration in the public schools than did the Council in the South. Today we continue that tradition of promoting student achievement for all students among the poorest schools and school systems from the Delta of Mississippi and Arkansas to the urban districts of the South and other parts of the nation.

As you may also be aware, the Council and its leaders have helped identify and implement some of the most effective strategies for uprooting rural poverty and for keeping the nation faithful over the decades with its own self-interest and moral commitment to reduce poverty. As I believe Steve Suits wrote to you a few months ago, early Council leaders were in fact involved in the first government health care programs during the New Deal.

The legacy of these and other past, monumental achievements is found in the Council's current work where we are employing new and old strategies to help expand democracy and opportunity in America's future.

With this history and with our commitment to the future, the Council believes that no one can help embody its own best values and the effectiveness of its work more than the First Lady of the United States and our good friend, Hillary Clinton.

Hillary Rodham Clinton
December 8, 1993
Page 3

Of course, we would be glad to arrange a specific date for the gala dinner to meet your own schedule. Preferably, we would like to have the dinner some time in June or September of 1994.

If you, Maggie Williams, or others on your staff would like to discuss the invitation, you can reach me often at one of the Washington numbers: 863-8175 (DNC); 872-1680 (Room 803); or at my home in Little Rock (501) 663-3889. You can also reach Steve Suitts, our Executive Director, at the number on this letterhead: (404) 522-8764.

I hope very much that you'll agree to join us.

Sincerely yours,



Lottie Shackelford
President

LS/

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date

1/24/94

MEMO FROM: MAGGIE WILLIAMS

TO:

Milli Alston	_____	Evelyn Lieberman	_____
Pam Barnett	☒	Diane Limb	_____
Anne Bartley	_____	Capricia Marshall	_____
Lisa Caputo	_____	Ann McCoy	_____
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_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

The attached is for your:

Information _____

Advice _____

Action ☒

COMMENTS:

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

December 15, 1993

*Pam
Please
take
care of this*

MEMORANDUM FOR MAGGIE WILLIAMS

FROM:

WILLIAM H. ITO *W.H.I.*

SUBJECT:

Draft Reply from First Lady to Austrian Chancellor
Vranitzky

Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky sent the First Lady a magazine with a feature article about her work, illustrated with color photographs. Attached is a suggested response.

Attachment

Tab A Draft reply

Dear Mr. Chancellor:

It was most thoughtful of you to send me the edition of Magazin featuring my work and career. I am gratified that such interest exists in Austria in current political, economic and social developments in the United States and in the priorities of President Clinton's Administration.

Thank you for sharing the article with me and for your apt recognition of the need for international cooperation to meet many of the challenges our two countries and others face together.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Franz Vranitzky
Chancellor of the Republic
of Austria
Vienna

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 1/24/94

MEMO FROM: MAGGIE WILLIAMS

TO:

Milli Alston	___	Evelyn Lieberman	___
Pam Barnett	___	Diane Limo	___
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_____	___	_____	___

The attached is for your:

Information ☒

Advice _____

Action _____

COMMENTS:

*Leave
for your files*

*Draft 2 of 8
11-29-93 p.1*

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Special Report: Life on the Bus



Arkansas Democrat-Gazette/David Gottschalk

Debate to dispe NAFTA fear, lif fog, Clinton says

BY NANCY BENAC
Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON — Setting up a battle of "facts against fear," President Clinton said Tuesday's debate between Vice President Gore and Ross Perot would show a free-trade pact with Mexico is good for working Americans.

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Opponents, meanwhile, insisted the North American Free Trade Agreement was a bad deal for U.S. workers and said they were within striking distance of locking up enough votes to defeat it in the House.

Clinton, in his Saturday radio address, directed his remarks at Americans worried

McDougal: Clinton's plea got Hillary job

BY WILLIAM C. REMPEL
AND DOUGLAS FRANTZ
Los Angeles Times

The 1989 failure of a small Arkansas savings and loan has triggered criminal investigations targeting some of President Clinton's oldest friends and political allies, compelling the president to repeatedly deny allegations that he had a role in the debacle.

One of those longtime Clinton associates is James

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Arkansas Democrat-Gazette/David Gottschalk

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LARGE — Transportation Director Bradford Montgomery stands outside Little Rock School District buses.

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Debate to dispel NAFTA fear, lift fog, Clinton says

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Clinton, in his Saturday radio address, directed his remarks at Americans worried that their jobs would be jeopardized by the trade pact.

"For them, the debate is simple," Clinton said. "It's about paychecks, not politics."

Looking ahead to Tuesday's debate, Clinton said it was time to cut through the fog surrounding the issue and "shed some light."

"The debate will be facts against fear — the fear that low wages and lower costs of production in Mexico will lead to a massive flight of jobs down there," Clinton said.

"NAFTA means more exports, and more exports means more jobs for Americans," he said.

Rep. David Bonior, a Michigan Democrat mobilizing the opposition in the House, argued

McDougal: Clinton's plea got Hillary job

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Los Angeles Times

The 1989 failure of a small Arkansas savings and loan has triggered criminal investigations targeting some of President Clinton's oldest friends and political allies, compelling the president to repeatedly deny allegations that he had a role in the debacle.

One of those longtime Clinton associates is James B. McDougal, former owner of the ill-fated Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan, who told the *Los Angeles Times* he hired the then-governor's wife, lawyer Hillary Rodham Clinton, in 1984 because Clin-

See CLINTON, Page 16A

just the contrary. Not only would American jobs move south to Mexico under NAFTA, he said, but wages in the United States would be depressed.

"It's not just jobs that pay low wages we're talking about," Bonior said on CNN's "Newsmaker Saturday." "We're talking about good jobs."

Bonior said NAFTA foes are "right at the brink" of locking

See NAFTA, Page 17A

Ward politics to hit home in LR election Nov. 16

BY KEVIN FREKING
Democrat-Gazette City Hall Reporter

On Nov. 16, Little Rock will join most other large cities across the country by electing city leaders from wards.

A \$55,000 renovation of the Board of Directors room at Lit-

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changes this year," Adcock said. "There have been lots of ward politics in preparation for

Clinton

• Continued from Page 1A

ton said his family needed financial help.

David Hale, another longtime political supporter and former Clinton-appointed judge who is currently under federal indictment for loan fraud, said he made a \$300,000 loan to McDougal's wife in 1986 after Clinton personally asked him to help. That loan, backed by the Small Business Administration, which subsidized Hale's investment company, was never repaid.

And McDougal has acknowledged that \$110,000 of that SBA-backed loan was invested in an Ozark Mountain real estate venture in which the Clintons were half-owners.

Both claims — that the governor lobbied the ailing S&L to hire his wife and that he urged Hale to lend money that went into a Clinton-owned business — have been strongly disputed by the White House. Clinton told reporters last week that he and his wife had done nothing improper.

But such allegations, raising questions about possible conflicts of interest and abuse of office by the then-governor of Arkansas, continue to be nettlesome because they are coming not from Clinton's critics but from some of his oldest friends and supporters.

Take, for example, the story behind Hillary Clinton's legal retainer.

The matter first became an issue during last year's presidential campaign when it was disclosed that Hillary Clinton had represented the savings and loan in an appeal for favorable action by the state securities commissioner, an appointee of her husband, the governor.

What had not been previously reported was McDougal's explanation for hiring the governor's wife. He provided this account in a recent interview with the *Times*:

Early one morning about nine years ago, McDougal answered a knock at his office door from a winded and sweating Gov. Clinton, out on one of his morning jogs. Clinton was then struggling to retire campaign debts and to make ends meet on his \$35,000-a-year salary. The governor ex-

came in whimpering they needed help," McDougal told *The Times*. He said that he had no specific legal work in mind when he hired Hillary Clinton.

There is no dispute that Hillary Clinton subsequently went on retainer for Madison Guaranty at \$2,000 a month. But White House press secretary Dee Dee Myers said Clinton never sought business for his wife.

"The president had nothing to do with it," Myers said. "He never solicited business for the Rose Law Firm or his wife. This never happened."

McDougal, who was acquitted in 1990 of loan fraud charges stemming from his S&L's collapse, acknowledged that he is the subject of a renewed criminal investigation into other aspects of the S&L's failure.

But White House efforts to discredit McDougal pose something of a dilemma since he was once a close friend and business partner of Clinton. It was their business arrangement that first brought Clinton some political embarrassment.

Early in the 1992 presidential campaign, *The New York Times* disclosed their partnership in a speculative land venture called Whitewater Development. The Clintons and McDougals shared 50-50 interest in the Ozark Mountain Vacationland project from 1978 until the very eve of the presidential inauguration.

The Clintons reportedly lost money in the deal. However, the press account questioned whether the governor should have been in any kind of business relationship with the owner of a state-regulated savings and loan.

Compounding concerns about such potential conflicts of interest was the disclosure that Hillary Clinton, while on retainer to Madison Guaranty, had represented the S&L in its appeal to the state securities commissioner.

And last week, *The Washington Post* reported that federal investigators are trying to determine whether McDougal may have improperly used Madison Guaranty funds to help Clinton retire his 1984 campaign debt.

Meanwhile, during the same period that Madison Guaranty was paying a legal retainer to the governor's wife, the state sent some business Madison's way as well. A state of Arkansas rev-

extensive real estate loans to entities controlled by McDougal and his associates.

Examiners warned: "The viability of the institution is jeopardized through (its) current investment and lending practices in real estate development projects."

Records show McDougal had invested heavily in a number of real estate development deals, some of them with politically prominent people. Those loans and investments would result in another scathing bank examination report in 1986.

It was in anticipation of such criticism, says former Judge Hale, that McDougal asked him for help. It also is the origin of another disputed link between the failing S&L and Clinton.

In a series of interviews, Hale provided this account:

It was around February 1986 when he was called to a meeting with Clinton in one of McDougal's real estate development offices on the outskirts of Little Rock.

At the time, Judge Hale oper-

ated a family investment called Capital-Management Services, which loaned out capital to minority and disadvantaged borrowers subsidized by the SBA.

At the February meeting Clinton and McDougal, Hale's discussions centered on structure a \$150,000 loan Hale's SBA-backed fund.

"Bill said they could use raw land in the Ozarks as collateral, but that his name could appear on any of the loans," Hale said, noting he declined the offer of raw security since the SBA would consider it reliable collateral.

They agreed, Hale said, to make the loan in the name of San McDougal, the Madison's wife. Later, some days after the meeting with Clinton, said that Jim McDougal had him to raise the loan amount to \$300,000.

The White House said that Clinton had no recollection of any meeting with Hale about a loan. McDougal said that the meeting never occurred.

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"I asked him how much he needed, and Clinton said 'about \$2,000 a month,'" McDougal recalled. Later that day, the Madison Guaranty owner said, he directed an S&L executive to immediately put Hillary Clinton's Rose Law Firm on retainer for that amount.

"I hired Hillary because Bill

to do with it," Myers said. "He never solicited business for the Rose Law Firm or his wife. This never happened."

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Meanwhile, during the same period that Madison Guaranty was paying a legal retainer to the governor's wife, the state sent some business Madison's way as well. A state of Arkansas revenue office agreed to rent a vacant building controlled by the S&L — and McDougal, according to published accounts, said that Clinton had helped him get the contract.

By early 1986, however, the condition of Madison Guaranty was sufficiently perilous that McDougal and others were especially concerned about a pending federal examination of their books and records.

McDougal denied knowledge that his S&L was in trouble, but a previous bank examination in 1984 already had cited Madison's

prominent people. Those loans and investments would result in another scathing bank examination report in 1986.

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Retraining program arrayed

Government stingy with benefits, herds workers toward pa

BY PETER T. KILBORN
New York Times News Service

SPRINGFIELD, Mo. — Bill Beeman thought maybe it wasn't so bad when the Zenith television factory here sent his job to Mexico. The government, after all, was offering a lifeline to workers hurt by foreign competition — money to train for a new line of work.

"When I signed up," said Beeman, 42, who had worked at the plant for 23 years, "they said there would be enough funds there to get you through two years of school."

That was in May 1992. His books, tuition and a \$170 weekly benefit check assured, Beeman enrolled in the Ozarks Technical Community College to study electronics and to plan a career in computer operation. He has been rolling along, too, and in nine more months would be theoretically ready for a new job.

But there are a couple of

problems with this rosy story. One is that Beeman's weekly benefit money has run out, for reasons that baffle a lot of program trainees.

Another is that the jobs that Beeman and hundreds of former Zenith workers have been training for often pay much less than their former jobs, or they simply do not exist.

The adjustments and hassles that Zenith's castoffs are facing make Springfield a test case for the type of job dislocations that could arise from the North American Free Trade Agreement, if it is approved.

To help these displaced workers, the Department of Labor plans to overhaul federal unemployment assistance and job training services, including the 19-year-old Trade Adjustment Assistance program that has put people like Beeman in school.

But the changes are not expected before January, when

the trade agreement would take effect. Even then, it's hard to see how retraining would lead to better jobs in places like Springfield.

Since the 1970s, Zenith Electronics Corp. has reduced its work force here to 450 from 4,500. Zenith now employs 18,000 workers in Mexico and 6,000 in the United States, a company spokesman said.

But Beeman and other former Zenith workers are luckier than most unemployed Americans. Because they are among the 30,000 people whose jobs are deemed to have been lost to imports, they qualify for the federal trade adjustment program, which pays them weekly benefits for up to a year and a half and pays tuition for up to two years of job training.

By contrast, most unemployed workers receive jobless benefits for only 26 weeks, sometimes with extensions.

Like many former Zenith

workers, Beeman is in a field that had determined good jobs —

But on C Division of City sent Beeman his weekly — five thought the

The federal gins counting it for the date of their temporary

Beeman's ers were la January 19 called and nently until

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Beeman a are losing t the same r drop out of

NAFTA

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in enough votes to defeat the measure when the House votes on Nov. 17.

"It's going down," he predicted.

Rep. Bill Richardson, a New Mexico Democrat marshaling pro-NAFTA forces, acknowledged they were more than 30 votes short, but insisted, "We have the momentum."

The White House decision to put Gore up against Perot is part of an effort to overcome that vote deficit.

"When you're behind, you roll the dice," Richardson said. "It's a gamble, but I think a good one."

But another NAFTA supporter, Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole of Kansas, questioned the wisdom of de-

bating Perot.

"I think it elevates Perot. When he's going down we shouldn't be lifting him back up," Dole said at a business conference in Richmond, Va. "But that's a decision they made."

Both sides are stepping up their focus on undecided legislators as the showdown vote nears.

Rep. Nita Lowey, D-N.Y., said she was still weighing whether NAFTA would help or hurt U.S. workers, saying her inclinations vary depending on "whether you talk to me in the morning or the afternoon."

Clinton is hoping that wavering legislators can be swayed his way if the American people mobilize behind the trade pact, and he hopes to energize the public through Tuesday's debate.

But Lowey told CNN she was afraid the debate was "becoming a great big circus and a public spectacle."



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James J. Mongan

Health Care: Why We Failed the Last Time

I am the doctor who was at the bedside when the last national health proposal, put forth by the Carter administration, died. The time was May 1980 and the place the Senate Finance Committee. I was the White House representative for the Carter administration during the committee's bill-drafting session. The proposal died quietly, with little attention from the media, after a two-year "wasting illness" during which it shrank from a large, relatively robust proposal to a small, anemic shadow of its former self.

The Carter plan began, under principles released in July of 1978, as a proposal for a phase-in of universal coverage. But the administration was never certain of support for the increased taxes of employer mandates necessary to make universal coverage a reality. So the plan began to diminish even before it was released in "draft form" in January of 1979—to a proposal for a phase-in of coverage, with each expansion conditional on certain economic circumstances. This conditional phase-in was then diluted further, during congressional consultations, to one conditioned on further congressional votes for implementation at each phase.

Finally, universality was left behind in March of 1979 when the Carter administration fell back to an attempt to pass a phase-one-only bill that would have achieved some modest expansion of low-income coverage, along with a diluted employer mandate of much less expensive coverage, against only catastrophically high health costs. The proposal finally expired in May 1980 when the Finance Committee failed to reach agreement even on this anemic remnant of the original proposal.

I write now in the hope that we can learn some lessons from an autopsy of this case that might lead to a different outcome for the Clinton proposal.

There are important similarities between the Carter and Clinton plans and their political context. Both proposals, at least at the outset, have been quite broad in scope, calling for a phase-in of universal coverage, and a broad set of benefits, financed in good part through an employer mandate, with appropriate subsidies. There are also some similarities in the political setting with, in both instances, a Democratic president working with a Congress controlled by Democrats.

There are also, of course, important differences. Substantively, the Clinton proposal has a somewhat different administrative structure, relying on state-based health alliances that foster managed competition. There is a relatively large role for state flexibility. The Carter plan had a larger federal role, with employers having a choice of obtaining private coverage, or obtaining coverage through a federally sponsored public backup program modeled after Medicare.

As for the political setting, there are at least two important differences. First, President Clinton has placed health insurance high on his agenda from the earliest months of his administration. In the Carter administration, health insurance took a back seat to energy issues and welfare reform, to

name but two competing issues. Secondly, there appears to be somewhat more cohesion among Democrats than there was in 1979 and 1980, when health insurance became an important battleground in the struggle between President Carter and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy prior to the primary election fights in 1980.

What lessons can be learned, then, from the story of the ill-fated Carter proposal? First we must establish the cause of death. The Carter proposal wasted away a little at a time, gradually growing smaller and smaller. Why? Undoubtedly, division among the Democrats was a major factor; it gave the administration little choice but to attempt to build a more conservative coalition around a much smaller proposal in the Finance Committee. Equally important was the subordination of the goal of universal coverage to other goals—among them avoiding tax increases and employer mandates, which aroused the anger of the small-business community.

The first lesson, then, is to remember the importance of party cohesion. A health insurance bill cannot be passed by Democrats alone. It surely cannot be passed with a badly fractured majority party. Democrats who want health insurance to pass must not allow the best to become the enemy of the good and bog down the debate in repeated tests of ideological purity.

Having said that, the second lesson is that during the pull and tug of congressional action, the moral compass to guide us through the health insurance debate and lead to a successful conclusion must not be lost or set aside. That moral compass is the attainment, by a date certain, of universal coverage. Once this debate begins to slide down the slippery slope away from universal coverage, through contingent universal coverage, on down to incremental expansions of coverage, it will suffer the same death by degrees as the Carter proposal.

Although just about everyone in Congress, of both parties, is ostensibly in favor of the concept of universal coverage, there is still a notable queasiness about the employer mandates and taxes necessary to make universal coverage real.

In the quest to gain the broad bipartisan support that will be necessary to pass legislation, there is the danger that the goals of avoiding taxes and mandates will again take precedence over the goal of achieving universal coverage—and we will again fail to meet the major moral test of this debate.

There is a message here for members of Congress. You can negotiate on the types and mix of taxes and mandates, but a guaranteed date for universal coverage must be nonnegotiable if we are to avoid the mistakes of the past and seize this historic opportunity. The test of history will be simple: Is everybody covered?

The writer was associate director of the White House domestic policy staff in the Carter administration. He is now dean of the medical school at the University of Missouri-Kansas City.

The Washington Post, Tuesday, November 9, 1993

Jim Hoagland

Al Gore's New Assignment

No matter how well Al Gore does tonight against Ross Perot on CNN, the Clinton administration still faces a dangerous stretch run to the wire on NAFTA that will be won or lost by the foreign policy horse in the race.

The choice of Gore for this debate was not the hastily made, last-minute gamble that many accounts present. It is part of a broader White House strategy to have Gore become a spokesman on foreign policy for an administration that has not developed a convincing way to explain what it is up to abroad. The decision to involve Gore in foreign policy was made two days before Bill Clinton casually disclosed the debate challenge to Perot.

Gore's maiden effort will be a challenging one. The White House cannot hope to gain a winning edge on the emotional and confusing issue of the number of jobs that NAFTA will allegedly eliminate or add. There are enough experts and demagogues on each side of that question by now to have confused anyone who is not bound by ideology or special interests

to either the pro- or anti-NAFTA camp.

What Gore can do is to neutralize the jobs issue by pointing up the contradictory and unproven nature of Perot's claims. This would clear the way for an appeal by Clinton to 20 or so wavering Democrats in the House of Representatives not to undermine America's standing abroad by denying the president the power and authority to make foreign policy.

The presidential-powers argument has been so abused and overstated by previous administrations that it may fail as a closer for Clinton. More's the pity. Not only is NAFTA right on the merits, but this time a president's authority abroad will be significantly weakened by a congressional defeat. A defeat for NAFTA would be a turning point psychologically for America.

A few months ago NAFTA looked to the administration like the opening salvo in a fall offensive on trade and jobs. If the salvo sputters—if NAFTA goes down—the fall offensive is likely to turn into a fall debacle.

As the House votes on Nov. 17,

Clinton will be preparing for the first Asian Pacific Economic Community summit (APEC) in Seattle. Two objectives dominate Clinton's Seattle agenda: to show the American public he has a handle on economic relations with Asia's two giants, Japan and China, and to gain leverage against Europe as the Uruguay Round trade negotiations reach a climax.

Those negotiations, part of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) rules for global trade, have a Dec. 15 deadline. They are currently deadlocked by a dispute between the United States and France over agricultural export subsidies.

The last carom in Clinton's three-cushion foreign-policy shot occurs in Brussels on Jan. 11, where a successful summit of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization could heal the wounds inflicted on European-U.S. relations by discord over Bosnia. A good NATO summit would be the icing on the alphabet soup of NAFTA, APEC and GATT and would help Clinton establish his leadership at home through success abroad.

That is the way it looked last sum-

mer after Clinton performed well at the Group of Seven summit in Tokyo. But the "uncertain saxophone" (in Jesse Helms's phrase) that the administration has blown in Somalia, Haiti and Bosnia since then and the assault on NAFTA by Perot and organized labor have changed the picture.

In France, Prime Minister Edouard Balladur is waiting for the NAFTA vote before deciding on his endgame in the dispute with his European Community partners and Washington on GATT. A NAFTA defeat weakens Clinton's hand in the triangular negotiations with Japan and Europe.

GATT in turn casts a big shadow on the NATO summit. President Francois Mitterrand, who has the final word on France's foreign policy, has blocked Balladur's forward-leaning proposals on French cooperation with NATO. Mitterrand is apparently waiting to see how the agriculture dispute turns out before deciding how cooperative or obstructive to be at the Brussels meeting.

Passing NAFTA will not guarantee that the other pieces will fall into

place. But defeat will shrink the odds of American success dramatically. That in turn nails Clinton's feet to the floor when he was hoping to soar off on another comeback flight.

Clinton has shown a remarkable ability to amass confidence and support momentarily, and then to fritter it away. His administration is likely to be a series of alternating peaks and troughs rather than the straight line up and straight line down traveled by George Bush in his four years.

That says a great deal about Clinton, but even more about the electorate he seeks to lead—an electorate insecure on trade and the economy and fearing that deals with Japan and Europe take jobs and resources away from the American worker.

A defeat for NAFTA will say to the world that America now fears it can be manipulated and outsmarted in a trade deal with a Third World neighbor whose economic weight is negligible in American terms. No president could lead convincingly in those circumstances. On a close call, Congress has to take that into consideration.

McDougal: Clinton's plea got Hillary job

BY WILLIAM C. REMPEL
AND DOUGLAS FRANTZ
Los Angeles Times

The 1989 failure of a small Arkansas savings and loan has triggered criminal investigations targeting some of President Clinton's oldest friends and political allies, compelling the president to repeatedly deny allegations that he had a role in the debacle.

One of those longtime Clinton associates is James B. McDougal, former owner of the ill-fated Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan, who told the *Los Angeles Times* he hired the then-governor's wife, lawyer Hillary Rodham Clinton, in 1984 because Clinton

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ton said his family needed financial help.

David Hale, another longtime political supporter and former Clinton-appointed judge who is currently under federal indictment for loan fraud, said he made a \$300,000 loan to McDougal's wife in 1986 after Clinton personally asked him to help. That loan, backed by the Small Business Administration, which subsidized Hale's investment company, was never repaid.

And McDougal has acknowledged that \$110,000 of that SBA-backed loan was invested in an Ozark Mountain real estate venture in which the Clintons were half-owners.

Both claims — that the governor lobbied the ailing S&L to hire his wife and that he urged Hale to lend money that went into a Clinton-owned business — have been strongly disputed by the White House. Clinton told reporters last week that he and his wife had done nothing improper.

But such allegations, raising questions about possible conflicts of interest and abuse of office by the then-governor of Arkansas, continue to be nettlesome because they are coming not from Clinton's critics but from some of his oldest friends and supporters.

Take, for example, the story behind Hillary Clinton's legal retainer.

The matter first became an issue during last year's presidential campaign when it was disclosed that Hillary Clinton had represented the savings and loan in an appeal for favorable action by the state securities commissioner, an appointee of her husband, the governor.

What had not been previously reported was McDougal's explanation for hiring the governor's wife. He provided this account in a recent interview with the *Times*:

"Early one morning about nine years ago, McDougal answered a knock at his office door from a winded and sweating Gov. Clinton, out on one of his morning jogs. Clinton was then struggling to retire campaign debts and to make ends meet on his \$35,000-a-year salary. The governor expressed concern about his family's financial condition and told McDougal that 'things were tight,' requesting that the savings and loan send some business to Hillary Clinton through her law firm.

"I asked him how much he needed, and Clinton said 'about \$2,000 a month,' " McDougal recalled. Later that day, the Madison Guaranty owner said, he directed an S&L executive to immediately put Hillary Clinton's Rose Law Firm on retainer for that amount.

"I hired Hillary because Bill

came in whimpering they needed help," McDougal told *The Times*. He said that he had no specific legal work in mind when he hired Hillary Clinton.

There is no dispute that Hillary Clinton subsequently went on retainer for Madison Guaranty at \$2,000 a month. But White House press secretary Dee Dee Myers said Clinton never sought business for his wife.

"The president had nothing to do with it," Myers said. "He never solicited business for the Rose Law Firm or his wife. This never happened."

McDougal, who was acquitted in 1990 of loan fraud charges stemming from his S&L's collapse, acknowledged that he is the subject of a renewed criminal investigation into other aspects of the S&L's failure.

But White House efforts to discredit McDougal pose something of a dilemma since he was once a close friend and business partner of Clinton. It was their business arrangement that first brought Clinton some political embarrassment.

Early in the 1992 presidential campaign, *The New York Times* disclosed their partnership in a speculative land venture called Whitewater Development. The Clintons and McDougals shared 50-50 interest in the Ozark Mountain Vacationland project from 1978 until the very eve of the presidential inauguration.

The Clintons reportedly lost money in the deal. However, the press account questioned whether the governor should have been in any kind of business relationship with the owner of a state-regulated savings and loan.

Compounding concerns about such potential conflicts of interest was the disclosure that Hillary Clinton, while on retainer to Madison Guaranty, had represented the S&L in its appeal to the state securities commissioner.

And last week, *The Washington Post* reported that federal investigators are trying to determine whether McDougal may have improperly used Madison Guaranty funds to help Clinton retire his 1984 campaign debt.

Meanwhile, during the same period that Madison Guaranty was paying a legal retainer to the governor's wife, the state sent some business Madison's way as well. A state of Arkansas revenue office agreed to rent a vacant building controlled by the S&L — and McDougal, according to published accounts, said that Clinton had helped him get the contract.

By early 1986, however, the condition of Madison Guaranty was sufficiently perilous that McDougal and others were especially concerned about a pending federal examination of their books and records.

McDougal denied knowledge that his S&L was in trouble, but a previous bank examination in 1984 already had cited Madison's

extensive real estate loans to entities controlled by McDougal and his associates.

Examiners warned: "The viability of the institution is jeopardized through (its) current investment and lending practices in real estate development projects."

Records show McDougal had invested heavily in a number of real estate development deals, some of them with politically prominent people. Those loans and investments would result in another scathing bank examination report in 1988.

It was in anticipation of such criticism, says former Judge Hale, that McDougal asked him for help. It also is the origin of another disputed link between the failing S&L and Clinton.

In a series of interviews, Hale provided this account:

It was around February 1986 when he was called to a meeting with Clinton in one of McDougal's real estate development offices on the outskirts of Little Rock.

At the time, Judge Hale oper-

ated a family investment firm called Capital-Management Services, which loaned out venture capital to minority and disadvantaged borrowers subsidized by the SBA.

At the February meeting with Clinton and McDougal, Hale said discussions centered on how to structure a \$150,000 loan using Hale's SBA-backed fund.

"Bill said they could use some raw land in the Ozarks as collateral, but that his name couldn't appear on any of the documents," Hale said, noting that he declined the offer of raw land as security since the SBA did not consider it reliable collateral.

They agreed, Hale said, to make the loan in the name of Susan McDougal, the Madison owner's wife. Later, some days after the meeting with Clinton, Hale said that Jim McDougal asked him to raise the loan amount to \$300,000.

The White House said last week that Clinton had no recollection of any meeting with Hale about a loan. McDougal also said that the meeting never occurred.