MIDDIF EAST PEACE

O THREE SETS OF TALKS:

- -- "UMBRELLA" INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE; OPENS OCTOBER 30 IN MADRID;
 CHAIRED BY U.S. AND SOVIET UNION; ATTENDED BY ISRAEL AND ARABS (SYRIA,
 LEBANON, AND JOINT JORDAN-PALESTINIAN DELEGATION); U.N., E.C. AND G.C.C.
 ARE OBSERVERS; EXPECTED TO LAST A COUPLE OF DAYS; ISRAELIS WILL CLAIM
 MADRID MEETING CEREMONIAL ONLY; ARABS WILL PORTRAY IT AS INTEGRAL PART OF
 ON-GOING, UNITARY PROCESS, AND WILL TRY TO KEEP U.S. AS INVOLVED AS POSSIBLE
 IN FOLLOW-ON TALKS.
- -- BILATERAL TALKS (ISRAEL WITH ITS ARAB INTERLOCUTORS) WILL FOLLOW; U.S. EXPECTS THOSE TALKS TO BEGIN IN ABOUT FOUR DAYS; AGENDA VERY BROAD (DESCRIBED AS SEARCH FOR "TRUE PEACE"); LIKELIHOOD IS FOR TALKS TO STALL; EARLY AND OFTEN; U.S. LIKELY TO HAVE TO INTERVENE FREQUENTLY.
- -- REGIONAL TALKS (ISRAEL AND BROADER COMMUNITY OF ARAB STATES, INCLUDING G.C.C. -- BUT EXCLUDING SYRIA, WHICH HAS SO FAR REFUSED TO COMMIT TO PARTICIPATION PENDING RESULTS OF BILATERALS); LIKELY TO START ABOUT A MONTH AFTER OPENING CONFERENCE -- BUT MUCH WILL DEPEND ON STATE OF BILATERALS; AGRENDA TO BE REGIONAL SECURITY ISSUES (E.G., ARMS LEVELS) AND MORE PRAGMATIC PROBLEMS LIKE WATER RESOURCES.
- O BUSH HAS RAISED STAKES BY SETTING VERY AMBITIOUS GOAL: "NOTHING LESS THAN A JUST, LASTING AND COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT." SUBSEQUENT COMMENTS BY ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS HAVE SOUGHT TO MODERATE EXPECTATIONS, BY CITING DIFFICULTIES STILL AHEAD -- BUT THIS IS HIGH RISK EFFORT. FACT IS THESE TALKS COULD STALL OR BREAK DOWN FAIRLY QUICKLY.
- O TALKS RAISE REAL POSSIBILITY OF INCREASED TENSIONS/FRICTIN BETWEEN US AND ISRAEL. WITHOUT DOUBT, WE WILL HAVE TO INTERVENE -- PROBABLY FREQUENTLY -- IN BILATERALS. ISRAELIS WILL LIKELY RESENT OUR EFFORTS; SEE THEM AS INAPPROPRIATE PRESSURE; AND RESPOND WITH USUAL TACTIC -- TRYING TO GO AROUND ADMINISTRATION AND RALLY SUPPORT ON CAPITOL HILL.
 - -- YOU SHOULD STRESS KEY ELEMENT TO IMPROVING CHANCES FOR SUCCESS IS FOR CONGRESS TO STAND FIRMLY BEHIND THE PRESIDENT.
- O YOU SHOULD ALSO STRIKE CAUTIONARY NOTE: THIS IS NOT LIKELY TO BE SMOOTH, QUICK TRIP TO SUCCESSFUL, FINAL CONCLUSION. KEY REQUIREMENTS ARE PATIENCE; COOL HEADS; AND UNITY ON THE AMERICAN SIDE -- WE ARE THE KEY TO FINAL SUCCESS; ONLY CREDIBLE AND INFLUENTIAL "BROKER."
- O YOU SHOULD WELCOME SOVIET ROLE -- BUT KEEP IT IN CONTEXT. THEY PROVIDE SOME USEFUL "COVER" FOR SYRIANS AND PLO/PALESTINIANS -- BUT WE WILL DO THE REAL "HEAVY LIFTING."
- O YOU WILL LIKELY BE ASKED ABOUT LOAN GUARANTEES. I'D SUGGEST YOU PRAISE ALL CONCERNED FOR AGREEMENT TO STAND DOWN UNTIL NEXT YEAR; AND BE VERY CAUTIOUS ABOUT WHAT WE DO THEN -- "IT WILL DEPEND ON WHERE WE ARE IN JANUARY."

 -- Same Basic Point applies to arms sales: Put them on hold for now.
- O OVERALL MAIN POINT: THIS IS ONE ISSUE FOR CONGRESS TO STAY OUT OF. THIS IS HISTORIC MOMENT, FASHIONED BY BUSH/BAKER DIPLOMACY AND WILLINGNESS TO TAKE SOME RISKS! IT IS UP TO CONGRESS TO GIVE PROCESS EVERY CHANCE TO SUCCEED.

SOVIET "ECONOMIC UNION" AGREEMENT

- O WELCOME FIRST STEP -- BUT THERE IS A LONG WAY TO GO.
- O ONLY EIGHT OF THE REPUBLICS SIGNED (NON-SIGNERS: UKRAINE, GEORGIA, AZERBAIJAN AND MOLDAVA). UKRAINE'S NON-PARTICIPATION MOST SIGNIFICANT, SINCE IT IS SECOND MOST IMPORTANT REPUBLIC IN ECONOMIC TERMS.
- O NONETHELESS, SHOULD OPEN DOOR TO INCREASED U.S. PRIVATE SECTOR INVOLVEMENT IN SOVIET ECONOMY, SINCE:
 - -- IT RAISES PROSPECTS FOR SOME FORM OF ECONOMIC STABILITY.
 -- IT SHOULD PERMIT THE INVOLVED REPUBLICS TO MOVE FORWARD ON SOME
 COORDINATED REFORM ELEMENTS (ESPECIALLY IN MOVING TOWARD CONVERTIBLE
 CURRENCY -- WHICH IS ESSENTIAL TO REALLY EXPANDED CONTACTS WITH U.S. AND
 REST OF THE WEST).
- O FOOD CRISIS/U.S. AID. WE SHOULD PROVIDE EMERGENCY FOOD AID. HEAD OF SOVIET TEAM TOLD ME THIS WEEK NEED IS FOR ADDITIONAL \$3.5 BILLION IN CREDITS (AS PART OF OVERALL \$11.0 BILLION PACKAGE).
 - -- WILL BE DISCUSSING WITH MADIGAN.
 -- WILL NEED SOME LEGISLATIVE ACTION -- NOT FOR RESOURCES, BUT TO DEAL WITH CREDIT-WORTHINESS ISSUE AND SOME TECHNICAL MATTERS.
- O OTHER AID: GO SLOW. CONCENTRATE ON ADVISORY ASSISTANCE, AIMED AT GETTING SOVIETS TO MOVE TOWARD FUNDAMENTAL FREE MARKET REFORM.

 -- NOTE MEETING WITH POPOV.
- O YOU MAY WANT TO MENTION PROPOSAL FOR "AMERICAN UNIVERSITY" -- IN EFFECT, A BUSINESS SCHOOL.

October 18, 1991

POSSIBLE ITEMS FOR INCLUSION IN SHORT TERM

EMERGENCY ECONOMIC GROWTH PACKAGE

- Premises: Stay within Budget Agreement.
 - Pump money into the economy as quickly as possible -- a short-term primer to long-term growth.
 - Proposal based on short-term stimulation of growth. Provide stimulus to both individuals and businesses.
 - ♦ Limit duration of program to period of slow/low economic growth.
 - ♦ The cost of the program should be no bigger than necessary.

Possible Items Targeted to Individuals

- Dole/Domenici Unemployment Benefit Extension; deficit 1. neutral with debt collection and auction of electromagnetic spectrum.
- 2. President's full capital gains proposal.
- Penalty free, IRA withdrawal for hardship if principal 3. wage earner unemployed and for first time home buyers.
- 4. Increase Earned Income Tax Credit.
- Target a one year rate cut for low and middle income 5. individuals and families.

Possible Items Targeted to Business

- Incremental Targeted (to small and medium size firms) Investment Tax Credit only provided if company increases investment in equipment over prior taxable year.
- 2. Prime Retirement Accounts (as proposed by Packwood and Gramm)
- 3. Paperwork reduction for small business.
 - uniform capitalization -- standard capitalization rates for small businesses.
 - estimated taxes -- use of prior year's tax liability to determine safe harbor estimated taxes, for corporations other than "large corporations."
 - payroll deposits -- allow small business payroll deposits on the last business day of the month.

ECONOMIC STIMULUS

MEET THE PRESS OCTOBER 20, 1991

- THE FIRST AND VERY IMPORTANT POINT THAT I'D LIKE TO MAKE IS THAT WHATEVER WE DO, WE MUST STAY WITHIN THE BUDGET AGREEMENT.
- I SUGGEST THAT WE FOCUS ON A PACKAGE THAT PROVIDES A STIMULUS -- SOMETHING THAT IMMEDIATELY PUTS MONEY IN CONSUMERS HANDS -- BOTH INDIVIDUALS AND BUSINESSES.
- WE MUST CONSIDER A REALISTIC, SHORT-TERM TARGETED PACKAGE THAT DEALS WITH THE CURRENT EBB IN OUR ECONOMY. THIS DOESN'T MEAN THAT WE CALL UP EVERYONE'S WISH LIST.
- A WISH LIST LEADS TO TOO MANY POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES --WE'LL GET OURSELVES INTO GAMES -- "OUR DREAM PACKAGE IS BETTER THAN THEIRS."
- GIVEN THE EVENTS OF LAST WEEK -- THE STRUGGLES OF THE CLARENCE THOMAS NOMINATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT -- AMERICANS ARE TIRED OF RHETORIC. THEY WANT AND THEY NEED ACTION, NO MORE PLAYING GAMES.
- BUT WE DON'T NEED A MAJOR RECESSION PACKAGE OR MAJOR TAX CHANGES.
- WE NEED A PACKAGE THAT PRODS OUR ECONOMY, A PACKAGE DIRECTED AT GROWTH -- NOTHING THAT WOULD MAKE THE SITUATION WORSE, RATHER, A SHOT IN THE ARM THAT PUTS MONEY IN THE HANDS OF BUSINESSES AND LOW AND MIDDLE CLASS TAXPAYERS -- THEY ARE THE ONES WHO NEED THE "OOMPH" -- AND THEY ARE THE ONES THAT WILL MAKE THIS ECONOMY TURN AROUND.
- FOR INDIVIDUALS, IT MAY BE THAT THE PACKAGE INCLUDES CAPITAL GAINS BUT IT WILL ALSO INCLUDE MEASURES WHICH MEET THE SO CALL "FAIRNESS TEST."
- FOR BUSINESSES, SMALL AND MEDIUM SIZE FIRMS ARE CRYING FOR RELIEF -- PERHAPS A TARGETED INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT.

CIVIL RIGHTS

THE PRESIDENT'S BILL

- O ON THE ISSUE OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT, PRESIDENT BUSH IS WAY AHEAD OF THE GAME. THE PRESIDENT'S BILL IS THE ONLY PENDING CIVIL RIGHTS BILL THAT ESTABLISHES A MONETARY REMEDY SPECIFICALLY FOR SEXUAL HARASSMENT -- UP TO \$150,000.
- O THE PRESIDENT'S BILL IS THE <u>ONLY</u> BILL THAT DEFINES SEXUAL HARASSMENT. CURRENTLY, SEXUAL HARASSMENT IS DEFINED BY EEOC REGULATION. IF EVER WE NEEDED A <u>CLEAR-CUT</u> DEFINITION OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT, IT'S NOW.
- O THE PRESIDENT'S BILL EXTENDS THE STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS FOR CLAIMS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT AGAINST THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT -- FROM 30 DAYS TO 90 DAYS.
- O THE PRESIDENT'S BILL OVERTURNS 4 OF THE SO-CALLED "REACTIONARY" CIVIL RIGHTS DECISIONS ISSUED BY THE SUPREME COURT IN 1989.
- O THE PRESIDENT'S BILL OVERTURNS THE <u>WARDS COVE</u> DECISION BY <u>SHIFTING THE BURDEN OF PROOF TO THE EMPLOYER</u> IN DISPARATE IMPACT CASES.
- O THE PRESIDENT'S BILL CODIFIES THE SUPREME COURT'S GRIGGS
 DECISION BY ADOPTING -- WORD-FOR-WORD -- THE GRIGGS DEFINITION
 OF "BUSINESS NECESSITY." FOR TWO YEARS, THE CIVIL RIGHTS
 GROUPS HAVE BEEN SCREAMING "LET'S GO BACK TO GRIGGS!" WELL,
 THE PRESIDENT'S BILL DOES JUST THAT.
- O THE PRESIDENT'S BILL IS FAIR, RESPONSIBLE, COMPREHENSIVE. IT SHOULD BE PASSED.

HOPE FOR COMPROMISE

- O I AM STILL HOPEFUL FOR A COMPROMISE <u>BEFORE</u> THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL HITS THE FLOOR NEXT WEEK.
- O LAST FRIDAY, PRESIDENT BUSH INVITED SENATORS DANFORTH, SPECTER, AND MYSELF TO THE OVAL OFFICE. THE PRESIDENT REMAINS AS COMMITTED AS EVER TO WORKING-OUT A COMPROMISE AND GETTING THIS DIVISIVE ISSUE BEHIND US FOR GOOD. AS FAR AS I'M CONCERNED, THERE IS LIGHT AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL.
- O THERE ARE NUMBER OF IMPORTANT ISSUES STILL SEPARATING SENATOR DANFORTH AND THE ADMINISTRATION -- THE DEFINITION OF THE TERM "BUSINESS NECESSITY" AND JURY TRIALS IN INTENTIONAL DISCRIMINATION CASES ARE THE TWO BIGGEST OPEN ISSUES.
- O ON THE JURY TRIAL ISSUE, MY MAIN CONCERN IS TRANSFORMING TITLE VII INTO A NATIONAL TORT LAW. FOR 27 YEARS, TITLE VII HAS WORKED EXTRAORDINARILY WELL WITHOUT JURY TRIALS AND WITHOUT

COMPENSATORY AND PUNITIVE DAMAGES. JURY TRIALS WILL PROMOTE LITIGATION, NOT CONCILIATION, AND WILL BE A BOONDOGGLE FOR LAWYERS.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

- O EARLIER THIS YEAR, I INTRODUCED A BILL -- THE WOMEN'S EQUAL OPPORTUNITY ACT -- THAT CREATED A MONETARY REMEDY FOR SEXUAL HARASSMENT.
- O MY BILL WOULD ALSO ALLOW PERSONS CLAIMING SEXUAL HARASSMENT TO GO INTO COURT IMMEDIATELY AND GET A CEASE-AND-DESIST ORDER.
- O IN ADDITION, MY BILL WOULD REQUIRE THE EEOC TO ESTABLISH A TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR SMALL BUSINESSES ON THE LAW OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT. THIS WOULD DECREASE LITIGATION AND EDUCATE BUSINESSES ABOUT THE "DO'S AND DONT'S" OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT.
- O NEXT WEEK, I INTEND TO INCLUDE THESE PROVISIONS IN A COMPREHENSIVE ANTI-SEXUAL HARASSMENT AMENDMENT TO THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS GENERALLY

- O WE HAVE TO PUT ALL THESE CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS IN PERSPECTIVE.
 DESPITE ALL THE RHETORIC, THEY WILL MEAN MORE TO THE
 AMERICAN TRIAL LAWYERS ASSOCIATION THAN TO THOSE IN BLACK
 AMERICA WHO MUST FACE THE BITTER REALITIES OF UNEMPLOYMENT,
 CRIME, INADEQUATE HOUSING, AND THE LACK OF EDUCATIONAL
 OPPORTUNITIES.
- O THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS WILL NOT CREATE A SINGLE JOB.
- O THEY WILL NOT PUT A SINGLE CRIMINAL BEHIND BARS.
- O THEY WILL NOT CREATE A SINGLE UNIT OF AFFORDABLE HOUSING.
- O THEY WILL NOT GIVE A SINGLE KID A QUALITY EDUCATION, OR BUILD A SINGLE QUALITY SCHOOL.
- O CONGRESS SHOULD SPEND MORE TIME FOCUSSING ON CREATING JOBS, IMPROVING OUR SCHOOLS, AND FIGHTING CRIME THAN HAGGLING OVER ABSTRACT LEGALISMS -- LIKE BURDEN OF PROOF, DISPARATE IMPACT, BUSINESS NECESSITY. MOST OF US IN CONGRESS DON'T UNDERSTAND THESE CONCEPTS, AND FRANKLY, MOST AMERICANS DON'T CARE ABOUT THEM EITHER.

REPUBLICAN ANTI-SEXUAL HARASSMENT AMENDMENT

This amendment could be offered as a substitute for Section 5 of the Danforth bill. Section 5 covers damages in cases of intentional discrimination, including sexual harassment.

- 1. Equitable Monetary Award. Adopt the \$50,000/\$100,000/\$300,000 damages scheme outlined in Section 5 of the Danforth bill. Recharacterize the damages as an equitable monetary award; require a judge to determine the amount of the award, after a jury determines liability.
- 2. Enhanced Award for Sexual Harassment. Increase the awards from \$50,000/\$100,000/\$300,000 to \$100,000/\$200,000/\$300,000 for sexual harassment claims only.
- 3. Statutory Definition of Sexual Harassment. Create a statutory definition of sexual harassment. (See Section 103 of S. 472, the Women's Equal Opportunity Act.) The term "harassment on the basis of sex" is now defined solely by EEOC regulation.
- 4. Expedited Injunctive Relief. Allow a person claiming sexual harassment to seek temporary or preliminary injunctive relief, without regard to any period of time following the filing of the charge and without obtaining a right-to-sue letter from the EEOC. (See Section 103 of S. 472, the Women's Equal Opportunity Act.)
- 5. Technical Assistance for Small Business. Require the EEOC to establish a technical assistance program for small businesses on the law of sexual harassment. (See Section 104 of the Women's Equal Opportunity Act.)
- 6. Extension of Statute of Limitations. Extend the statute of limitations for sexual harassment claims against the federal government from 30 days to 90 days (See Section 10 of S. 611, the Civil Rights Act of 1991).

61 AP 10-18-91 16:15 EDT 91 Lines. Copyright 1991. All rights reserved. AM-KS--Dole-Civil Rights, Bjt,0750<

Dole Says Civil Rights Debate Aggravated by Thomas Fight By BARRY MASSEY=

Associated Press Writer=

WASHINGTON (AP) The fight over Clarence Thomas' Supreme Court nomination has aggravated partisan differences in the Senate over civil rights legislation, Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole said Friday.

"It's going to be a little tense around here on civil rights,"

Dole, R-Kan., predicted.

'There are a lot of people feeling that we shouldn't even be taking this up. I've had one senator say we ought to put this off until 1992 and let everything cool off.'

The Senate is to begin debate next week on the civil rights legislation, which is designed to overturn several recent Supreme Court decisions that made it more difficult to win discrimination

lawsuits against employers.

Sen. John Danforth, R-Mo., who was Thomas' chief supporter in the Senate, is advocating a compromise bill with Democrats in an effort to win passage with a veto-proof two-thirds majority, or 67 votes. So far, the administration and Dole oppose Danforth's proposal.

Unless the legislation is changed, Dole said, the Danforth

measure lacks enough votes to override a veto.

Moderate Republicans continued to try to reach an agreement with the administration on the civil rights issue, but without a consensus on the legislation ``you're going to have a pretty bitter debate,'' Dole said.

Republicans still are upset with the opposition against Thomas from some Democrats and interest groups, Dole said. He specifically mentioned People for the American Way and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, which also are proponents of the civil rights

legislation.

"I think it's fair to say that a lot of our Republicans, in fact the great majority of our Republicans, feel it's kind of strange now to jump in bed with all of these people out here trying to bludgeon Clarence Thomas ... plus a lot of senators who were really trying to defeat Thomas but suddenly want to start playing their game on civil rights," Dole said.

He and other lawmakers have said the Thomas nomination focused more public and congressional attention on the issue of sexual harassment in the workplace. But Dole said the greater attention on the issue hasn't changed any votes in the Senate on the civil

rights bill.

Nevertheless, Dole said he might propose an amendment to the civil rights legislation dealing with the issue of sexual harassment. Dole and other GOP lawmakers introduced women's rights legislation earlier this year that expanded penalties for on-the-job sexual harassment.

On other topics, Dole said:

The Senate will confirm by a `comfortable margin' the nomination of Roberts Gates to become CIA director. Gates is a native of Wichita. The Senate should vote in about 10 days, Dole said. The Senate Intelligence Committee voted 11-4 to endorse Gates' nomination.

He still hasn't staked out a position on legislation to establish a tallgrass prairie preserve in the Flint Hills of Kansas. The House passed a bill this week for the government to buy the 11,000-acre Z-Bar Ranch in Chase County and make it part of the national park system. A Kansas City bank owns the ranch.

"The Z-Bar thing, if we can work out something, it will go through here like a dose of salts," Dole said. "If not, it's not

going anywhere."

Dole said he was waiting for the National Park Service to suggest to his office some possible alternatives to establishing a

prairie national monument.

He doubted the Bush administration would agree to provide \$3.5 billion in food aid to the Soviet Union as some Soviet and republic officials have suggested. It remains uncertain how much or what kind of aid the Bush administration will offer to the Soviets to help them through the winter.

Dole indicated the administration probably would find \$3.5 billion too large because the United States has extended \$2.5 billion in agricultural export credits for the Soviets since late

last year.

Dole and several other senators met this week with Soviet trade officials, who outlined the country's food needs, including soybean meal and wheat. Dole met Friday with the mayor of Moscow, Gavriil Popov, who stressed a need for technical assistance and U.S. business investment.

He has been meeting with administration officials, including White House budget director Richard Darman, to try to develop an economic growth package.

Among the proposals under discussion are reductions in the capital gains tax, credits for first-time home buyers and possible

income tax cuts for middle and low-income families.

"We don't have a plan yet but we're looking at plans," Dole said. "Democrats are looking at plans. I think President Bush needs to be out front, not reacting to some Democratic plan."

10/18/91

LACK OF HIGHWAY BILL

Information was accumulated by the American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials.

In the "very near term" (within first month) 22,000 highway construction jobs will be lost in 10 states due to lack of a Highway Bill being enacted (Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oregon, Tennessee, Virginia, and Wisconsin).

Ten additional states can only last for up to two months (complete list attached).

In addition to laid off highway construction workers, the ripple effect will claim a total of 87,000 jobs nationwide. These jobs are primarily in the service, manufacturing, and transportation industries.

The economic output lost for the 22,000 and 87,400 jobs is \$1.3 billion and \$5.9 billion respectively.

The House is tentatively scheduled to consider the Bill next week, but a contentious Conference is expected to follow.



Part I - Unobligated Balance Position

Question 4 - For how many months into FY 1992 could your member department function at a reasonable level of activity under the Federal-aid highway program on your October 1, 1991 unobligated balances?

State	No. of Months	Comments
Alabama	. 0	
Alaska	4	Assumes that unobligated apportionments could be used with no limitations imposed on first quarter obligations.
Arizona	7	However, we will be out of funding in a number of categories. In many instances the work could not progress due to funding shortfalls.
Arkansas	0	
California		Without any federal funding California would be restricted to Interstate, Interstate Transfer, Combined Road Plan and Sec. 149 (87 Act).
Colorado	3	
Connecticut	0	Connecticut cannot function at a reasonable level of activity under a federal-aid program based on unobligated balances as of October 1, 1991. The Department's FFY 1992 program is predicated upon completing the Interstate system, upgrading the existing Interstate system; extensive bridge rehabilitation, major improvements on the primary system and advancement of the Eastern Connecticut Trade-In Program. The unobligated balances for Interstate, Interstate 4R and primary funds are almost zero and, therefore, the State's program could not proceed. The bridge and trade-in program levels are insufficient to advance the State's proposed program.
Delaware	2-3	
Dist. of Col.	1-2	Without affecting the 1992 construction season.
Florida	0	Florida has essentially zeroed out five apportionment fund sources (Appr. Codes 010, 044, 114, 117 & 118). These five funds make up 78 percent of the state's total apportionment. Not having any apportionment in these fund categories would cause potential severe disruptions to Department's five year construction plan.
Georgia	3	If \$91,065,268 prefinanced projects converted.

Hawaii	6	Because of a one-time transfer of State airport funds into the State highway fund, for use on highways within 10 miles of an airport, the Highways Division can function at a reasonable normal level of activity for about six months. This does not include the severe impact on the Interstate completion schedule.
Idaho	3	
Illinois	2	The prospects for Illinois under this scenario are extremely bleak. Immeasurably harm would be done to this year's road program. In particular, it could have a calamitous effect on the rehabilitation on the Kennedy Expressway (I-90/94), of four major Interstate arteries leading into Chicago. This project (\$450 over three years) is wholly reliant upon discretionary funding. Under these circumstances, this essential project could be delayed a full year. In addition, the State's road program could operate at only a marginal level of activity, utilizing funding from the various other categories for approximately two months.
Indiana	2	
Iowa	2	With no funding for Interstate 4R and primary projects, lowa will have a logjam of projects which will either be let in one or two large lettings or projects delayed until too late in the spring. Either will cost the state more in bid awards or an entire construction season may be lost including the related construction employment.
Kansas	6	Estimate is based on a comparison of unobligated total balance to the total programmed for federal-aid in FFY 1992. Kansas DOT would be unable to fund any IR projects (plan to obligate \$64 million) and would be \$21 million short in BR project funding ability. Any change in IR or BR funding from past FFY's would result in a drastic problem in Kansas DOT's program production schedule.
Kentucky	2	While lower system and bridge activity could progress reasonable well for several months, the acute shortage of primary and Interstate 4R funds would drastically curtail our ability to address higher system needs.
Louisiana	12	Program amount would be essentially the same as for 1991.
Maine	1 1/2	Bridge project lettings would stop by mid-October with barely 25 percent of our first quarter bridge goals reached. Highway project lettings will cease before Thanksgiving.
Maryland	1 1/2	After this period projects ready to be advertised would be delayed.

Massachusetts		Time period would vary depending on the unobligated balances. Primary, secondary and some urban system funding would cease almost immediately other categories might possibly continue for six months.
Michigan	3	The lack of Interstate construction, Interstate 4R, and primary funds would affect our program, as we cannot let any projects utilizing those funds. Most of the activity would be at the local level because of the available funds.
Minnesota	3	The existing federal-aid categories and procedures don't match scheduled work. Conversion of advance construction would significantly reduce outstanding apportionments.
Mississippi	6	We have an ongoing program using state funds.
Missouri	1	This is for state jobs only. Off-system bridge and FAU projects (controlled by counties and cities) could continue for approximately six months.
Montana	6	Interstate 4R, secondary, safety program (HES, RRP), HPR-PL carry us for full FY. Urban carry us to about 1992. Primary, bridge, RRS shut down completely.
Nebraska	0	Nebraska's Interstate and primary system obligations would cease until additional apportionments are made available in those categories.
Nevada	3	If the Reauthorization Act is not enacted before our bond conversions in March of 1992, it would create major problems with our State funded program.
New Hampshire	8	Probably spasmodically for eight months. Some planned projects (Interstate and 4R) affected immediately with no new apportionments.
New Jersey	6	This would mean that no engineering or ROW new authorizations would take place, and approximately \$25 million in Interstate 4R construction would be deferred (2 projects).
New Mexico	3	
New York	3	After three months, only a limited number of essential projects within the few federal-aid categories that have remaining balances could be advanced.
North Carolina	4	Assumes using minimum allocation funds as a substitute.

North Dakota	0	We have plans ready to go to obligate on October 1, 1991 all the balances of FY 91 federal funds for Interstate, primary, secondary and urban systems. In addition, we have plans ready to obligate on October 1, 1991 \$12.8 million in FY 1992 funds in these categories.
Ohio	2	Ohio will have no IR, BR or non-attributable M funds going into FY 1992. Projects in these categories can be funded with MA funds for about two months. Some BR projects can also be funded with F and RS, but our F funds will run out in about February.
Oklahoma	8	We will probably maintain our normal letting schedule until the federal funds are depleted.
Oregon	0	Many projects we plan to fund with federal-aid beginning October 1 are in fund categories that have zero balances.
Pennsylvania	3	We could function but not normally as there is an insufficient balance in a number of funding categories which will prevent us from beginning some of our annually scheduled programs.
South Carolina		South Carolina has scheduled some major IR improvements which cannot be funded because of lack of available apportionment. This will be an immediate need.
South Dakota	5	Assuming total flexibility to transfer apportionment to primary, HES and bridge, we would have the \$21.1/2 balance authorized by December 31, 1991 which will fund the January and February lettings.
Tennessee	0	Major federal-aid primary and Interstate 4R projects plus several off- system bridge projects scheduled for fall and winter lettings will have to be deferred. Also, new engineering and right-of-way starts scheduled after October 1 will be delayed.
Texas	2	A reasonable level of activity could possibly be sustained in November and December if our request for a transfer of Interstate apportionment to primary apportionment is approved.
Utah	3	Need immediate apportionment in HPR, primary, bridge peplacement and secondary. Could function for three months with Interstate funds.
Vermont	12	While we could function at a reasonable level as far as design, right-of-way and construction activities are concerned, we would have no federal planning funds for Agency activities as of October 1, 1991. Also our off-system bridge funding would be all obligated in a couple of months.

Virginia	0	\$89 million Interstate and Interstate 4R needed in October almost none would be available. If categorical balances could be transferred, the program commitments could be met for two months (program commitments include conversion of \$64 million in advance construction).
Washington	3-6	We would need authority to transfer unobligated apportionment balances between programs as needed to accomplish this level and duration of activity.
West Virginia	3	Even this would require some schedule adjustments.
Wisconsin	0	Assume that unobligated balances can be used only in the apportionment categories shown. This means that \$41.6 million of obligations can be used in the November through January 1992 timeframe based proposed contract lettings.
Wyoming	2-3	

THOMASOCOROGISSOM the collections at the Dole Archives, University of Kansas http://dolearchives.ku.edu

MEMORANDUM

TO: SENATOR DOLE

FROM: Bob Dove

RE: Roll Call and the Confirmation Process

DATE: October 18, 1991

Three separate proposals have emerged for an investigation into the leak of allegations of sexual harassment against confirmed Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas.

Six GOP members of the Judiciary Committee, including ranking Republican Strom Thurmond (R-SC), sent a letter to Acting Attorney General William Barr seeking an FBI investigation of what they called "this inexcusable leak, " saying there was "reason to believe" the Privacy Act of 1974 has been violated Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-Maine) gave credence to the drive when he vowed on the floor to conduct a leak investigation. "I don't know what happened, but I'm going to try to find out."

Mitchell added that he would also "try to find out how leaks occurred in other cases where other people were damaged," such as leaks from the Senate Ethics Committee surrounding the Keating Five investigation.

Senator Hank Brown put in the record a resolution calling on Senate leaders to name an outside special counsel to conduct the leak investigation.

In a letter to William P. Barr, six GOP Judiciary members said a special counsel investigation was not enough, and that it would be appropriate for the Justice Department to initiate a separate investigation as soon as possible to determine whether federal laws were violated, in particular the Privacy Act of 1974, which prohibits obtaining confidential material under false pretenses. (5 USC 552a)

Inquiries with the Justice Department about whether federal law prohibits disclosing material in FBI background reports were a violation of law were stated to be in a " kind of a gray area," by FBI spokesman Steve Markardt.

The following are excerpts from the editorial in Roll Call, October 17, 1991:

In giving her sworn statement to the FBI, Prof. Anita Hill wanted to keep her tale of alleged sexual harassment confidential; in giving his sworn statement to the FBI, Judge Clarence Thomas wanted to keep his denial of those charges confidential; so did the other interviewees (there was at least one). These were eminently reasonable requests and they were acceded to; a solemn promise of secrecy was made. The committee reviewed the FBI report carefully, giving members a chance to comment, to judge for themselves, even to ask for further information. Chairman Joe Biden (D-Del) acted appropriately: He and his colleagues treated the charges seriously and quietly and formed ajudgment.

We believe strongly that the leaker should be brought to justice - for the crime he or she committed against the Senate, Judge Thomas, and Professor Hill.

We believe the use of lie detectors is an affront to civil liberties, period, in whatever cause. Lie detectors aren't necessary; depositions taken by the FBI of staffers, Members, and others under oath will do quite nicely.

This is not an Ethics Committee matter. After all, the leak might not have come from the Senate itself. It is a matter best left to an outside law enforcement agency, and we urge the Senate to pass a resolution authorizing an FBI probe.

This investigation should not set a precedent. While Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-Maine) equated the leak in the Thomas case to leaks that emanated from the Keating probe, they are quite different. Senators victimized by leaks are well equipped to take care of themselves. But the leak of FBI reports concerning private citizens who desired confidentiality and a respected US Appellate Court Judge up for confirmation is a different matter entirely. It is a vicious crime, and the miscreant should be found and punished.

41004

This document is from the collections at the Dole Archives, University of Kansas STROM THURMOND, SOUTH CARROLL WITH http://dolearchives.ku.edu TOWARD M. KENNEDY, MASSACHUSETTS DENNIS DECONCINI, ARIZONA PATRICK J. LEAHY, VERMONT KOWELL HEFLIN, ALABAMA PAUL SIMON, ILUNDIS HERBERT KOHL WISCONSIN

CHARLES & GRASSLEY, IOWA ARLEN SPECTER, PENNSYLVANIA HANK BROWN, COLORADO

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6275

RONALD A. KLAIN, CHIEF COUNSEL AFFARY L. FECK, STAIP DIRECTOR TERRY L. WOOTEN, MINORITY CHIEF COUNSEL AND STAFF DIRECTOR

October 12, 1991

Honorable William P. Barr Acting Attorney General United States Department of Justice 10th and Constitution Avenues, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear General Barr:

On September 25, 1991, the Senate Judiciary Committee received a confidential report prepared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The report concerned the allegations by Professor Anita Hill against Supreme Court nominee Judge Clarence Thomas. Last weekend, all or a part of the contents of this report were apparently leaked either by a member of the Committee or a member of the Senate staff. We are deeply troubled, indeed we are outraged, that the integrity of Judge Thomas has been impugned as a result of this inexcusable leak.

As you know, legislation will be introduced shortly calling for the appointment of a special counsel to the Senate to investigate whether Senate rules prohibiting the unauthorized disclosure of Senate committee reports may have been violated. We understand that the Majority Leader has given his assurance that this legislation will be brought to the Senate floor soon efter the Senate votes on Judge Thomas' confirmation next Tuesday.

Unfortunately, that Senate investigation may be limited to violations of its own rules and may be too late to save the reputations of Judge Thomas and Professor Hill.

Therefore, we believe it would be appropriate for the Department to initiate a separate investigation as soon as possible to determine who is responsible for these leaks and how they occurred. In particular, there is reason to believe that these leaks were unlawful under several sections of the Privacy Act of 1974 (5 USC Sec. 552a), including Section 552a(i)(3)(obtaining confidential material under false pretenses).

Honorable William P. Berr October 12, 1991 Page two

In light of the foregoing, we request an expeditious investigation by the FBI to be completed as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Orrin G. Fatch

Charles E Connelle

El l. Homeral

Hank Brown

Strom Thurmond

lan A. Simpson

Arlan Spectar

JSB/gsr

RULE 26

COMMITTEE PROCEDURE

Paragraph 5 (b) (excerpts)

Each meeting of a committee shall be open to the public, except that a meeting may be closed to the public on a motion made and seconded to go into closed session to discuss only whether the matters enumerated in clauses (1) through (6) would require the meeting to be closed, followed immediately by a record vote in open session by a majority of the members of the committee or subcommittee when it is determined that the matters to be discussed or the testimony to be taken at such meeting or meetings-

will tend to charge an individual with crime or misconduct, to disgrace or injure the professional standing of an individual, or otherwise to expose an individual to public contempt or obloquy or will represent a clearly unwarranted invasion of the privacy of an individual. 5 USCS @ 552a (1991) United States Code Service

(i) (3) Any person who knowingly and willfully requests or obtains any record concerning an individual from an agency under false pretenses shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and fined not more than \$ 5,000.

CONGRESSIONAL INCOMPETENCE: THE UNTOLD STORY OF THE THOMAS NOMINATION

NOW THAT THE FINAL CURTAIN HAS BEEN DRAWN ON THE CLARENCE THOMAS SPECTACLE, IT'S FAIR TO SAY THAT THE NOMINATIONS PROCESS WORKS ABOUT AS WELL AS A 20-YEAR OLD BATTERY.

THE CULPRIT HERE IS NOT CLARENCE THOMAS. IT'S NOT ANITA HILL. IT'S NOT EVEN THE PRESS.

THE CULPRIT IS THE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, WHICH MADE THE SOVIET COUP PLOTTERS LOOK COMPETENT BY ITS BUNGLING OF PROFESSOR HILL'S CLAIM OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT.

MISTAKE NUMBER ONE WAS THE COMMITTEE'S FAILURE TO EXERCISE COMMON SENSE AND FOLLOW-UP ON PROFESSOR HILL'S CONFIDENTIAL FBI REPORT ALLEGING HARASSMENT. THE FBI REPORT WAS RECEIVED BY THE COMMITTEE ON SEPTEMBER 26 -- MORE THAN A WEEK BEFORE THE SCHEDULED CONFIRMATION VOTE -- SHOWN TO COMMITTEE STAFF, AND THEN APPARENTLY DROPPED.

MISTAKE NUMBER TWO WAS THE COMMITTEE'S FAILURE TO EXERCISE CONTROL OVER STAFF, WHO REPORTEDLY LEAKED PROFESSOR HILL'S AFFIDAVIT TO THE PRESS.

THE COMMITTEE'S THIRD MISTAKE WAS ITS FAILURE TO MUSTER THE POLITICAL COURAGE TO CONDUCT A CLOSED-DOOR HEARING INTO THE ALLEGATIONS ONCE PROFESSOR HILL'S AFFIDAVIT HAD BEEN LEAKED. THE SENATE RULES CLEARLY SANCTION PRIVATE, CONFIDENTIAL HEARINGS WHEN POTENTIALLY DEFAMATORY INFORMATION MAY BE DISCLOSED.

SENATE RULE 26.5(B) STATES THAT ALL COMMITTEE HEARINGS MUST BE OPEN TO THE PUBLIC. THE RULE, HOWEVER, PROVIDES THAT COMMITTEE HEARINGS MAY BE CLOSED TO THE PUBLIC WHEN ONE OF SIX SPECIFIC CIRCUMSTANCES EXIST.

CIRCUMSTANCES JUSTIFYING SECRECY ARE THE POTENTIAL DISCLOSURE OF NATIONAL SECURITY SECRETS (EXCEPTION ONE), INFORMATION RELATED TO COMMITTEE STAFF (EXCEPTION TWO), THE IDENTITY OF INFORMERS IN CRIMINAL PROSECUTIONS (EXCEPTION FOUR), TRADE SECRETS (EXCEPTION FIVE), AND MATTERS REQUIRED TO BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL BY FEDERAL LAW OR REGULATIONS (EXCEPTION SIX).

BUT THE EXCEPTION THAT THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE COULD -- AND SHOULD -- HAVE INVOKED TO JUSTIFY HOLDING THE HEARINGS IN A PRIVATE SETTING IS EXCEPTION THREE TO RULE 26.5(B), WHICH PERMITS A CLOSED SESSION "WHEN IT IS DETERMINED THAT THE MATTERS TO BE DISCUSSED OR THE TESTIMONY TO BE TAKEN...WILL TEND TO CHARGE AN INDIVIDUAL WITH CRIME OR MISCONDUCT, TO DISGRACE OR INJURE THE PROFESSIONAL STANDING OF AN INDIVIDUAL, OR OTHERWISE TO EXPOSE AN INDIVIDUAL TO PUBLIC CONTEMPT OR OBLOQUY OR WILL

REPRESENT A CLEARLY UNWARRANTED INVASION OF THE PRIVACY OF AN INDIVIDUAL."

YOU DON'T NEED A LAW DEGREE TO REALIZE THAT THIS EXCEPTION APPLIES FOUR-SQUARE TO PROFESSOR HILL'S TESTIMONY. THE TESTIMONY CHARGED JUDGE THOMAS WITH SERIOUS MISCONDUCT. JUDGE THOMAS' PROFESSIONAL STANDING WAS DISGRACED. HIS REPUTATION WAS EXPOSED TO PUBLIC CONTEMPT. AND THE HEARING WAS CLEARLY AN UNWARRANTED INVASION INTO THE PRIVACY OF PROFESSOR HILL HERSELF, WHO ALL ALONG INSISTED ON CONFIDENTIALITY.

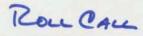
IN SHORT, THE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE BLEW IT BY FAILING TO INVOKE THIS EXCEPTION TO KEEP THE CAMERAS AND MIKES OUT OF THE HEARING ROOM. INSTEAD, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WERE TREATED TO WHAT THE COMMITTEE ITSELF SHOULD HAVE ANTICIPATED -- A FULL-FLEDGED MEDIA CIRCUS.

THERE ARE TWO REASONS TO EXPLAIN THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE'S DECISION TO IGNORE ITS OWN RULES AND TO CONDUCT A PUBLIC AIRING OF PROFESSOR HILL'S ALLEGATIONS.

FIRST, THE COMMITTEE AND ITS CHAIRMAN, SENATOR JOE BIDEN, WERE PROFOUNDLY EMBARRASSED BY THEIR OWN FAILURE TO INVESTIGATE ADEQUATELY THE SERIOUS CHARGES MADE IN PROFESSOR HILL'S AFFIDAVIT. ONCE THE CHARGES WENT PUBLIC, SOME SENATORS BELIEVED THAT THEY HAD "LOST FACE" WITH THE LEFT-WING SPECIAL-INTEREST GROUPS WHO VIEW THEMSELVES AS THE PROTECTORS OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN AMERICA -- THE NATIONAL ABORTION RIGHTS ACTION LEAGUE, THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S LAW CENTER, THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF WOMEN. THE COMMITTEE LIBERALS FELT THAT A PUBLIC HEARING WAS NECESSARY TO PLACATE THE ANGER OF THESE GROUPS AND GET BACK INTO THEIR GOOD GRACES.

SECOND, POLITICIANS CAN'T RESIST THE WARM GLOW OF THE TELEVISION CAMERA. ANITA HILL'S TESTIMONY WAS A GUARANTEED MEDIA BONANZA -- PLENTY OF FACE-TIME AND PLENTY OF NATIONALLY-TELEVISED SOUND-BITES. IT WAS IRRESISTIBLE.

SO, IN THE END, WE SAW CONGRESSIONAL NEGLIGENCE, CONGRESSIONAL FACE-SAVING, AND CONGRESSIONAL GRANDSTANDING -- ALL CONSPIRING TOGETHER, BEFORE A NATIONALLY TELEVISED AUDIENCE, TO SULLY THE GOOD REPUTATIONS OF A 43-YEAR OLD SUPREME COURT JUSTICE AND A 35-YEAR OLD LAW PROFESSOR FROM OKLAHOMA.



Editorial

The Leak

Being in the news business, we will admit to being somewhat ambivalent about leaks, but, clearly, there are benign leaks and evil leaks, and the leak to Nina Totenberg that evidently came from the Senate Judiciary Committee falls into the evil category. In giving her sworn statement to the FBI, Prof. Anita Hill wanted to keep her tale of alleged sexual harassment confidential; in giving his swom statement to the FBI, Judge Clarence Thomas wanted to keep his denial of those charges confidential; so did the other interviewees (there was at least one). These were eminently reasonable requests and they were acceded to; a solemn promise of secrecy was made. The committee reviewed the FBI report carefully, giving members a chance to comment, to judge for themselves, even to ask for further information. Chairman Joe Biden (D-Del) acted appropriately: He and his colleagues treated the charges seriously and quietly and formed a judgment. Thus, the 7-7 vote in committee, leading, one presumed, to action on the floor on Oct. 8. But the leak to Totenberg disrupted the process, inflamed passions, and led to the truly disgusting spectacle that unfolded last week in the Russell building. In the end, the hearings — which amounted to little more than Hill making her charges (enhanced from her original statement to the FBI with new and lurid detail) and Thomas defending himself against them - added nothing, other than to stain forever the Judge's reputation, to damage the Senate, and to provide gaudy entertainment for the masses. The vote Tuesday, Oct. 15, was pretty close to the vote that was expected Tuesday, Oct. 8.

We believe strongly that the leaker should be brought to justice — for the crime he or she committed against the Senate, Judge Thomas, and Professor Hill. Sens. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) and Paul Simon (D-III) have suddenly become enamored of lie-detector tests, and there would be a delightful irony if they, the other members of the committee, and their staffs could be forced to take such examinations. But it's an irony we'll resist; unlike many Hill supporters last week (including, sadly, Vermont Democratic Sen. Pat Leahy, who should know better), we believe the use of lie detectors is an affront to civil liberties, period, in whatever cause. Lie detectors aren't necessary; depositions taken by the FBI of staffers, Members, and others under oath will do quite nicely.

This is not an Ethics Committee matter. After all, the leak might not have come from the Senate itself. It is a matter best left to an outside law enforcement agency, and we urge the Senate to pass a resolution authorizing an FBI probe.

This investigation should not set a precedent. While Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-Maine) equated the leak in the Thomas case to leaks that emanated from the Keating probe, they are quite different. Senators victimized by leaks are well equipped to take care of themselves. But the leak of FBI reports concerning private citizens who desired confidentiality and a respected US Appellate Court Judge up for confirmation is a different matter entirely. It is a vicious crime, and the miscreant should be found and punished.

TALKING POINTS EXTENDED BENEFITS OCTOBER 18, 1991

- SUSTAINING THE PRESIDENT'S VETO AND THE DEMOCRATS' OBJECTION TO CONSIDERING EITHER THE DOLE ET AL PROPOSAL OR THE DURENBERGER/BURNS ALTERNATIVE HAS THROWN THE BALL BACK IN THE DEMOCRATS' COURT.
- MY OFFICE HAS GOTTEN A LOT OF CALLS FROM UNEMPLOYED AMERICANS WHO ARE TIRED OF BEING THE PAWNS IN A POLITICAL GAME. TO DATE, IT LOOKS LIKE THE DEMOCRATS ARE MORE INTERESTED IN CONTRIVED SHOWDOWNS WITH THE PRESIDENT.
- IT LOOKS LIKE HOUSE DEMOCRATS ARE AT LEAST BEING MORE RESPONSIBLE AND MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.
- CHAIRMAN ROSTENKOWSKI INTRODUCED A BILL LAST THURSDAY WHICH PROVIDES A TWO-TIER SYSTEM OF BENEFITS -- 7 WEEKS FOR ALL STATES AND 10 WEEKS WHERE THE TUR IS 7% OR MORE. MOST IMPORTANTLY, IT TRIES TO PAY FOR ITSELF RATHER THAN RUNNING UP THE DEFICIT LIKE THE BILL PRESIDENT BUSH VETOED.
- ONE FINANCING PROVISION IS TAKEN FROM THE DOLE ET AL BILL BY EXTENDING A CURRENT PROVISION OF LAW ALLOWING THE IRS TO OFFSET REFUND CHECKS BY DEBTS OWED TO FEDERAL AGENCIES. IT ALSO RAISES REVENUE BY INCREASING THE FUTA WAGE BASE RATE SUBJECT TO TAXATION -- SOMETHING THAT IS A BAD IDEA GIVEN THAT WE ARE TRYING TO GET ON THE ROAD TO ECONOMIC RECOVERY BUT AT LEAST IT'S AN ATTEMPT TO BE FISCALLY RESPONSIBLE.
- AS YOU KNOW, THE DOLE ET AL PROPOSAL IS FINANCED IN PART BY A SPECTRUM <u>AUCTION</u>. AUCTIONING THESE FREQUENCIES CAPTURES FOR THE PUBLIC TREASURY MONEY THAT HAS HISTORICALLY BEEN A <u>WINDFALL</u> TO THOSE WHO GET THE FREQUENCIES THROUGH THE LUCK OF A LOTTERY OR COMPETITIVE HEARING. WE HAVE INCLUDED EXEMPTIONS FOR A NUMBER OF GROUPS LIKE BROADCASTERS, PUBLIC SERVICE INTERESTS, AND SMALL BUSINESSES.

MEMORANDUM

October 18, 1991

TO: SENATOR DOLE FROM: JIM MCMILLAN

RE: UPDATE ON EXTENDED BENEFITS

Sustaining the President's veto and the democrats' objection to considering the Dole proposal and the Durenberger/Burns proposal have dumped the issue back into the democrats' court.

On October 17, Rostenkowski introduced a new extended benefits bill (it is a more modest version of prior proposals and contrary to Foley's wishes, it is financed) -- H.R. 3575 -- which is basically the same as the conference report except for the following significant changes:

BENEFITS:

- -- two-tier program with all states getting 7 weeks and states with TUR of 7% or more getting 13 weeks;
- -- program in effect from Nov. 3 to July 4 (now an 8 month instead of a 9 month program); and
- -- costs roughly \$5 billion over 4 years and would appear not to pay for itself entirely.

FINANCING:

- -- permanently extends the provisions relating to IRS collection of nontax debts owed to federal agencies (same as in the Dole et al proposal) [NOTE: Mitchell in criticizing the Dole bill -- has previously said that such a financing mechanism is a sham -- money that we would have anyway and a tax code provision that was bound to be extended];
- -- extends the FUTA surtax (.2% of FUTA wage base) by one year (to continue through calendar 1995);
- -- increases FUTA wage base from \$7,000 to \$7,700;
- -- drops emergency designation of conference report;
- -- specifies that any amount of new budget authority, outlays, or receipts resulting from bill shall not be considered for any BEA purpose; and
- -- exempts payments for supplemental unemployment compensation from sequestration.

As yet, no movement or developments on the Senate side.

SUMMARY OF S. 1791, THE DEFICIT-NEUTRAL UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION ACT OF 1991 (DOLE ET AL PROPOSAL)

COST

- OMB official scoring: costs \$2.6 billion in FY 1992, with all costs offset without the use of any emergency declarations, and deficit neutral over 5 years.
- CBO official scoring: costs \$2.3 billion in FY 1992, with all costs offset without the use of any emergency declarations, and deficit neutral over 5 years. [NOTE: CBO WOULD SCORE THE SPECTRUM AUCTION IN A RANGE BETWEEN \$1 AND \$2 BILLION -- TO BE DEFICIT NEUTRAL IN FY 1992, AT LEAST \$1.2 BILLION (OR BELOW THE MID-POINT OF THE RANGE GIVEN BY CBO) WOULD NEED TO BE RAISED IN THAT YEAR].

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

Extended Benefits.

- Provides a minimum of six weeks for states with adjusted IURs of less than 5% and an additional 4 weeks (for a total of 10 weeks) for states with adjusted IURs equal or greater than 5%.
- Provides a reachback to March, 1991.
- Temporary program in effect from October through June 1992.
- Provides that only <u>involuntarily</u> separated ex-servicemembers receive the full 26 weeks of regular benefits after waiting one week. Ensures parity of treatment between civilian and military personnel by eliminating benefits for those who <u>voluntarily</u> leave the service.

Dislocated Workers.

- Authorizes any receipts in excess of expenditures for extended benefits (under OMB, \$660 million and under CBO \$1.2 billion) to be appropriated for a program to target pockets of unemployment.
- Includes special considerations for discretionary allocations under JTPA Title III dislocated workers in Washington and Oregon.
- Requires the Department of Labor to report on the feasibility of changing the trigger for extending benefits.

FINANCING

Collections of Nontax Debts.

- Provides authority to the IRS to deduct from any tax refund the amount of delinquent debt owed to the Federal agency (most significant collections would be in student loans where defaults exceed \$3 billion).
- Proposes to extend current law.

Guaranteed Student Loans.

 Establishes enhanced collection and default management activities, such as credit checks on borrowers under age of 21.

Spectrum Auction.

- Requires that 50 megahertz be made available and auctioned before September 30, 1992. The 50 megahertz must be located below 3 gigahertz. Additional 150 megahertz would be auctioned off over next 15 years.
- Small businesses and broadcasters are exempt from the auction process, and power marketing administrations and the TVA are exempt from any allocation procedures.

DURENBERGER/BURNS BILL

• Identical to the Dole/Domenici/Roth/Seymour/Danforth/Bond et al proposal except that the Durenberger/Burns proposal provides for 8 and 15 weeks of extended benefits. In addition, while being deficit neutral over 5 years, it contains emergency declaration language because of concern that receipts in FY 1992 do not offset expenditures (and hence a possibility for a sequester).

THE WOMEN'S EQUAL OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1991

Introduced by Senators Dole, Simpson, Thurmond, Cochran, Kasten, Burns, D'Amato, Lugar, McCain, Murkowski, Roth, Seymour, Stevens, and Warner

Title I -- Federal Civil Rights

- a. Establishes a court-ordered remedy under Title VII for on-the-job sexual harassment -- up to \$100,000 for the first act of sexual harassment and up to \$150,000 for each subsequent act. Under current law, the only remedies that a victim of sexual harassment can obtain are back-pay and declaratory and injunctive relief.
- b. Allows persons alleging sexual harassment to seek temporary or preliminary injunctive relief, without regard to any period of time following the filing of a charge of unlawful discrimination and without obtaining a right-to-sue letter from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Directs the courts to expedite sexual harassment cases to the greatest extent practicable.
- c. Directs the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to establish technical assistance programs for small employers (employers with fewer than 50 employees) on the law of sexual harassment.
- d. Overturns the Supreme Court's decisions in <u>Patterson v.</u>
 <u>McLean Credit Union</u> and <u>Lorance v. AT&T Technologies,</u>
 <u>Inc.</u>
- e. Extends the protections of Title VII to all employees of Congress.

Title II -- Domestic and Street Violence Against Women

- a. Amends the Crime Awareness and Campus Security Act of 1990 to require colleges and universities to disclose sex crime statistics to 1) local and state police authorities, and 2) the parents or guardians of students.
- b. Authorizes capital punishment for murders committed in connection with sexual assaults and child molestations.
- c. Doubles the penalties for recidivist sex offenders.
- d. Doubles the penalties for distributing controlled substances to pregnant women.
 - e. Incorporates the Pornography Victims Compensation Act, which was originally introduced by Senator Mitch

McConnell in the 101st Congress. The Pornography Victims Compensation Act creates a federal cause of action for the victim of a sex crime against the producer and distributor of obscene material and child pornography, if the material was a proximate cause of the crime.

- f. Amends the federal restitution statute to allow victims of federal sex offenses to seek restitution for medical expenses related to sexually-transmitted diseases and for child care, transportation, and other costs to the victim from involvement in the investigation and prosecution of the crime.
- g. Amends the Federal Rules of Evidence to ensure that evidence about prior sexual offenses is admissible in court for any relevant purpose.
- h. Proposes new standards for professional conduct by lawyers to prohibit any trial tactic that has no substantial purpose other than to embarrass, harass, or humiliate a person alleging a sex offense. Requires lawyers to disclose client information if disclosure is necessary to prevent the commission of a crime of sexual assault or child molestation.
- Requires the States to give full faith and credit to valid protective orders.
- j. Requires HIV-testing of any person charged with a federal sex offense at the time of the pre-trial release determination and directs the United States Sentencing Commission to provide enhanced penalties for offenders who know, or who have reason to know, that they are HIVpositive.
- k. Amends the Victims' Rights and Restitution Act to require payment to the victim of up two HIV tests and one counselling session by a trained medical professional on the accuracy of the HIV test and on the risk of transmission of the HIV virus.
- 1. Establishes a 10-member "National Task Force on Violence against Women" appointed by the Attorney General.
- m. Authorizes \$25 million for rape prevention and education programs for each of fiscal years 1992, 1993, and 1994. These programs will be administered under the Victims of Crime Act of 1984.
- n. Authorizes \$60 million under the Family Violence Prevention and Services Act for each of fiscal years 1992, 1993, and 1994. The Family Violence Prevention and Services Act provides funding for private and state-

run shelters for victims of domestic violence.

Title III -- Employment Opportunities

- a. Establishes 17 member Glass Ceiling Commission (5 appointed by President, 3 jointly appointed by the Speaker of the House and the Majority Leader of the Senate, 1 appointment for each Leader, 2 Members of House and 2 Members of Senate appointed jointly by respective Leadership, and Secretary of Labor who is Chairperson of Commission).
- b. Directs the Glass Ceiling Commission to conduct a study due 15 months after enactment addressing why the glass ceiling exists and making recommendations with respect to policies for business which would promote opportunities for the advancement of women and minorities and lead to the removal of artificial barriers to such advancement.
- c. Establishes the "National Award for Diversity and Excellence in American Executive Management" to be made by the President annually to a business which has made substantial efforts to break down the glass ceiling.
- d. Directs the Secretary of Labor to establish an outreach and education program directed at getting women and minorities into registered apprenticeship programs and authorizes \$2 million for such program and the study referred to in (f) below.
- e. Authorizes \$8 million for grants to groups for outreach and education program and \$15 million for grants to registered apprenticeship programs for the preapprenticeship training of women and minorities; further provides that Secretary of Labor may set aside 5% of funding for discrimination and affirmative action enforcement purposes.
- f. Directs the Secretary of Labor to conduct a study relating to the participation of women and minorities in apprenticeship programs.
- g. Provides that it is the sense of the Congress that OPM has made commendable efforts to develop and expand alternative work schedule programs for federal agencies and their employees and that such efforts should be continued to assist workers in balancing their family and work responsibilities.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE FEBRUARY 21, 1991

CONTACT: WALT RIKER (202) 224-5358

MATERIAL ALLV. I become

WOMEN'S EQUAL OPPORTUNIT **ACT OF 1991**

MR. PRESIDENT, I JOIN TODAY WITH MY DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUES, SENATORS SIMPSON, THURMOND, COCHRAN, KASTEN, BURNS, D'AMATO, LUGAR, MCCAIN, MURKOWSKI, ROTH, SEYMOUR, STEVENS AND WARNER, IN INTRODUCING THE "WOMEN'S EQUAL OPPORTUNITY ACT OF

COMPREHENSIVE IN APPROACH, THIS BILL SEEKS TO REAFFIRM OUR NATION'S HISTORIC COMMITMENT TO AN IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE -- THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL AMERICANS.

MR. PRESIDENT, AS WE SEE AMERICAN WOMEN ON THE FRONT-LINES IN THE PERSIAN GULF, WE MUST ALSO OPEN OUR EYES TO THE BATTLES WOMEN MUST FIGHT TODAY HERE AT HOME.

IT'S JUST PLAIN COMMON SENSE THAT THE WOMEN OF AMERICA CANNOT SHARE FULLY IN THE PROMISE OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IF THEY ARE SEXUALLY HARASSED IN THE WORKPLACE.

THEY CANNOT HAVE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IF THEY ARE THE VICTIMS OF VIOLENT CRIME -- AT HOME AND ON THE STREETS.

AND THE WOMEN OF THIS COUNTRY CANNOT HAVE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IF THEY MUST STRUGGLE TO OVERCOME ARTIFICIAL -- AND SOMETIMES INSURMOUNTABLE -- BARRIERS TO JOB PLACEMENT, JOB PROMOTION, AND JOB ADVANCEMENT.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE WOMEN'S EQUAL OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1991 CONFRONTS THESE ISSUES HEAD-ON. IT EXPANDS FEDERAL CIVIL RIGHTS PROTECTIONS AGAINST SEXUAL HARASSMENT. IT ATTACKS DOMESTIC AND STREET CRIME VIOLENCE. AND IT TAKES A HARD AND CLOSE LOOK AT EXPANDING EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN -- NOT ONLY IN THE EXECUTIVE BOARD ROOM, BUT ALSO ON THE CONSTRUCTION SITE.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN THE WORKPLACE

AS SOMEONE WHO WAS SMACK IN THE MIDDLE OF LAST YEAR'S DEBATE ON THE SO-CALLED CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1990, I CAN ATTEST TO THE INTENSITY OF CONVICTION ON BOTH SIDES OF THE AISLE.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS DEBATE GOT HOT, AND AT TIMES, IT WAS ANYTHING BUT CIVIL.

BUT DESPITE ALL THE PARTISAN BICKERING AND ALL THE HEATED RHETORIC, I MUST ADMIT THAT I LEARNED A FEW THINGS LAST YEAR.
I LEARNED, FOR EXAMPLE, ABOUT THE MEANING OF "PARITY."

LEARNED THAT FEDERAL LAW TREATS VICTIMS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT DIFFERENTLY -- LESS FAVORABLY -- THAN THE VICTIMS OF RACIAL HARASSMENT.

AND I LEARNED THAT -- IN MANY CASES -- THE ONLY REMEDY THAT A VICTIM OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT CAN OBTAIN UNDER THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 IS DECLARATORY AND INJUNCTIVE RELIEF -- A REMEDY THAT IS HARDLY ADEQUATE, AND ONE THAT IS PARTICULARLY UNFAIR FOR THOSE VICTIMS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT WHO MAY SUFFER MEDICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL HARM.

TITLE I OF THE WOMEN'S EQUAL OPPORTUNITY MONETARY REMEDY. ACT ATTEMPTS TO CLOSE THIS GAP IN THE LAW BY PROVIDING -- FOR THE FIRST TIME IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY -- A COURT-ORDERED MONETARY REMEDY FOR INTENTIONAL SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN THE WORKPLACE -- UP TO \$100,000 FOR FIRST OFFENSES, AND UP TO \$150,000 FOR EACH SUBSEQUENT ACT OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT.

THESE ARE MAXIMUM PENALTIES -- PAYABLE TO THE AGGRIEVED PARTY -- THAT A COURT MAY ADJUST IN LIGHT OF THE EMPLOYER'S FINANCIAL CONDITION AND ITS HISTORY OF RESOLVING SEXUAL HARASSMENT COMPLAINTS THROUGH INTERNAL GRIEVANCE PROCEDURES.

FAST-TRACK RELIEF. TITLE I ALSO RECOGNIZES THAT PROLONGED EXPOSURE TO WORKPLACE SEXUAL HARASSMENT CAN HAVE LASTING DETRIMENTAL EFFECTS ON THE VICTIM. AS A RESULT, TITLE I DIRECTS THE COURTS TO GIVE EXPEDITED -- FAST-TRACK -- RELIEF TO THOSE PERSONS CLAIMING SEXUAL HARASSMENT ON-THE-JOB.

AND, FINALLY, TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR SMALL EMPLOYERS. TITLE I DIRECTS THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION TO ESTABLISH TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS TO EDUCATE OUR SMALL EMPLOYERS ON THE LAW OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT.

UNLIKE LARGE CORPORATIONS, MOST SMALL EMPLOYERS CANNOT AFFORD THE COST OF COMPLIANCE ADVICE FROM PRIVATE LAW FIRMS AND CONSULTANTS. AN EEOC TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM WILL HELP FILL THIS VOID AND WILL PRODUCE SOME VERY DESIRABLE RESULTS -- A REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT COMPLAINTS AND A REDUCTION IN THE QUANTITY OF LITIGATION FOR AN ALREADY OVER-BURDENED COURT SYSTEM.

MEMORANDUM OCTOBER 18, 1991

TO: SENATOR DOLE FROM: MIRA BARATTAWN

SUBJECT: DEVELOPMENTS IN YUGOSLAVIA / MEET T

Chusty when Plante Most.

SITUATION IN CROATIA:

The situation in Croatia is still very grim as the Yugoslav Army launched a massive offensive Thursday. These are the latest reports:

--Dubrovnik remains under blockade and is being heavily shelled. --EC observers were fired on by the Yugoslav Army outside of Dubrovnik.

--Civilian casualties are rapidly escalating in eastern Croatia, the site of the heaviest fighting. Interestingly, there are very few Serbs in this area, so the Army's claim of "protecting the Serbs" rings hollow here and the EC has said so.
--The relief convoy has not yet been allowed into Vukovar which

has been cut off for a month now, and the hospital there was bombed today.

-- Over 300 monuments have been damaged; over 120 churches destroyed.

--A ferry with hundreds of women and children refugees from Dubrovnik was seized by the Yugoslav Navy and taken to Montenegro.

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY/U.S. RESPONSE:

This week EC Chairman Van DeBroek threatened (once again) to recognize Slovenia and Croatia if the Yugoslav Army does not withdraw from Croatia in one month. At the Hague today, before the European Community convened the Peace Conference a statement was issued calling for an unconditional ceasefire. Attached is the State Department's statement on this matter.

A proposal was also put on the table by the EC today which calls for a loose association of sovereign republics (for everyone but Serbia and Montenegro this means an EC type cooperative association). All republics except Serbia agreed to the proposal as outlined. The most serious flaw in this proposal is that it does not address the problem of Kosova's status. It only calls for strong guarantees for minorities -- a strange definition for Albanians who make up the third largest ethnic group in Yugoslavia.

Aside from the issue of Kosova, I expect that the Bosnian declaration of sovereignty will further complicate matters. As you know, 32% of the population in Bosnia-Hercegovina is Serb (43% Muslim, 19% Croatian). The Serbs walked out of the Bosnian Parliament before the vote on independence, nevertheless there was a quorum, as I understand it.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Office of the Assistant Secretary/Spokesman

For Immediate Release

October 18, 1991

YUGOSLAVIA

IN CONNECTION WITH TODAY'S SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE ON YUGOSLAVIA IN THE HAGUE, THE FOLLOWING TRIPARTITE STATEMENT IS BEING RELEASED IN WASHINGTON, THE HAGUE, AND MOSCOW.

THE U.S., THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND ITS MEMBER STATES, AND THE USSR ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED BY THE CONTINUING VIOLENCE AND BLOODSHED IN YUGOSLAVIA.

NONE OF THE CEASE-FIRE ACCORDS AGREED OVER THE LAST THREE MONTHS APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN IMPLEMENTED IN FULL. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT CEASE-FIRE ACCORDS OFFER THE ONLY PATH AWAY FROM FURTHER WORSENING OF THIS CONFLICT AND TOWARD A PEACEFUL AND JUST RESOLUTION.

WE CALL UPON THE PRESIDENTS OF THE REPUBLICS, WHO WILL PARTICIPATE IN FRIDAY'S PLENARY MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE ON YUGOSLAVIA, TO REAFFIRM THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND TO ADHERE ABSOLUTELY TO THE COMMITMENTS THEY HAVE ALREADY MADE.

IN CALLING FOR AN END TO HOSTILITIES AND OBSERVANCE OF THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENTS, WE ARE MOTIVATED BY CONCERN FOR THE FATE OF ALL THE PEOPLES OF YUGOSLAVIA, FOR THE RIGHTS OF ALL ETHNIC MINORITIES, AND FOR THE FUTURE OF THE BALKAN REGION, AND OF EUROPE AS A WHOLE.

WE ARE DISTRESSED BY THE TERRIBLE VIOLENCE AND LOSS OF LIFE THAT HAS OCCURRED AND BY THE POSSIBILITY OF EVEN WORSE SUFFERING IF THE CONFLICT IS NOT RESOLVED. WE ARE PARTICULARLY DISTURBED BY REPORTS OF CONTINUED ATTACKS ON CIVILIAN TARGETS BY ELEMENTS OF THE FEDERAL ARMED FORCES AND BY BOTH SERBIAN AND CROATIAN IRREGULAR FORCES. THE CONTINUATION OF MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN CROATIA THREATENS TO EXTEND THE ARMED CONFRONTATION TO OTHER REGIONS OF YUGOSLAVIA.

OUR COMMON DESIRE IS TO PROMOTE A SPEEDY AND COMPLETE HALT TO ALL MILITARY ACTIVITIES AS AN ESSENTIAL PRECONDITION TO A SETTLEMENT. WE CONDEMN THE USE OF FORCE FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF POLITICAL DIFFERENCES. WE ALSO REJECT THE USE OF FORCE TO CHANGE ESTABLISHED BORDERS, WHETHER INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL. SUCH ACTIONS ARE TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE IN 1991 IN THE HEART OF

THE PRINCIPLES OF CSCE WITH REGARD TO BORDERS, MINORITY RIGHTS AND POLITICAL PLURALISM GUIDE OUR APPROACH TOWARD RESOLUTION OF THIS CONFLICT AND SHOULD BE RESPECTED AND ADHERED TO BY THE PARTIES IN YUGOSLAVIA THEMSELVES. WE WILL NOT ACCEPT ANY OUTCOME WHICH VIOLATES THOSE PRINCIPLES.

CROATIA AND THE JNA SHOULD MAKE A SERIOUS START WITH DISCUSSION ABOUT THE STATUS OF THE JNA IN THE INTERIM PERIOD. THE EC, THROUGH ITS MONITOR MISSION OR OTHERWISE, COULD FACILITATE THIS PROCESS.

THE U.S. AND THE USSR REITERATE THEIR FULL SUPPORT FOR THE EFFORTS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND ITS MEMBER STATES, UNDER MANDATE BY THE CSCE, TO MEDIATE A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION TO THE YUGOSLAV CRISIS, IN PARTICULAR THROUGH THE CONFERENCE ON YUGOSLAVIA AND THE ARBITRATION COMMISSION SET UP WITHIN ITS FRAMEWORK.

THE U.S. AND THE USSR EXPRESS THEIR READINESS TO SUPPORT RESTRICTIVE MEASURES APPLIED BY THE EC TO HELP ACHIEVE A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF THE CONFERENCE ON YUGOSLAVIA.

THE U.S., THE EC AND ITS MEMBER STATES, AND THE USSR ALSO ENDORSE THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL'S EFFORTS TO FURTHER THE PROSPECTS FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.