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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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001. letter	Secret Service (Partial) (1 page)	12/16/1993	P6/b(6), b(7)(C)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Communications
Mark Gearan
OA/Box Number: 7550

FOLDER TITLE:

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2011-0584-F

jm1525

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

POTUS: Sano

Wayne G. G. G.

THE

7/17/94

94 JUN 22 P 6: 59

June 22, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LLOYD N. CUTLER
SPECIAL COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

LNC

Nick Katzenbach has suggested I show you the attached extracts from President Kennedy's radio interview with CBS, ABC and NBC on December 17, 1962, almost two years into his presidency.

I believe you will find it an interesting and encouraging parallel.

cc: GS

Garman

poss. useful —

Sam —

2463

374

7/16

Radio-Television Interview on the President's First Two Years in Office, December 17, 1962 WASHINGTON, D.C.

George Herman of the Columbia Broadcasting System, William Lawrence of the American Broadcasting Company, and Sander Vanocur of the National Broadcasting Company conducted the interview.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY

MR. LAWRENCE: As you look back upon your first two years in office, sir, has your experience in the office matched your expectations? You had studied a good deal the power of the Presidency, the methods of its operations. How has this worked out as you saw it in advance?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think in the first place the problems are more difficult than I had imagined they were. Secondly, there is a limitation upon the ability of the United States to solve these problems. We are involved now in the Congo in a very difficult situation. We have been unable to secure an implementation of the policy which we have supported. We are involved in a good many other areas. We are trying to see if a solution can be found to the struggle between Pakistan and India, with whom we want to maintain friendly relations. Yet they are unable to come to an agreement. There is a limitation, in other words, upon the power of the United States to bring about solutions.

I think our people get awfully impatient and maybe fatigued and tired, and saying "We have been carrying this burden for seventeen years; can we lay it down?" We can't lay it down, and I don't see how we are going to lay it down in this century.

So that I would say that the problems are more difficult than I had imagined them to be. The responsibilities placed on the United States are greater than I imagined them to be, and there are greater limitations upon our ability to bring about a favorable result than I had imagined them to be. And I think that is probably true of anyone who becomes President, because there is such a difference between those who advise or speak or legislate, and between the man who must select from the various alternatives proposed and say that this shall be the policy of the United States. It is much easier to make the speeches than it is to finally make the judgments, because unfortunately your advisers are frequently divided.

If you take the wrong course, and on occasion I have, the President bears the burden of the responsibility quite rightly. The advisers may move on to new advice.

PRESIDENTIAL DECISION-MAKING

MR. LAWRENCE: Well, Mr. President that brings up a point that has always interested me. How does a President go about making a decision, like Cuba, for example?

THE PRESIDENT: The most recent one was hammered out really on policy and decision over a period of five or six days. During that period, the fifteen people more or less who were directly consulted frequently changed their view, because whatever action we took had so many disadvantages to it, and each action that we took raised the prospects that it might escalate with the Soviet Union into a nuclear war. Finally, however, I think a general consensus developed, and certainly seemed, after all alternatives were examined, that the course of action that we finally adopted was the right one.

Now, when I talked to members of the Congress, several of them suggested a different alternative, when we confronted them on that Monday with the evidence. My feeling is that if they had gone through the five-day period we had gone through in looking at the various alternatives, the advantages and disadvantages of action, they probably would have come out the same way that we did. I think that we took the right one. If we had had to act on Wednesday in the first twenty-four hours, I don't think probably we would have chosen as prudently as we finally did, a quarantine against the use of offensive weapons.

In addition, that had much more power than we first thought it did, because I think the Soviet Union was very reluctant to have us stop ships which carried with them a good deal of their highly secret and sensitive material. One of the reasons I think that the Soviet Union withdrew the IL-28's* was because we were carrying on very intensive low-level photography. Now, no one would have guessed, probably, that that would have been such a harassment. Mr. [Fidel] Castro [Premier of Cuba] could not permit us to indefinitely continue widespread flights over his

* Soviet jet bombers.

December 17, 1962

or 160 marshals were wounded in one way or another out of four or five hundred, and at least three-fourths of the marshals were from the South themselves. Then we sent in troops when it appeared that the marshals were going to be overrun. I don't think that anybody who looks at the situation can think we could possibly do anything else. We couldn't possibly do anything else. But on the other hand, I recognize that it has caused a lot of bitterness against me and against the National Government in Mississippi and other parts, and though they expect me to carry out my oath under the Constitution and that is what we are going to do. But it does make it more difficult to pass an education bill. But I think we shouldn't penalize this great resource of our youth for all these reasons. Instead, we ought to do the job and get these schools built, these teachers compensated, and higher education available to all these boys and girls—every time I drive around the country, that is all you see, are six- and seven- and eight- and nine-year-old children who are going to be pouring into our schools and colleges, and every Governor will tell you that is his major problem, providing educational facilities, where the National Government has a responsibility.

PRESIDENTIAL POWER AND THE CONGRESS

Mr. Vanocur: Do you think we could turn for a moment to this subject of the President's responsibility in foreign affairs? Now, when some Congressmen disagreed with your course of action over Cuba on that Monday, the responsibility you have by the Constitution in this is very clear, but in domestic matters the responsibility is divided. How do you use the Presidency, in Theodore Roosevelt's phrase "the bully pulpit," to move these men who really are kind of barons and sovereigns in their own right up there on the Hill? Have you any way to move them toward a course of action which you think is imperative?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the Constitution and the development of the Congress all give advantage to delay. It is very easy to defeat a bill in the Congress. It is much more difficult to pass one. To go through a committee, say the Ways and Means Committee of the House subcommittee and get a majority vote, the full committee and get a majority vote, go to the Rules Committee and get a rule, go to the Floor of the House and get a majority, start over again in the Senate, subcommittee and full committee, and in the Senate there is unlimited debate, so you can never bring a matter to a vote if there is enough determination on the part of the opponents, even if they are a minority, to go through the Senate with the bill. And then unanimously get a conference

between the House and Senate to adjust the bill, or if one member objects, to have it go back through the Rules Committee, back through the Congress, and have this done on a controversial piece of legislation where powerful groups are opposing it, that is an extremely difficult task. So that the struggle of a President who has a program to move it through the Congress, particularly when the seniority system may place particular individuals in key positions who may be wholly unsympathetic to your program, and may be, even though they are members of your own party, in political opposition to the President—this is a struggle which every President who has tried to get a program through has had to deal with. After all, Franklin Roosevelt was elected by the largest majority in history in 1936, and he got his worst defeat a few months afterwards in the Supreme Court bill.

So that they are two separate offices and two separate powers, the Congress and the Presidency. There is bound to be conflict, but they must cooperate to the degree that is possible. But that is why no President's program is ever put in. The only time a President's program is put in quickly and easily is when the program is insignificant. But if it is significant and affects important interests and is controversial, therefore, then there is a fight, and the President is never wholly successful.

Mr. Vanocur: Mr. President, which is the better part of wisdom, to take a bill which is completely emasculated, that you had great interest in and accept it, or accept its defeat in the hope of building up public support for it at a later time?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would say, given the conditions you described, I think it would be better to accept the defeat, but usually what has happened, and what has happened to us in the last two years, a good many of our bills passed in reasonable position, not the way we sent them up, but after all, the Congress has its own will and its own feelings and its own judgment and they are close to the people. The whole House or Representatives has just been elected. So that it is quite natural that they will have a different perspective than I may have. So I would say that what we ought to do is to do the best we can. But if it is completely emasculated, then there is no sense in having a shadow of success and not the substance.

CONFRONTATION WITH STEEL INDUSTRY

Mr. Lawrence: Mr. President, in the exercise of Presidential power, and I think perhaps the best known case and the most widely talked about was your rollback of steel prices after they had been

December 18-31, 1962

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, you mean that somebody is going to do it?

Mr. Vanocur: Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. I think that there are a lot of satisfactions to the Presidency, particularly, as I say, we are all concerned as citizens and as parents and all the rest, with all the problems we have been talking about tonight. They are all the problems which if I was not the President, I would be concerned about as a father or as a citizen. So at least you have an opportunity to do something about them. And if what you do is useful and successful, then of course that is a great satisfaction. When as a result of a decision of yours, failure comes or you are unsuccessful, then of course that is a great setback. But I must say after being here for two years, and having the experience of the Presidency, and there is

no experience you can get that can possibly prepare you adequately for the Presidency, I must say that I have a good deal of hope for the United States. Just because I think that this country, which as I say criticizes itself and is criticized around the world, 180 million people, for seventeen years, really for more than that, for almost twenty years, have been the great means of defending first the world against the Nazi threat, and since then against the Communist threat, and if it were not for us, the Communists would be dominant in the world today, and because of us, we are in a strong position. Now, I think that is a pretty good record for a country with 6 percent of the world's population, which is very reluctant to take on these burdens. I think we ought to be rather pleased with ourselves this Christmas.

World Events, December 18-31, 1962

- Kennedy-Macmillan Talks** 12/21: After three days of talks in Nassau, the Bahamas, President Kennedy and Prime Minister Harold Macmillan issue a communiqué summarizing the results of their discussions. The Skybolt missile is to be scrapped; instead, the U.S. will sell Britain the Polaris missile. Britain will build nuclear warheads for the Polaris and nuclear submarines to carry and launch it. The Polaris will become part of a NATO nuclear force if one is formed. Finally, the U.S. will offer the Polaris to France on the same terms as to Britain. 12/23: Upon his arrival in London, amid considerable adverse criticism, Macmillan declares that the agreement is "a good one, for both of us."
- Nuclear Testing** 12/18: At the Geneva conference, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. abandon attempts to conclude a nuclear test ban treaty by January 1; nevertheless, the Soviets ask the U.S. to halt tests on that date. 12/19: The U.S. rejects a Soviet appeal for an unpoliced nuclear test moratorium. 12/22: The Atomic Energy Commission announces that the U.S.S.R. has exploded another device in a series of atmospheric nuclear tests.
- Congo** 12/30: U.N. troops defeat Katanga's army in Elisabethville and drive its remnants into the hills, while Katanga President Moïse Tshombe flees to Southern Rhodesia and threatens a guerrilla war against the U.N. Secretary General U Thant offers to guarantee Tshombe's safety if he returns to negotiate a settlement. 12/31: U Thant warns Tshombe to negotiate the integration of Katanga into the Congo's central government in two weeks or face "other measures."
- Common Market** 12/18: Britain proposes a grain policy to ease its entry into the Common Market; the proposal would also assure large U.S. grain exports to Common Market countries.
- Cuba** 12/20: Formal agreement for the release of the 1961 invasion prisoners is signed. Cuba is to receive \$53 million in food and medical supplies. 12/23: The first plane loads of prisoners reach Miami, and on the next day, the rest arrive.
- Civil Rights** 12/21: Mississippi Governor Ross R. Barnett and Lieutenant Governor Paul B. Johnson are charged with criminal contempt of court for their part in trying to prevent the enrollment of James H. Meredith at the University of Mississippi.

file

Pres. file

cc: Gugen (beaver) / M. J. M.

Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON BUREAU

JACK NELSON
BUREAU CHIEF

September 21, 1993

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed is the article you asked me to send to you. I'm sorry you didn't see it earlier.

I did think Bob Donovan and I had an extraordinary interview with you. In my opinion, never before has a sitting President been so candid and forthcoming about his mistakes and what he believes he has learned from them. As you can see, the interview formed a major part of the article. I had many comments from people who said it gave them a much better understanding of the problems you have faced and how you have tried to cope with them.

Incidentally, the briefing you and the First Lady gave us today at lunch was especially valuable in helping me and others understand your health care reform plan. I can't help but think we're all served better--you, the press and the public--when we are exposed to those kind of briefings.

Most sincerely,

Jack Nelson

Jack Nelson

→ (Lugan)

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

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001. letter	Secret Service (Partial) (1 page)	12/16/1993	P6/b(6), b(7)(C)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Communications
Mark Gearan
OA/Box Number: 7550

FOLDER TITLE:

POTUS Save

2011-0584-F

jm1525

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE

December 16, 1993

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 1/8/94

C. R. S. S.
cc: Gugen / G. S. S.
W. S. S. to visit W.
SS - Do that to P. S.

Dear Mr. President and Mrs. Clinton,

On behalf of the Presidential Protection Division, I would like to thank you for the wonderful Christmas reception on December 9, 1993. It meant so much to all the personnel and their families. Everyone had a great time!

Each year the Presidential Protective Division has presented the President and First Lady with a Christmas gift. The gifts have been very traditional ranging from items for one's home to donations to a favorite charity. This year we wanted to be unique and "get with the program". We decided that the program to which we should be giving our attention has to do with guns, drugs and opportunity for the inner city youth. We hear much about these problems in the media and in your speeches, and God knows we hear enough of your speeches!

With all this in mind, the division has decided to adopt an inner city school, Kramer Jr. High School, in the Anacostia section of Washington, D.C. We have contacted the school and have been received with a great deal of enthusiasm. That enthusiasm is only matched by the enthusiasm exhibited by our detail. Everyone is excited and willing to volunteer their time and talents to prove that there are people who care. We plan to speak to all the classes, assist at sporting events, have them tour our training facility at Beltsville, MD, assist with tutoring after school and any other need that we can fulfill.

Further, members of your White House Staff have shown a great deal of interest in assisting with this program and we gladly welcome the help.

This past year has been an interesting and challenging time for the members of this division. It has also been very rewarding to us and we all have much for which to be thankful. We look forward to taking your lead and giving something back to our communities.

We hope that you and your family have a wonderful and happy Holiday.

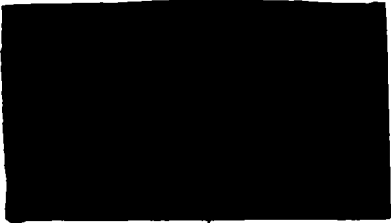
Sincerely,

(b)(6), (b)(7)c

[001]

re/m

and all of the men
and women of PPD



C. Lasco -

Do you want to draft
Thanks or do you
want us to draft
one? -



N.H.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*OK
The scheduling
done*

Betty/Nancy --

Doug Marlette will be sending the cartoon to the President in care of me and I will of course pass it to you immediately.

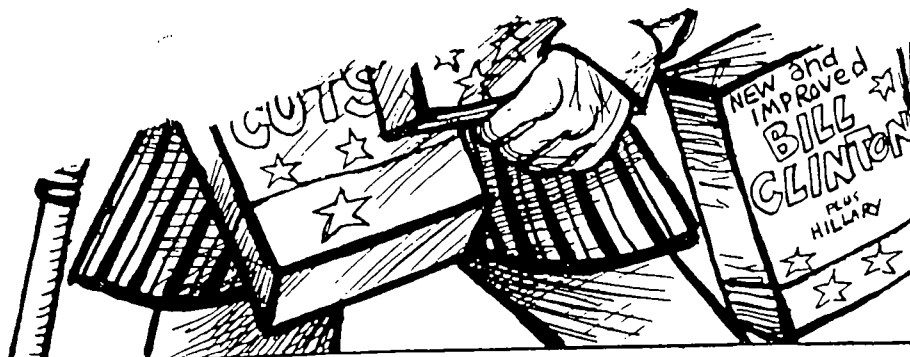
For future reference he can be reached at: 212-251-6699.

Also of note; Marlette (who was very nice) would like to travel with the President, as press, in 1994. He said that he had spoken to Marcia Hale about this several times. I told him that he could use me as a contact until the new director of scheduling is in place.

Heather

10/6

SEP THE BOSTON GLOBE



THE MUSIC MAN

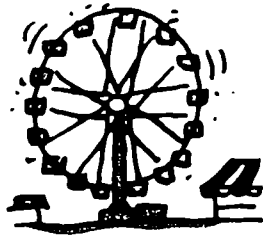
W H - Doug's a friend
Pls. call & get them for him
G Sonja should know how to reach him

MARLETTE'S VIEW



MARLETTE © 2013
NEWSDAY

"NOT TONIGHT, DEAR - I'VE GOT A HEARING!"



Working here is like an
amusement park!
There's excitement!
There's challenge...

George / Glenn
hundred to do - do you
agree — B.

...and it will often make you sick.

© HALLMARK ASSOCIATES



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/30

The Cousteau Society

Washington, DC - June 17th 1993 -

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

My dear President,

May I first congratulate you for the important decisions you have recently made regarding the implementation of the Rio Spirit, the signing of the Biodiversity Convention, the creation of a US Sustainable Development Council etc... As a newly appointed U.N. expert, I applaud the return of the United States of America as the undisputed leader of the protection of the environment.

May I also dare inform you that I am preparing a very important filmed investigation of the role and declarations of major world leaders, to illustrate the Great Adventure of Humankind in the 21st century, and that your personal participation remains indispensable to me, as I mentioned to you when we met at the White House -

Hopefully waiting for your approval, I am,

Faithfully yours,

The Cousteau Society, Inc.

The President wanted
you to see this!

- Kelly

6/25

Dear Mr. President,

I have some old friends that
want to meet you. They are the people
that run Gannett. They include John
Curley, the C.E.O., Cecil Walker, their
president of broadcasting, the publisher
of U.S. Today, and a couple more.

Gannett owns 120 newspapers, 10
T.V. stations in major markets includ
ing Washington, D.C. C.B.S., 18 radio
stations, and they are the largest
Billboard company in the world. I
have been friends with them many years,
and I think they would make good allies
for us. I would want to come with them,
so if you can work us in within the
next few months, let me know. Sure
hope life gets easier for you soon.
Sincerely

David Lerner

Clinton's Principle Problem: Making a List, Not Checking It

By David Von Drehle
Washington Post Staff Writer

The ultimate detail guy, President Clinton, man of a million statistics, is refashioning himself in the battle of the budget. Detail Man is now Mr. Broad Brush. He no longer talks nuts and bolts. He talks Principles.

Given the fray on Capitol Hill—where the details of Clinton's budget are being gnawed, nibbled, even annihilated, in the time-honored American way—it makes political sense to step back. Clinton needs to talk about the essential framework of his proposal, because by the time Congress is finished there might be little but framework left.

NEWS
ANALYSIS

But there is a problem with the new approach. Try as he might to drive home broad ideas by simple repetition, he seems compelled to complicate his themes.

The president tried out his new strategy on May 28, during a brief speech at Philadelphia's City Hall. The day before, his budget had squeaked through the House and now the focus was turning to an even tougher fight in the Senate.

"We must work to pass the bill

that meets these principles," Clinton intoned. "The wealthy must pay their fair share. We have to reduce the deficit by \$500 billion. We have to keep the incentives for people to invest in our jobs and in our cities. And we've got to give people incentives to move from welfare to work."

The four Clinton Principles took reporters by surprise. True, list-making has been a favorite device of presidential rhetoric from Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points for World Peace to George Bush's Five Pillars of American Renewal. But making lists and sticking to them seemed out of character for the improvisational, cajoling Clinton.

Examined, the list was a window on where the budget battle was heading. Clinton did not include his controversial "Btu tax" as a fundamental principle. The president was already distancing himself from that doomed proposal. But welfare reform, popular among the conservative Democrats whom Clinton needed to woo, made the list. Up to then, the president had generally treated welfare reform as a goal separate from his budget.

Paul Begala, a presidential guru on matters rhetorical, explains that the principles were introduced to get the country looking on the bright side of the Clinton budget. "The American

people need to know what is driving this package," he says. "They know parts of this are unpopular. So why, they ask, is he doing it?"

But coverage of the Philadelphia speech was overwhelmed by a wave of reports that Washington insider David R. Gergen was joining the White House. The principles faded from view. Now, with the official death of the Btu tax, they're back.

On Tuesday, Clinton shrugged off the compromises he is making in the

Detail Man is now Mr. Broad Brush.

Senate. "We just need to hold onto the principles," he said. "There ought to be \$500 billion in deficit reduction and it ought to be in a trust fund . . . and the tax burden ought to be progressive. . . . And we ought to keep the incentives for private sector growth there, for moving from welfare to work, for investing in the depressed areas of the country, starting small businesses."

The list was essentially the same as before, except for the addition of the deficit "trust fund." But moments later, Clinton said this: "I'm

interested in the principles of the program: deficit reduction, lower interest rates, job growth."

A completely new list.

The same day, press secretary Dee Dee Myers added to the list of principles "a broad-based energy tax, one that's fair and one that will encourage conservation," and Office of Management and Budget Director Leon E. Panetta had it on his list yesterday.

Myers also said the earned-income tax credit is a principle, and Clinton seemed to agree when he told an audience in the Rose Garden "we will fight for . . . the first incentive in the history of the United States of America to lift the working poor out of poverty by using the tax system."

The latest version came yesterday afternoon, in a speech to a gathering of the country's top business executives. "Because there have been so many distortions," Clinton said, "I'd like to go back through this program one more time to tell you about the principles that have preserved this plan. . . ."

Then Detail Man took over, and for paragraph after paragraph, Clinton tracked trends on line graphs, pondered ratios, detailed pet programs, lectured on history. At last he wheezed full circle. "Here's what I think ought to come of all that:

" . . . We should have \$500 billion in overall deficit reduction. All the cuts and the taxes ought to be put in a trust fund. . . . It should be progressive. We should leave the empowerment initiatives in there. The empowerment zones, the small business incentives, the new business incentives, the changes in the alternative minimum tax . . . I believe there must be some sort of broad-based energy tax."

Scorecard: Since the Philadelphia speech, the deficit trust fund and the "broad-based" energy tax have been added as principles. The earned-income tax credit, welfare reform and interest rates have come and gone.

Kathleen Hall Jamieson, an expert on presidential communication, says that lists of principles don't work anyway. *One* principle might work, but "the fact that Clinton didn't start by articulating a clear set of principles means that any list now is suspect," she says.

Jamieson contends Clinton would be better off telling it like it is: To govern, in a democracy, is to compromise. "And the ultimate principle for the Clinton administration is: We're gonna get it through. Because he can't afford the prospect—and the country can't afford the prospect—of it not getting through."

Gergen/Gerson
worth reading

THE WASHINGTON POST THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 1993

THE PRESIDENT HAS

*Georgetown/Graves
for news: Miller
B*

Promising Medical Devices To Be Speeded to Market

By John Schwartz
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Food and Drug Administration announced a series of reforms yesterday that could speed up the workings of the much-criticized Center for Devices and Radiological Health, the part of the agency that approves and regulates medical devices.

The CDRH has long been attacked by lawmakers and industry alike for its extensive backlog and delays in shepherding promising new products to market. The delays have been blamed for stifling innovation and crippling small, entrepreneurial companies.

The new rules will set up a new "fast-track" approval process for innovative medical devices, pave the way for easier approval of relatively simple devices, and give companies better access to information about the progress of their applications.

"Important breakthrough devices are now going to get a priority," said FDA Commissioner David A. Kessler through a spokesman. "That's what it's all about."

CDRH director Bruce Burlington said yesterday that some of the new rules will be implemented immediately.

There will be four major areas of reform:

- **Expedited review.** CDRH will begin to separate products that offer innovation in health care from those that merely copy existing products. "When we've got a product that's going to make a real difference," said Burlington, "we're going to move it forward."

Burlington gave as an example a new method of inserting defibrillator electrodes for heart therapy. Today, they are commonly connected through open-heart surgery, but the FDA has applications from companies for devices that could be snaked through veins—potentially a much less risky procedure.

- **Risk assessment.** Under the old system, every product under consideration got the same general kind of review. Under the new system, uncomplicated products such as adjustable headrests for dentists' chairs would receive an administrative review. "It doesn't deserve a team of rocket scientists to work that out," Burlington said. Complex medical products with greater inherent risks will receive more intense scrutiny.

- **Status Reports.** The CDRH, often criticized as a "black hole" for applications, has created a new record-keeping system that will allow companies to track the status of applications. Starting next week, companies will be able to send a fax request for status reports. In time, Burlington hopes to make the system accessible through a computer bulletin board.

- **More stringent filing requirements.** In the past, the FDA has begun the approval process with incomplete or vague applica-

tions from companies, but then bounced the applications back midway through the process for clarification. Under the new rules, applications will be screened early on and returned to companies for prompt revision.

The CDRH has been one of the most controversial branches of the FDA. A recent report released by Rep. John D. Dingell (D-Mich.) sharply criticized the CDRH as a bureaucratic swamp and cited a backlog of more than 1,100 applications for approval of new devices, not including a sizable number of applications sitting unopened in the CDRH mail room. The report said the CDRH had "significant problems" that have led to an "intolerable" state of affairs. A January survey by the Department of Commerce cited 49 U.S. products ranging from pacemakers to incontinence aids that were approved in for use in foreign countries long before gaining approval here.

Dingell said in a statement yesterday that although he had not reviewed the new rules in detail, "I am heartened that FDA recognizes the need for improvements, and has been so quick in responding to the subcommittee's recommendations."

Rep. Ron Wyden (D-Ore.) also applauded the reforms, but said that they don't go far enough. Wyden has recommended a fast-track process that takes into account not just innovation but also economy: rewarding new products that might do the same job as existing ones, but at a lower cost. "At a time when technology is responsible for almost 50 percent of the rate of growth in health care spending, this is an absolutely key reform," Wyden said.

Representatives of the medical device industry also supported the FDA move. "It's hard to argue with," said Alan Magazine, head of the Health Industry Manufacturers Association. He said his membership would prefer to see even more sweeping reforms "to fundamentally change the product approval system," further speeding up a process for a industry with many small, entrepreneurial companies.

Burlington, who has been on the job four months, was instrumental in cleaning up the FDA's generic drug scandal. Kessler then moved him into the CDRH to cut through bureaucracy and to mend fences with industry.

April 26, 1993

TO: Mack McLarty
Mark Gearan
George Stephanopoulos
Rahm Emanuel

FROM: Bill Galston

SUBJ: Overall Strategy: The President's Public Profile

Rey ✓
mmlc
Gus
Desk

file: POTUS
profile

Introduction

I know that I wasn't brought to the White House to offer advice on overall strategy. But I have spent the better part of the past decade thinking about--and working for--a new national Democratic majority that can effectively govern this country. It is difficult for me to remain silent when I see the administration drifting away from that goal. We must do better, and I think we can. Last Friday's meeting on forthcoming initiatives was a good first step, but our strategic problems go far deeper than specific policies.

I take it that there are two principal objectives for the President's first term: setting in motion the fundamental changes the country needs; and mobilizing support from voters who didn't support him last year so that he has eight years to get the job done.

In my judgment, these two objectives are compatible. An overarching strategy that redeems the President's campaign pledge to be a different kind of Democrat will simultaneously promote substantive change and build political support, especially among Perot sympathizers.

My fear is that public perceptions may be crystallizing in ways that impede the attainment of those goals and that our current strategy is not the best way of promoting them. I'm worried that the administration's emerging public profile isn't the one that best serves the President's long-term interests.

To be sure, there have been some positive developments. The American people like Bill Clinton; they think he's working hard, with good people helping him; they think he's on the average person's side; they know he stands for change; and they desperately want him to succeed.

That's the good news. The bad news is that the American people have serious reservations about the basic orientation of his administration.

Bill Clinton won the 1992 election by building his coalition from the center out, and from the middle class out--in short, by presenting himself as a different kind of Democrat who could bring different races, classes, and ethnic groups together around mainstream values and aspirations. I'm not sure the public sees the administration in that light today. Maybe that's why 51% of the electorate thinks he has changed focus from the campaign. Maybe that's why 48 percent think he has broken too many of his promises, versus only 34 percent who think he has kept them. And maybe that's why a plurality (44/37) sees the country on the wrong track, for the first time since the election.

"Different Kind of Democrat": A 100-Day Assessment

How is the President's effort to be a different kind of Democrat going? And how is it perceived by the American people?

1. Tax and spend versus cut and invest

A different kind of Democrat seeks to reduce the federal budget deficit through program cuts to make room for the public investments our country really needs. But:

- o 63% of the people think the President's budget relies too heavily on taxes, up dramatically from only six weeks ago.

- o Only 38% think it will actually reduce the deficit, down from 55% a month ago.

- o The Republicans effectively reframed the stimulus bill as old-fashioned spending, halting progress toward a new public understanding of public investment.

- o There has been a sharp rise in public disapproval for the President's overall economic management, from 52/28 six weeks ago to 45/40 today.

2. Bigger government versus better government

A different kind of Democrat seeks to change the way government does its business, not pour new wine into old bottles. But:

- o The President's proposed budget can be portrayed as light on reinventing government and heavy on programmatic additions.

- o The Vice President's performance review/reinventing government initiative has a low profile with the American people.

3. Cultural liberalism versus mainstream values

A different kind of Democrat does what the President did so well during the campaign: balance tolerance and inclusiveness with values such as personal responsibility, family solidarity, and playing by the rules. But:

- o Our initiatives to date in key areas such as gay rights, choice, and diversity have tilted strongly toward one side of the equation.

- o At the same time, issues on the other side--welfare reform, teen pregnancy, tough anti-crime policies--have had a lower profile, and the theme of personal responsibility has been underemphasized in the proposals we have already made.

4. Beltway insider versus man of the people

A different kind of Democrat stands up for the people versus the Washington insiders against whom the electorate is in open revolt. But:

- o The Administration is giving too much weight--tantamount in some cases to veto power--to the old-guard congressional leadership.

- o We have allowed ourselves to become diverted from what the President does so well--events that bring him into direct and meaningful contact with the people.

- o Delay or retreat on such items as political reform and the line-item veto are reinforcing the perception that we are not strong enough to stand up to the Congress--even in the name of proposals that command overwhelming public support.

5. Targeted redistribution versus the broad coalition

A different kind of Democrat defends the interests of the broad coalition the President wove together during the campaign: suburban as well as urban, those struggling to stay in the middle class as well as those struggling to get there. But:

- o We are in danger of becoming typecast as an administration with a penchant for taxing the middle class.

- o The stimulus package came to be seen--rightly or wrongly--as primarily oriented toward construction unions, big-city mayors, and the urban poor.

6. International weakness versus defense of democratic values

A different kind of Democrat promotes the growth of democratic institutions around the world and is prepared, if necessary, to use American influence and power to uphold our values. But:

- o Our indecision over Bosnia is weakening our moral credibility.

- o We are perceived, rightly or wrongly, as backing away from the pro-democracy China policy we espoused during the campaign.

What to do

There is no single silver bullet that will remedy this situation. We need a patient and focused effort to bring the substance and process of the administration together around a long-term strategy that deals with the real problems of the country in a politically viable way. The following are some brief thoughts on how we might begin.

A. Substance

1. Until reconciliation, at least, be very cautious about proposing anything that has a large, broad-based tax associated with it.

2. Get the President back out with the people on a regular basis.

3. Ask the Gore performance review for serious interim recommendations that make visible cuts and changes in the way government operates.

4. Restore balance to the cultural agenda. Among other things, this means:

- o avoiding new moves that reinforce the impression of tilting to one side (for example, we should be very cautious about including abortion funding in the health care standard benefits package); and

- o giving sustained emphasis to measures that affirmatively help redress the cultural balance: national service, welfare reform, cops on the street, teen pregnancy, personal responsibility.

5. Make sure that the next highly visible appointment conveys the message that the President is independent from special interests and committed to the values of the American mainstream.

6. At some point some, confront Congress on a matter that makes the President the tribune of the people. It is essential that the President be seen fighting vigorously for what he believes in.

7. Step up to the plate in Bosnia.

B. Process

In my judgment, we need a way of implementing decisions that conveys a much clearer public focus. By this I mean:

- o attaining strategic continuity in executing a plan, not just ever-shifting ad hoc tactics;

- o taking the week rather than the day as our basic message unit;

- o enforcing thematic continuity in speeches, regardless of topic;

- o identifying and pursuing top Presidential priorities while leaving secondary matters to staff, departments, or the future.

To achieve these process goals, we need some central locus of decision and responsibility that can better integrate long-term political strategy, substantive policy development, scheduling, and weekly message. I would strongly recommend that a group be explicitly created for that purpose in a form compatible with the personnel and objectives of this administration.

June 21, 1993

Gargu/Geam The Nation.

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BACK-ROOM DEALS WON'T DO IT Clinton Must Go To the People

BERNARD SANDERS

As Vermont's lone Representative, and as the only Independent in the House, I am convinced that Congress cannot lead us out of the economic morass of the past twenty years. After all, it was Congress, with many of the same players, that shaped and approved the failed economic policies of the past four administrations. If our economy is to be revitalized, if hope for the future is to be rekindled in the hearts of ordinary Americans, President Clinton must become the boldest leader of modern times. The politics of yesterday, the back-room deals with Congressional leaders, will not work. Clinton must get out of Washington and rally the American people against the greed and self-interest of a ruling elite that is causing massive suffering for tens of millions of working people.

The current economic realities that the President must confront are grim and almost overwhelming:

§ Twenty years ago the United States led the world in terms of the standard of living we provided our workers. Today, we're in thirteenth place—far behind in wages, benefits, health care, pensions, paid vacation days and educational opportunities. The real wages of American production workers have declined by 20 percent since 1973, and the standard of living for four out of five American families went down during the 1980s.

§ There has been a massive shift in wealth in the past ten years from the poor and the working class to the rich. According to a 1992 Federal Reserve study, the wealthiest 1 percent of the population now owns 37 percent of the wealth, while the bottom 90 percent owns only 31 percent of the wealth. The annual *Business Week* survey reveals that during the last year alone the C.E.O.s of the major corporations saw a 56 percent increase in their incomes while workers' incomes remained stagnant. The study found that C.E.O.s in America now earn 157 times what a factory worker earns—the greatest gap in the industrialized world.

§ Many of the new jobs being created are temporary, low-wage, no-benefit positions. Already, one in three American workers is a "contingent" worker—part-time or temporary. The ranks of contingent workers are growing so rapidly that some estimate they will outnumber permanent, full-time workers within the next ten years.

§ More and more Americans are free-falling into an economic abyss. At least 2 million Americans are homeless; 22 percent of our children live in poverty, including 5 million who are hungry; 37 million Americans lack any health insurance; and more and more workers earn subpoverty wages.

It is almost humorous how, at the end of each month, the

Bernard Sanders was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1990.

The Nation

salutes

ARTHUR C. DANTO

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1992 INFINITY AWARD for Writing

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Photographs 1936-1963*

GEOF KERN

Applied Photography

*This year's awards were presented on May 4, 1993
at the Ninth Annual ICP Awards Ceremony.*

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Ph.D. economists and TV talking heads analyze the latest economic indicators, attempting to determine whether or not we are out of the recession and "in recovery." Meanwhile, the workers in my state, and working people throughout the country, know the simple truth. They know the economy has deep structural problems. They also know we're going to need radical changes in national economic policy if we are to reverse the current ominous trends. What sort of economic policy can, in the short run, improve life for millions of Americans? The following are some immediate measures that President Clinton should fight for in Congress:

Congress is ready to do the right thing—when tens of millions of Americans demand it.

(1) A new jobs bill, stronger than the one defeated by Republican senators. Clinton's bill would have created more than 1 million permanent and summer jobs by investing \$19 billion in infrastructure, the environment, the needs of our children and higher education. We need legislation that would create at least 3 million jobs by addressing the long-term neglect and misery that Reaganomics has left us. The people of this country must see, in their own communities and with their own eyes, that government can play a significant role in improving their lives. Japan, a nation with a gross national product almost half ours, is creating millions of jobs by investing more than \$100 billion in its infrastructure.

If the Republicans choose to bring government to a halt by filibustering a real jobs bill, the President must, as F.D.R. did sixty years ago, rally the workers of the nation to support his effort. Clinton will not succeed by winning the support of Bob Dole. That's a formula for failure. He will succeed only when he gets back into his bus, goes into the streets of America and rallies tens of millions of workers—black, white, Latino and

Asian, male and female, urban and rural—so that they fully understand what is at stake and what the struggle is all about. Clinton is opposed in Congress not only by the Republicans but by the powerful right wing of his own party. Congress is ready to do the right thing—but only when tens of millions of Americans demand it. Clinton must create that demand.

(2) A raise in the minimum wage to \$5.50 an hour. The minimum wage today does not provide a minimum level of dignity for workers, as was intended when it was established in 1938. Rather, it is a starvation wage that, since 1980, has declined in purchasing power by 23 percent. Every American worker should be entitled to a wage that keeps him/her out of poverty.

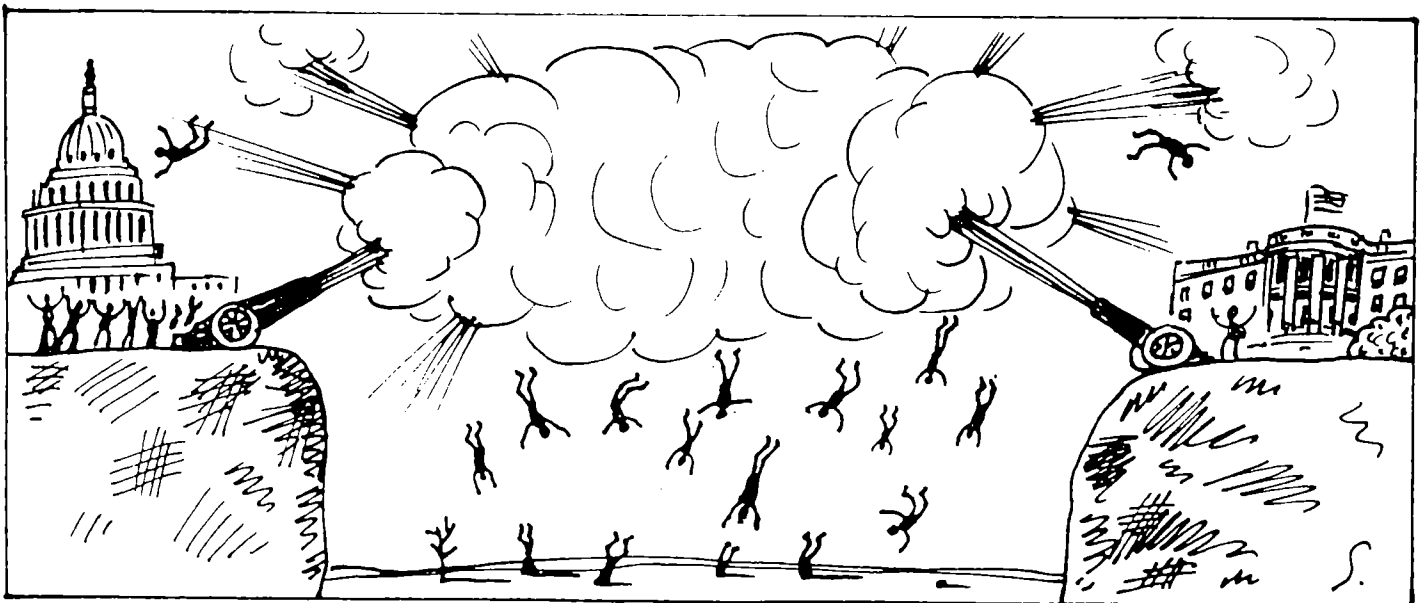
(3) A single-payer, state-administered national health care system that guarantees comprehensive health care to all. It is absurd to be talking about spending tens of billions more on health care when we already spend far more per capita than any other nation. If the Canadians can provide high-quality health care for all their people, at considerably less cost per capita, we can do so as well.

(4) Labor law reform legislation that makes it easier for workers to join unions. Today employers harass labor organizers, intimidate workers during the certification process and refuse to negotiate a first contract. There will be no real improvement in the lives of workers until the trade union movement is revitalized.

(5) Real tax reform, which asks the wealthy to start paying their fair share. By proposing to raise the top tax bracket from 31 percent to 36 percent, and by adding a surtax on incomes above \$250,000, Clinton is moving in the right direction. Given the huge tax breaks enjoyed by the rich over the past decade, however, he should be going much further.

President Clinton's current political problems are directly related to his overall political philosophy. As a moderate New Democrat, he is not prepared to take on the class issues boldly and clearly and rally working-class support to his side.

The truth is that he cannot stir up ordinary Americans to demand health care reform if he is not prepared to take on the private insurance companies that are the major source of



waste and inefficiency in our system—and that are preventing us from moving toward a real national health care system.

He can't excite ordinary Americans about "tax fairness" when his Administration is proposing or considering regressive taxes such as the gasoline tax and a value added tax, as well as increased taxes on middle-income Social Security recipients and on health care benefits.

He can't rally public support for deficit reduction while making only minimal cuts in military spending, maintaining the present level of funding of the C.I.A. and continuing to support the superconducting supercollider, the space station and Star Wars.

Bill Clinton won the 1992 election with 43 percent of the vote; 45 percent of the people (mostly poor) didn't bother going to the polls. If present trends continue, he will either be a one-term President or win unenthusiastic re-election in 1996 as the "lesser of three evils." (Already, in Vermont I hear many people who voted for Clinton, and who still see him as far preferable to George Bush, wonder what kind of "change" he will really bring.)

It seems to me that if Clinton is to become a great leader (and he has the intelligence and energy to do so) and bring about the changes that tens of millions of Americans desire, he must soon make a very fundamental decision. Either he will continue to propose uninspired legislation that gains the support of the Rostenkowskis, the Borens and the moderate Republicans in Congress, or he will take the case for real change to the poor and working people of this country—and get them politically involved in the fight for a progressive agenda.

What an extraordinary and uplifting occurrence it would be for this country if, in city after city, rural region after rural region, hundreds of thousands of working people came out to hear a President who was unequivocally on their side, who believed that government should work for them and who educated and involved them in the political struggles of the day. Mayor Ray Flynn of Boston recently made a valiant effort to bring together rioting black and white high school students of his city; think what it could mean for the country if President Clinton appeared on national television with black and white Boston youths at his side and asked them to work together for a meaningful summer jobs program, an educational opportunity program and long-term economic development—and involved them in the political process to achieve those goals.

I must confess that in many ways Clinton has turned out to be a more intelligent and decent President than I had expected. Unlike his predecessors, he has shown courage in acknowledging the enormous problems facing this country, and he has not attempted to sweep them under the rug with moronic soundbites and photo opportunities. He has moved boldly to protect a woman's right to choose and has not evaded the very contentious issue of gays in the military. He has, over and over again, spoken eloquently about the crises facing our children and youth—and has proposed funding to address those needs.

Can Bill Clinton succeed in turning this country around, providing hope and power to the millions of people who today have neither? Probably not. The opposition of Congress, the

big-money interests and the corporate-owned media is enormous. But if he stands up and takes the bastards on, he may well be surprised how many millions will stand with him. And when that happens, what Bob Dole or Dan Rostenkowski thinks will matter very little. □

■ IN THE SHADOW OF SADDAM

For Kurds—Hope And Hard Times

JOOST R. HILTERMANN

Twenty months after Iraqi troops pulled out of Kurdish territory and just over a year after the unprecedented parliamentary and leadership elections of May 1992, Saddam Hussein still casts a pall over Kurdish aspirations. Yet in this half-light, the once inchoate desire for Kurdish self-government is slowly taking shape.

Out of the elections emerged a prime minister, a Cabinet and a parliament. A uniformed police force is back in the streets directing traffic, an internal security system is in place and has intercepted a number of Iraqi infiltrators, and border controls have been tightened. True, it may be just a wisp of a government today, but the fact that it was allowed to form at all is remarkable, considering the odds. The Kurds have operated in a vacuum of sovereignty brought about by the Iraqi withdrawal of October 1991, and enjoy the protection of the allies who subdued Iraq in the Gulf War and then drew a line across the map (the 36th parallel), north of which Iraqi planes still may not fly. The allied air umbrella created the physical and political space for the Kurds to rebuild their villages and infrastructure, to which the regime had laid waste in the 1980s, and to assert their right to self-determination.

Kurdish leaders have had to start from scratch. A traveler is struck by this landscape denuded of trees (though the rolling hills are lovely in the spring, when they're carpeted with wildflowers) and largely devoid of human habitation—the people having been relocated to huge "collective villages," which reminded me of the worst refugee camps I have seen in the Gaza Strip. In *Lilith*, Primo Levi refers to the "unassuageable sadness that grows on the ruins of lost civilizations." The Kurds may not be a lost civilization, but the Baathist regime had a good try at making them one, with the ruins of some 4,000 villages and—according to eyewitnesses returning from government-controlled areas—huge mass graves to show for it. An old man in the town of Kalar told me he wished to put an end to his life, "and there are many like me," because he had lost his entire family in the brutal 1988 Anfal campaign [see Aryeh Neier, "Watching Rights," March 16, 1992]. The only solace I could offer was a rather hollow promise to con-

Joost R. Hiltermann, who works with Middle East Watch, is an editor of Middle East Report. He recently returned from fieldwork for M.E.W. in Iraqi Kurdistan. The views expressed here are his own.

THE PRESIDENT HAD BEEN

~~Bo Granger~~
Bo Granger - gone for good

CAPITAL JOURNAL
BY GERALD F. SEIB

Arkansas School Crusade Offers Lesson to Clintons

WHEN PRESIDENT CLINTON invited his cabinet to Camp David this year, he asked Hillary Rodham Clinton to tell everybody the story of how she led the drive to reform the education system in Arkansas.

Mrs. Clinton's story is worth re-examining now, because President Clinton



is flat on the political mat and needs his wife's coming health-care reform plan to help put him back on his feet. There are similarities in the path Mrs. Clinton traveled on education then and the health-care path she is on now. Bill Clinton was seeking a political come-

back. Mrs. Clinton formed a task force to challenge an entrenched system, held well publicized hearings, launched a grand reform plan and sales campaign, fought bruising battles over taxes, and ultimately won.

That experience offers lessons for a White House in trouble. Mrs. Clinton's health-care initiative represents a giant roll of the dice, one that could revive the administration if it works or sink it if it doesn't. Already the Clintons are paying a price for the gamble. The intense focus on health care has sapped the attention of Mrs. Clinton, a tough-minded political adviser who otherwise might have foreseen the political snares that have trapped her husband.

Now the Clintons must hope they can repeat the formula that worked on education in Arkansas. In a nutshell it was: Identify enemies everyone can see, be prepared to confront your friends, and be flexible in dealing with timid lawmakers seeking political cover. Above all, don't promise miracles. Education reform was a success, but has hardly produced the spectacular results proponents suggest.

The parallels between the Clintons' situations a decade ago and today are eerie. Then as now, Bill Clinton was trying to return from the political wilderness. He had been governor, lost the job, and had just won it back.

He decided that reforming Arkansas' woeful education system would be the cornerstone of his new administration, and put his wife in charge. She hit the road, holding public hearings in each of Arkansas' 75 counties. In short order, her commission produced a bill setting new standards for Arkansas schools and students, imposing new curriculum requirements, raising teacher pay, and lengthening the school day.

IN A PERFORMANCE that amazed friend and foe alike, Mrs. Clinton appeared before the Arkansas Legislature and explained her reform package for more than an hour, without benefit of notes. She got a standing ovation.

Then she hit the road again to sell the plan. Author David Osborne described the scene in his book, "Laboratories of Democracy": "The Clintons pulled out all the stops to get the reform package through the Legislature. They raised money from the business community for ads in the media. They gave out thousands of blue ribbons, asking people to wear them to broadcast their theme: 'Our kids need a blue-ribbon education.' And they drummed home the message that education meant jobs."

But horse-trading was still needed. The Legislature threw overboard two of the three tax increases Mr. Clinton proposed to fund higher teacher salaries, leaving only a sales tax increase. And, crucially, Mr. Clinton responded to a popular desire to go after incompetent teachers by proposing a bill requiring teacher testing. That put him on a collision course with his friends in the teachers' lobby, who thought they were being turned into political punching bags to help sell his program. "It was strictly a fall-guy situation," says Grainger Ledbetter, president-elect of the Arkansas Education Association.

BUT IT WORKED. The Clinton reforms became law.

Have they succeeded? The results are mixed. Teacher salaries are up, as are Scholastic Aptitude Test scores. But statistics show that Arkansas eighth-graders still rank in the bottom one-third in mathematics proficiency among 42 states rated. Many Arkansans think Mrs. Clinton's main achievement was simply putting education firmly atop the Arkansas agenda.

The parallels between the Arkansas experience and the health-care debate are obvious. Then and now, for instance, the stories told at public hearings have deeply affected Mrs. Clinton. One participant in the administration's current health debate says she will frequently interrupt policy discussions with comments beginning, "When I was in Houston, I heard this . . ."

But the crucial lesson to be gleaned from the Arkansas experience is that voters have to be warned that changes won't come instantly — a notion the White House has done a miserable job getting across on other issues. "One of the problems we've had is that toward the end of the campaign and the few months thereafter, we were all so exuberant about the process of change that we've lost sight of how long change would take," says Clinton strategist Paul Begala.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

33 JUN 24 PM 12:12

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Mark Gearan *MG*
RE: Christian Science Monitor Article
DATE: June 24, 1993

Attached is the article we discussed yesterday.

cc: Mack McLarty
David Gergen
George Stephanopoulos

*Put the story
out as part of broader
strategy to reach
political leadership, BC Friends,
press —*



CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

VOL. 85, NO. 138

ROBERT HARBISON - STAFF



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SE 8.

Airstrikes in Somalia Show UN Is In for Long Haul

US-led raids deal a 'significant military setback' to warlord Aideed

By Peter Grier

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

WAVES of United States-led attacks on the Somali warlord seen as responsible for the killing of Pakistani peacekeepers emphasize that, for the world community, getting out of Somalia is going to be much harder than going in.

Some six months after US troops first landed on Mogadishu beaches in a blaze of television lights, Somalia is still far from a politically stable country. It has no functioning government, no national security forces, and is still unable to feed many of its people without outside aid. (Somalis call for follow-up, Page 14)

At the same time, the large-scale presence of United Nations forces seems to be a symbol of

quasi-occupation to restive elements of the Somali population. In what appeared to be well-coordinated attacks on Pakistani patrols last week, Gen. Mohamed Farah Aideed seemed to be trying to test the UN's mettle. General Aideed perhaps thought he could expand the limits of his own power, since heavily armed US troops had mostly left.

Instead, he provided the occasion for the Clinton administration.

See **SOMALIA** page 14

Despite Conventional Wisdom, Clinton Chalks Up Early Wins

By Linda Feldmann

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

PSSST. If you read the fine print in Congressional Quarterly, you'll discover a secret about Bill Clinton's presidency: It's been a smashing success so far.

In its "presidential success" study, CQ has found that, through

the Memorial Day recess, President Clinton's position has won in the House 96 percent of the time and the Senate 87 percent.

The CQ study looks only at items that go for a final vote, so, for example, the president's failure to end a GOP filibuster on his economic-stimulus bill doesn't count. But the fact remains that he has enjoyed considerable success in Congress.

Mr. Clinton is also beating his two immediate predecessors in

putting top appointees in place, according to the White House. As of June 1, it says, Clinton had confirmed 151 people to senior positions. President Reagan had 140 people confirmed and President Bush 97 by this point.

"There are many ways of measuring success and failure" when looking at a president, says presidential scholar Norman Ornstein. "You can do a batting-average approach and show that, in some

See **CLINTON** page 14

ET TU, NORMAN?

Major Faces New Enemy: a Former Friend

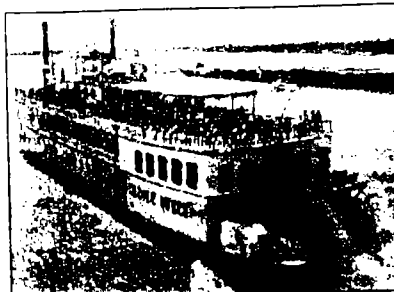
the prime minister by his former friend were so deep that Major's days as Britain's leader may be numbered.

Back in November-December 1990, in the clamor caused by Margaret Thatcher's removal as prime minister, it was all very different. Major was chancellor, and Mr. Lamont his loyal deputy at the Treasury. When Michael Heseltine, a Conserva-

The Conservatives' victory in the April 1992 general election appeared to cement the two men's political alliance. Lamont devised a novel plan for reducing income tax for low-wage earners. Major stumped the country, commending his chancellor's tax cuts.

But the seeds of a falling-out were already present. According to William

COVER STORY



designed to pro-
for the UN.
bush in which 23
killed demon-
ability of lightly
the unstable So-
the reaction of
appears to have
consequences.
on a crowd of
Mogadishu on
at least nine, in-

for bandits. "Somali's troubles are
far from over," gloomily writes
the Nairobi-based Jonathan
Stevenson.

As of this writing, US-led at-
tacks against Aideed had de-
stroyed a radio station under his
control that had continually de-
nounced the UN, a cigarette fac-
tory used as a troops and weap-
ons assembly area, and several
weapons depots where his "tech-
nicals" — trucks with ma-
chine guns — and other
heavy gear had been stored,
per agreement with the UN.

Under the deals struck
earlier, the US and the UN
had agreed not to confiscate
the warlord's weapons un-
der condition that they not
be used. Similar arrange-
ments have been made with
other Somali warlords.

The attack against the
Pakistanis last week came as
they were in the process of
proceeding to take inventory
at Aideed's agreed-upon
weapons depots. According
to the Pentagon, this count
found significant numbers of
weapons missing, including
20 technicals. Presumably
they had been surrepti-
tiously withdrawn for use
against UN troops.

The AC-130 gunships
flown from the US to retali-
ate are one of the US military's
weapons of choice for sustained
fire against ground targets that
are largely devoid of anti-aircraft
protection. They carry a 105mm
howitzer with 100 rounds — an
airborne tank gun, in essence — as
well as 4,000 rounds of 40mm
and 20,000 rounds of 20mm
ammunition. The Pentagon says it
took pains to try and limit collat-
eral damage by the gunships.



military response is
Somali warlord. He is
Pakistanis peacekeepers.

as where the UN
regular patrols
trol, there is now
the country than
first arrived, ac-
British journalist
current issue of
magazine.
g of Somalis has
on selective, and
tain easy targets

Warlords, Are Needed

"Perhaps the [warlords] we were dealing with
all along have no intention of putting the country
back on course," Col. Labbe said. "Aideed has now
openly gone down the road of violence."

Somalis from factions other than Aideed's,
contacted in Nairobi, welcomed the attacks,
saying all the warlords should be arrested and
their forces disarmed in order to restore peace.

"I think the UN is finally beginning to realize
you can't do business with warlords," says Hassan
Ali Mirreh, a co-founder of one of Somalia's key
political parties, the Somali Salvation Democratic
Front (SSDF). "A group of us within the SSDF
maintain that all the warlords — even ours —
should be tried for war crimes," he said.

Somalia's current military factional leaders
have repressed the views of civilian elders and
others who are more inclined toward peace,
claims Said Samatar, a Somali professor of Afri-
can history at New Jersey's Rutgers University.

"These so-called warlords are not legitimate
clan leaders," he said in a telephone interview.
"Provided the legitimate leadership is given [UN]
protection, they would be able to exert their in-
fluence for peace." In the towns of Baidoa and Belet
Uen, for example, where warlords have been
checked by UN troops, civilian leadership has
begun to take hold.

— Robert M. Press

CLINTON from page 1

ways, Clinton has had astonishing success."

In other ways, Clinton is still stumbling. The latest bump
comes over his apparent top choice for the Supreme Court, Judge
Stephen Breyer. Clinton was on the verge of nominating him when
it became known that Judge Breyer had violated a federal law
requiring him to pay Social Security taxes for a maid.

Clinton's success in Congress must also be qualified. The
White House's liaison to Congress, Howard Paster, admits that
some of the legislation that has passed Congress was a "slam
dunk," such as the Family Leave Act. The bill had passed Con-
gress under Mr. Bush, but he vetoed it.

Legislation designed to boost voter registration, called "motor
voter," falls into the same category. Clinton has also passed his
budget resolution, extension of unemployment benefits, and reau-
thorization of the National Institutes of Health.

His most important success was the close-shave victory in the
House to pass his budget, but that one carries a price: In working
to pass the budget in the Senate, he has abandoned the controver-
sial Btu energy tax, angering the House members who went out
on a limb and voted for a budget that included the tax.

Clinton, of course, has stumbled spectacularly in the first one-
twelfth of his term and has record-low public-approval ratings to
show for it. His blunders — the failure to end the stimulus-bill fil-
ibuster, bungled nominations of Zoë Baird and Lani Guinier for
Justice Department positions, and public-relations missteps over
a haircut and the White House travel office — dominated media
coverage for days on end and have come to symbolize the early
going of Clinton's presidency. He has also been bombarded with
headlines such as "Failed Presidency" (Washington Post) and "The
Incredible Shrinking President" (Time magazine).

But it has not been that long since the Washington press corps
was singing the chief executive's praises. On March 26, a front-
page analysis in the Washington Post asked if Clinton's early suc-
cesses were "beginner's luck or president's prowess." Republican
strategist Ed Rollins was quoted as calling Clinton "as formidable
a political figure as I've seen in my lifetime."

Now Mr. Rollins says: "I feel he's wasted a great talent. He
understands politics and can communicate with voters, but he
appears to have no center, no convictions.... He does have
3 1/2 years left, but the problem is that the first
impression is often a lasting
impression."

Rollins adds that Clinton
made a mistake by trying to
go around the White House
press corps and take his mes-
sage to the people through
town meetings and inter-
views with local TV report-
ers. But specialists on presidential politics agree that the press
has gone overboard in dumping on him. "The media notion that
the presidency is over is absurd on its face, especially coming
from people who, during the campaign, declared Bill Clinton dead
and buried," Mr. Ornstein says.

Public-relations blunders aside, Clinton is at core "a very
astute politician," says George Edwards III, a presidential expert
at Texas A & M University. True, he has backtracked and compro-
mised on issues, but he has remained "true to his concerns" — cut-
ting the budget deficit and fixing the nation's health-care system,
Dr. Edwards says.

Even though Clinton has gained a reputation in the corridors
of Congress for being easy to "roll" — easy to squeeze concessions
out of — "We have to look at the big picture," he says. "Are we
going to have deficit reduction? That's the central issue right now.
And it looks like he hasn't given up on that."

Clinton has other things going for him, Ornstein says. He is an
active president, engaging issues, unlike his predecessor. He has
"significant learning ability." In his handling of swing votes in the
Senate on his budget, he has shown that he learned lessons from
the failure of his stimulus bill. He also, Ornstein says, "clearly has
an enormous capacity for rhetoric," as demonstrated in his Feb.
17 State of the Union speech.

"Clinton is trying to pass one of the highest tax increases in
modern times; no one ever said that would be easy," says James
Thurber, an American University professor. "Two or three years
from now, this period will be looked back upon as a time of
reform." The cure for what ails Clinton is to score more big wins
in Congress, pundits say. Then the press will likely love him again.
"There's one thing you have to remember about Washington," Dr.
Thurber says. "The fat lady never sings."

**'He does have 3 1/2 years
left, but the problem is
that the first impression is
often a lasting
impression.'**

— Ed Rollins

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 6/22

NOTE FOR: V.P., Gergen, George
Katie McElrath, Gergen
The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
for your:

Information ☐

Action ☒

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6.22.93

VP/Deputy

Gore Loses His 'Balance'

Few political promises seemed more emphatic, or less potentially troublesome to fulfill, than Albert Gore Jr.'s of Dec. 7, 1992.

At issue was the world's largest hazardous waste incinerator, a behemoth in East Liverpool, Ohio, on the borders of West Virginia and Pennsylvania and looming 100 yards from homes and 400 yards from an elementary school. The \$160 million Waste Technologies Industries incinerator, which has a capacity to burn 60,000 tons of waste a year and emit dioxin, lead and other poisons into an Ohio River Valley atmosphere already burdened by air inversions, is owned by Von Roll, a Swiss multinational. Limited operation began in April.

A broad coalition of incinerator opponents—local citizens, labor unions, national environmental groups, churches—has become the major political and moral force to require the federal government to revoke the permit that was issued in the Reagan-Bush years when lax regulations on burning hazardous wastes prevailed.

In his December Senate statement, Gore was following through on earlier pledges to act that he and Bill Clinton made while campaigning in that area of the Midwest. The incinerator issue was a natural for Gore. It allowed him both to attack the let-it-burn, trust-industry policies of the Reagan-Bush administrations and position himself as clean and green. "For the safety and health of local residents rightfully concerned about the impact of this incinerator on their families and their future," Gore stated, "a thorough investigation is urgently needed. Too many questions remain unanswered about the impact of this incinerator and the process by which it was approved."

Gore, along with the six senators from Ohio, West Virginia and Pennsylvania, asked the General Accounting Office to investigate whether regulatory shortcuts were involved in the 10 years since the Environmental Protection Agency issued the company an operating permit. Gore himself, speaking with the bluntness that won him praise as the Senate's ranking environmentalist, said, "Until all questions concerning compliance with state and federal law have been answered, it doesn't make sense to grant any permit" to burn. "The potential impact on the people of this community . . . is too great to proceed without study and caution."

Stirring words. Except that is all they are. The

permit was not revoked. Two months into office, Gore began yodeling like an apologist for the Swiss multinational and a cold betrayer of the local citizens fearing for their health. The original decisions, he said in March, to sanction the plant "were made principally and almost exclusively during the last administration and that incurred certain legal obligations on the part of the federal government toward the company that had invested tens of millions of dollars."

Now it is the corporate ledger to be protected. "Earth in the Balance," the title of Gore's best-selling book, had become "Profits in the Balance." The vice president's argument now is that "the EPA has certain legal obligations that it just can't reverse." That evokes astonishment in Terri Swearingen, a nurse and East Liverpool opposition leader. "Don't insult my intelligence. If Clinton and Gore say they're powerless, where's that leave us? The fact is, they have the legal authority to act."

As the incinerator's burning begins, burning of another kind is occurring in the Ohio Valley—the heated anger of citizens put off by Gore's duplicity and EPA's legalistic evasions of responsibility. Residents have read—and understand—the language of the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act that empowers EPA to move against an incinerator if "imminent and substantial endangerment" to people's health and their environment is present.

If Gore and EPA officials have slinked off from the Ohio Valley citizens and the law that should be protecting them, Judge Ann Aldrich of the federal district for northern Ohio hasn't. On March 5, ruling in a case in which all sides—company, government, citizens and environmentalists—were heard, Aldrich wrote: "It is patently unsafe to subject the population exposed to the facility's emissions to the risks involved in incineration while the EPA determines what the risk is and what risk is acceptable."

This was a major citizens' victory, even though the judge's call to close the plant was stayed by an appellate court while her decision is appealed.

Those whose lives are at risk in the Ohio Valley—Pittsburgh is 25 air-miles downwind—are back where they were before the Big Promisers, Clinton and Gore, passed through mongering votes. As in the Reagan-Bush days when the incinerator was going up, the company has friends in the White House and the citizens do not.

TUESDAY, JUNE 22, 1993 THE WASHINGTON POST

VP/George Clinton

we have gotten not a word
of our defense out - if anyone
there is seriously, it's hard to
tell - I wonder if there is anything
else we can do. - Someone should
at least write him a letter to
account of the law etc -

A Budget for Conservatives Too ✓

WHEN SEN. Sam Nunn voted against the president's budget on the Senate floor in June, he made a speech giving the reasons why. It seemed to us at the time that the speech added up to an argument *in favor* of the president's plan. We still think so. Sen. Nunn should switch to aye today for the same reason all conservative Democrats should support the proposal.

The point is not to avert defeat; the president seems to have the votes. Rather, it seems to us that this budget would begin to move in precisely the disciplined direction that the conservative Democrats claim to want. To judge by the Senate's own behavior, the plan would move about as far in that direction as the political system (to say nothing of the weak economy) can currently tolerate. No, it doesn't do all it should. It does enough that some of those (not Mr. Nunn) who are denouncing it as too weak have been simultaneously trying themselves to weaken it in various respects.

The Republicans all bemoan its weakness; they'll vote no. These are the same defenders of fiscal principle on whose watch the national debt was allowed to quadruple to more than \$3 trillion in the past 12 years; then they call this president soft for undoing in a budget only a part of the grievous damage their policies have done. Six Democrats may vote no too. Some have political reasons for doing so. Mr. Nunn has no such problems, nor did he mention politics in his speech.

What he did instead was "give President Clinton high marks for recognizing the magnitude of the deficit and its impact on our country's future." He praised the president for being "willing to put his

reputation and his administration on the line" to correct the inherited policy; for using "honest economic assumptions;" for recognizing that deficit reduction requires a blend of "spending cuts, tax increases and economic growth"; and for "trying to deal with the social deficit at the same time."

What was wrong? The president didn't go far enough. Instead of a five-year plan to get the deficit down to \$200 billion, he should have proposed a 10-year plan to get it to zero. He didn't cut spending enough in relation to tax increases, failed to cap on entitlements and would likely end up cutting defense too much. In the name of investment he had also proposed only "incremental changes" in the tax code instead of a "fundamental restructuring" to stimulate saving at consumption's expense.

Last things first. Mr. Clinton's proposal for even a modest tax calculated in part to reduce consumption of energy was denatured in Mr. Nunn's own Senate largely by Democrats, some of whom are now criticizing the bobtailed plan for not doing enough to reduce the deficit. Which way will it be? A 10-year plan to balance the budget would have been as suspect as all 10-year plans to do anything, and as all past plans of however many years to balance the budget. Mr. Nunn was right instead to praise the president's realism. Mr. Clinton has said that the only way to achieve both further deficit reduction and a reduction in entitlement costs is through health care reform, health care being the great budget-buster. An entitlement cap would be a gesture. The budget is a solid first step toward Mr. Nunn's own stated goals. Vote aye.

Heck

We should save

Thi

FRIDAY, AUGUST 6, 1993 THE WASHINGTON POST

B

THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN

50

Jim Hoagland

Colin Powell: This Debate Is Over ✓

Garner
Winters

For the military the debate on gay rights is over, Gen. Colin Powell says with the crisp finality of a commander accustomed to having his predictions hardened into fact on the double. "It will drop off the screen quickly." An "or else" hangs in the air.

Powell does not put a comma wrong when he intends to communicate what he wants to the sergeants, warrant officers and unit commanders who make up the central nervous system of the military. Four words he spoke in a recent conversation strip away the protective cover that has existed until now for inquisitions and harassment of gays in the military, even those who play by the rules.

Powell's words of support for President Clinton's policy are a concession to a young president who pushed the general to come up with a better deal for gays in the military. It is a concession that should not be underestimated, either in impact or cost. It touches a vital point for Powell: the military's ability to control its own self-image. That is what he has fought hard to protect.

Speaking at a breakfast meeting with reporters the day after President Clinton announced his "don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue" policy, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff sounded like a man eager to get back to the less politically exposed ground of nuclear strategy, force structure and NATO readiness. You could hardly blame him.

But Powell and Defense Secretary Les Aspin loyally disputed a questioner's premise that following up on and modifying Clinton's campaign pledge had been a terrible distraction from more important tasks.

The debate, Powell said, had made him, the Joint Chiefs and the military at large think through their attitudes not only about gays but also about the military and society. That had been a valuable exercise in itself, he suggested.

"I come out with a more tolerant view and perhaps more open to what is happening in our society," he said. Powell summed up the balanced compromise he, Aspin and Clinton have struck in four words: "Live and let live." Powell believes his successor (he retires Oct. 1) and unit commanders can enforce that balance of civility between the military establishment and gays accepting the restriction of openly asserting their homosexuality.

Unless, I must add, Congress mucks it up.

Congress should let the compromise stand rather than subject it to a cross-fire between liberals who fault it for not going far enough and conservatives who threaten to enact the previous ban on homosexuals into law. The Clinton-Aspin-Powell plan is not perfect, but it strikes, as Aspin says: "the right balance, right now."

The plan is a working arrangement that combines the reasonable needs of the military and the fairness that should be shown to gay military personnel who do not intrude their sexual preferences, orientation or behavior into the workplace.

Public opinion polls taken since the compromise was announced suggest it fairly reflects majority opinion. Most Americans do not view homosexuality as being criminal or depraved. But neither do they accept it as a status deserving rewards and compensation, or even special recognition from fellow citizens. Like heterosexual orientation or behavior, it should be a non-subject in the workplace, which in the armed forces is not simply the office.

Clinton and Aspin were not able to get Powell to bless a policy that went that far, one closer to the president's desire for a "don't ask, don't shout" approach. "Don't ask, don't shout" would have let military gays "quietly acknowledge their homosexuality without flaunting it," Aspin said.

At the heart of Clinton's 1992 pledge to eliminate the ban on homosexuality in the military is the implicit notion that the professional military is increasingly a career like any other. It should be subject to the standards and demands of civilian society.

The end of the Cold War and the military's shift to an all-volunteer force continue the shrinkage of the central place that the armed forces once occupied in American life. This involves a loss for American society: Communication has become more of a one-way street than at any time since the beginning of World War II. The military no longer automatically transmits its values into civilian institutions through the constant rotation of citizens and soldiers. But civil society increasingly attempts to remake the military to reflect its broader, more diverse values.

Powell resolutely resists the outside grab for control of the self-image of the military. "We are unique," Powell counters. "We are not like the fire department or the police department." Commanders who are required to send units into harm's way and fight wars must have a great deal of latitude in forming those units.

But the general goes on to say it is that latitude that will make "don't tell, don't ask" work. He has added an important codicil to the language of the proposal unveiled by Clinton. The Powell codicil should be respected by Congress, reaffirmed by his successor and observed both by unit commanders and gays in the military. It is the simple admonition to "live and let live."

September 1, 1993

Information

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARK GEARAN *mg*

SUBJECT: Afternoon Press Conference

Current coverage of the Administration indicates an emerging storyline that depicts the Administration's fall agenda as over ambitious and without focus. Before that undercurrent takes on strength, we have an opportunity to define the fall agenda as:

The next step in your comprehensive strategy to revitalize the American economy, restoring growth and opportunity for working Americans.

This "comprehensive" approach is a theme you articulated throughout the campaign; it is one we need to get back to. Health care, NAFTA, Reinventing Government, et al have a common theme. We need to demonstrate that you understand that, you are confident of that, and that you are proceeding with a larger plan -- of which the budget was the first step.

A press conference tomorrow, including an opening statement that addresses these themes, will allow us to begin laying that foundation. We will continue the process with this Saturdays' radio address, and with a major speech in the near future.

We hope to hold the press conference in the mid-afternoon.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 01/10/94

GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
MARK GEARAN

NOTE FOR: JIM DORSKIND

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

Information ☒X

Action ☒X

Jim,

Please draft a thank you letter per
the President's request and return
it to this office separate from the
mail sample. Thanks.

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

THE PRESIDENT WAS SEEN ^{1/8}_{1/10}

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 13, 1993

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Conan O'Brian
work: (212) 664-3737

DATE: At your convenience;
Monday - Friday, 9:30 am - 5:30 pm

RECOMMENDED BY: Mark Weiner

PURPOSE: To thank Conan for his support of you both on
and off the air.

BACKGROUND: Conan interned for Mary Herlihy Gearan in
Father Robert Drinan's office on the Hill in
the mid-1970s and he's a big fan of your's.
The show's musical director, Max Weinberg
helped organize the Inaugural Gala.

STAFF CONTACT: Heather Beckel, x.7105

DATE OF SUBMISSION: December 13, 1993

ACTION: _____

93 DEC 14 AM: 08
1/8
Guanay
Doesn't go in
his stuff that letter
-

Conan The Squirmy

The Late Night Host In an Uncomfortable Spot

By Ellen Edwards
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK

Conan O'Brien is very unhappy. He stands over his desk, shoulders stooped, a tight grimace across his face. Carol Kane, scheduled to be the name guest for this night's show, has dropped out at the last minute and O'Brien is left with Rene Auberjonois, whose name he can't quite pronounce and whose face he can't quite place, and Yokozuna, a stone-faced sumo wrestler who speaks only through his manager, Mr. Fuji.

It is 1 p.m. on a typical day last week, and the show will be taped precisely at 5:30. O'Brien, who has had a rocky first three months as the unknown who inherited David Letterman's 12:30 time slot on NBC, holds out the possibility that there will be an eleventh-hour rescue by another guest, but nobody else seems to be taking that very seriously.

Segment producer Michael Weinberg has booked Auberjonois for the

show and done a "pre-interview" on the phone, and he briefs O'Brien. Currently on "Deep Space Nine," the new "Star Trek" TV series, the veteran stage actor won a Tony years ago for "Coco," with Katharine Hepburn, and had a featured role in the sitcom "Benson," which ran for seven years.

He's got no Hepburn stories to tell, Weinberg reports, and O'Brien is not exactly interested in "Benson." "Could we get a really long 'Benson' clip?" he asks with a sarcastic edge. "I don't think we saw enough 'Benson.'"

Weinberg continues his report—Auberjonois is a direct descendant of Napoleon, a fact of little interest to O'Brien. He lives in Los Angeles and voted wearing his "Star Trek" make-up. "There were never any awkward lulls in the conversation," says Weinberg, "although he's not particularly anecdotal." O'Brien's despair deepens.

He settles on taking a "Star Trek" tack, and suggests Weinberg get more information on that. Whatever he finds out will go on blue note

See O'BRIEN, C12, Col. 1



PHOTOS BY FRANK JOHNSTON—THE WASHINGTON POST

O'Brien warming up his audience with an Elvis impression. And at ease—sort of—in his office.

Letterman's Successor

O'BRIEN, From C1

cards that O'Brien has in his hand during the show should the conversational well run dry.

"If I start getting into 'Benson,' he says as Weinberg heads out, 'you know we're taking on water.'"

The Beginnings

Conan O'Brien's leap onto the stage that was vacated when Letterman moved to CBS is an enormous gamble for NBC. "Ten years from now, you'll either be writing the piece about Conan's show that really caught on," says O'Brien, "or you'll be writing the piece, 'We found Conan in Upstate—' But I think you'll be writing the first piece."

Letterman made the time slot highly lucrative, and O'Brien is charged with keeping it that way. But Letterman did more than that—he set the standard for a show that appealed to a smart young audience, pushing comedy in new directions. And not very long into his 11-year run, he was utterly comfortable doing it.

And that's where O'Brien has had trouble.

The acclaimed former writer for "Saturday Night Live" and "The Simpsons" is in essence enrolled in talk show host school, albeit on the air five nights a week with about a million and a half people watching. Instead of making his mistakes in tiny comedy clubs, he is making them on high-stakes television. And he is making almost a million dollars a year to do it.

The ratings for "Late Night With Conan O'Brien" have been better than the network promised advertisers. NBC sold the show at a modest 1—guaranteeing that 1 percent of the nation's TV sets would be tuned in—and the ratings have averaged a respectable 1.8. (Letterman, by comparison, was getting a 2.1 rating when he left.)

Despite the hits the show has taken from the critics, Tom DeCabin of the Paul Schulman Co., which buys advertising time for its clients, thinks O'Brien and the show still have a good shot at succeeding.

"I think most advertisers are looking favorably on the show and rooting for him," says DeCabin. "I think he's still nervous and has a lot of growing to do in the job. . . . People forget how uncomfortable Letterman was when he started."

"Besides," he says, "who are you going to get?"

But that has not stopped concern in some quarters about O'Brien's ability to make it work; nor has it made it that much easier for him to actually do the show.

On the air, he fidgets and twists. He leans too close to his guests, he forces



BY FRANK JOHNSTON—THE WASHINGTON POST

Conan O'Brien reflecting upon a recent performance after the show. "That's one of the weaker monologues in two weeks."

"I told everyone I interviewed for a job on this show that we're going to have to learn as we go, we're going to make our mistakes, we're going to make a bunch of mistakes on the air. . . . Not all of it works, but five nights a week it's not all going to work."

The critics more than agreed—some of them thought almost none of it worked. Still, his reviews were less severe than those for Chevy Chase's self-immolation on Fox, which O'Brien couldn't bring himself to watch.

"I sort of felt it's not my place to

watch other—'Man, hey, they should take this guy off the air!' I sort of felt like, look, just mind your own store, pal. Everyone was talking about how awful Chevy Chase was. Doing one of these shows is a hard thing to do. I didn't gleefully kick at his corpse."

Reading his own bad reviews has been tough, he admits. "I think people like me get to where we are because we're sensitive and hard-working and probably hard on ourselves, so you never get used to it. . . . There's some part of you that hurts. It's tough but I love doing this so much and I have so much hope for this show that it is worth just about anything, short of my family getting hurt, it is worth just about anything."

The Scoop

O'Brien is posing for pictures on an exercise bike in his office and making small talk.

He asks what the optimum age would be for a man to become a father, and is told 30 seems just about right.

"Ohhhhh, no," he says laughing. "Uh-uh!"

Then he reconsiders.

"Okay," he says, "the show needs press. Here it is. Uma Thurman and I are having a baby! Don't check it! I don't care about the lawsuits! Just put it in the paper like that."

The Joke Factory

What passes for a story conference is taking place around a big table just down the hall from O'Brien's office. Everybody is wearing jeans, and few of the writers appear old enough to have started shaving—and if they are, they haven't. Everybody looks tired and rumpled, most especially Robert Smigel, the head writer and, along with Jeff Ross, one of the show's producers.

They are quietly tossing around ideas for an opening segment in which O'Brien plays a game with his Ed McMahon, sidekick Andy Richter, in which Richter is shown groups of four things and has to choose which one is not like the others.

The first sets are relatively obvious, but the last consists of a bowl of soup, Simon and Garfunkel, a shuttlecock and an airplane. When Richter can't guess which is different, the audience is to shout, on cue, "The bowl of soup." And when Richter still won't accept that, a naked German psychiatrist is to come out and shout, "Eet ees zee bowl of zoup!"

"Salvador Dali was one of our writers," says O'Brien, happy with the absurdity of the bit.

Richter, who has also written a running gag for this show in which three men answer the question "Where were you when you first made money off the Kennedy assassination," has been the critics' second favorite target. "I think it's been hard on Andy because my role is defined," O'Brien had said earlier. "I think we could get to the point

where maybe yeah, I just come back to the desk and get something going, but then Andy and I do a bit. I think what you learn is, don't force anything."

Says Richter, "Enough people I respect on a personal basis respect what I do. . . . I don't think of myself as a sidekick. I don't ask myself, 'How would Ed [McMahon] do this?'"

The Monologue

Amir Gollan, Tom Agna and Louis C.K., the writers who put the monologue together every day, wander into O'Brien's office. Everybody seems to mumble the jokes, punctuating them

with occasional smiles, but there is no real laughter. O'Brien says he keeps the monologues short because he knows they're not his strong suit.

Today the subject is "Sesame Street's" 25th birthday.

There is a joke about times getting tough. "Sesame Street," brought to you today by the letter A and Miller High Life, the champagne of bottled beers," O'Brien likes that one.

And another, about the changing city: "There's a Gap where Mr. Hooper used to live." Nixed.

See O'BRIEN, C13, Col. 1

a laugh, he rushes from question to question. Sometimes he appears not to be listening. He looks, in short, uncomfortable. And he knows it.

"If you had talked to me in April I would have told you it's going to be a little bit of a bumpy road," says O'Brien, 30, in jeans and white T-shirt under a red flannel work shirt, and beating a pair of drumsticks on his knee.

Here, in his spare Rockefeller Center office, he is a different person, completely at ease. He is eating his breakfast, a dried-up buttered bagel and coffee. In back of him is a huge caricature, his trademark vertical shock of hair accentuated. A three-foot pickle leans against the corner.



BY FRANK JONESTON—THE WASHINGTON POST

Conan O'Brien, second from left, in conference with his writers. He keeps his monologues short because he knows they're not his strong suit.

The Talk of Conan

O'BRIEN, From C12

And one about a fight between Barney and Big Bird. Nixed.

And this: "Cookie Monster has an eating disorder. I don't know what it's called, but the food just falls out of his mouth." O'Brien laughs out loud. The joke makes the cut. O'Brien tells them to check in with him again later at rehearsal. He wants to run through it with Smigel.

He holds out his lunch, a mystery-meat sandwich encased in a little plastic box. "Here," he says. "I want people to know what my life is like." And he heads downstairs to the studio for rehearsal.

The Worrier

Producer Jeff Ross wears a Kids in the Hall jacket and a perpetually worried look. He is talking about the problems the show has had booking the bigger-name guests. "If Tom Hanks does a show, he's going to do Letterman," he says. "And Jay's [Leno] getting fairly big numbers. They're going to do those two shows before they do us."

"We take more chances with guests," he says. "We have to."

He says the NBC brass send him occasional suggestions, but tell him they are generally happy with the show's direction. "They want to look out for Conan," he says. "They say don't worry about getting canceled."

And then, as an aside, "That's what they [Fox] said to Chevy."

The Warm-up

It's near 4, and the rehearsal is wrapping up. Drummer Max Weinberg, who used to be with Bruce Springsteen, is finishing with the "Late Night" house band, which has gotten raves. O'Brien takes his sandwich back to his office. He wants some time alone before the taping.

By 4:30 Auberjonois is in his dressing room, and Yokozuna and Mr. Fuji are lumbering down the hall. Joe Henry, the musical guest, has set up his band backstage. By 5, O'Brien's in makeup and he's rolling. The worrying is behind him for now. He's getting himself cranked for the show.

"I know way more about makeup than any man my age should know," he says. "When I start chastising people for using the wrong eyeliner . . . I can never go on an Outward Bound trip."

His signature hair, standing up in front, is being combed.

"Make me look like Jack Lord," he says. "I idolized Jack Lord as a child." He says he was devastated when he learned Lord wore a toupee. "It took him three hours to put on his hair in the morning. I wish I was bald if I could have a piece like that. People think I have this crazy hair because of TV. I always had crazy hair. I even

calmed it down some. It was violating the building code. . . .

"Whose Victoria's Secret bag is that?" he asks, pointing to the corner. "There's a woman inside me screaming to get out, and I'm going to use network television."

He says politico Mary Matalin, a guest on the show not long ago, told him that if he came down to Washington she would fix him up with some girls, but he doesn't believe it. "And Katie Couric's been saying that for weeks," he grumps.

He is told that everyone thinks he's got a girlfriend.

"Uh-uh. Oh, no. You've been reading that old Vanity Fair stuff," he says. "This show is my mistress, and we're not getting along."

The audience is filling up the 200-seat studio. And then the warm-up comic is out egging the audience on, introducing Richter and finally O'Brien.

The doors shoot open, and O'Brien, transformed from the shlub in jeans into a bolt of lightning, bounds up the stairs three at a time into the audience, doing a raucous, ear-splitting Elvis imitation. This is an energy that hasn't yet come across on television. The audience goes wild.

He tells the crowd to please laugh—"my parents watch this show"—and talks to a couple of people, wanting to know why they are there. "Did they tell you this was 'Donahue'?"

The Review

An hour later it's all over. Conan O'Brien is out of the studio and into his tiny dressing room, pulling a Coke

out of the small refrigerator and slugging it down. He is immediately ready to review the performance in a sort of stream of consciousness.

"That's one of the weaker monologues in two weeks," he says. "It was a little soft. We tried to avoid the easy jokes about children's puppets in the grim real world. Some nights the audience is great. Some nights they're cold. I hear that from the pages. It happened to Dave too. . . . I give the monologue a C or C-plus. Maybe a B-minus."

He is happier about the Kennedy bits. "They're smart and funny," he says. "It's a thin line—are you making fun of it? But it's such a smart thing. They're such good jokes."

"Rene whatever-his-name-is—I got it right two out of three times—had a sense of humor." O'Brien's worst fear of the day, an incredibly boring guest, was not realized.

Still he is baffled by a large round of applause from the audience at the mention of "Benson."

He is satisfied with Yokozuna, unhappy with a heckler who jumped up to ask a question (and who, says Ross, will be cut from the tape before the show airs that night), happy with Joe Henry.

And he was comfortable with the warm-up. "I like to talk to people and just go out there and dance around. It works on the sourest, meanest people. Maybe they didn't get tickets to Dave, but they smile and say what the hell are you doing? I think that helps."

"Overall," he says, "tonight was okay."

He heads out to tape a promo for tomorrow.