

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12 - 27 - 99

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 15, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BETH NOLAN *Beth Nolan*
BRUCE LINDSEY *BLL (BW)*
MEREDITH CABE *Meredith Cabe*

SUBJECT: Executive Clemency Applications

The attached memoranda submit information concerning petitions for executive clemency. The first submits information about Freddie Meeks, an African-American sailor convicted after the 1944 explosion at the U.S. Naval Magazine at Port Chicago, whose application we recommend you grant. The second submits 326 petitions for commutation of sentence, which we recommend you deny. In both cases, our office concurs with the recommendation of the Department of Justice.

We will be submitting additional clemency recommendations to you shortly.

copied
Nolan
Lindsey
Cabe
Podesta

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 15, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BETH NOLAN *Beth Nolan*
BRUCE LINDSEY *BL (bw)*
MEREDITH CABE *Meredith Cabe*

SUBJECT: Petition for Pardon for Freddie Meeks

We have received a memorandum from the Department of Justice recommending that you grant a pardon to Freddie Meeks. Mr. Meeks served in the U.S. Navy during World War II, and was one of the African-American sailors convicted of mutiny for refusing to continue loading ammunition under dangerous conditions following an explosion at Port Chicago in July 1944.

Because of his failing health and advanced age (79), Mr. Meeks requested, and was granted, expedited review of his petition. For the reasons outlined below, we concur in the Justice Department's recommendation that you grant clemency in this case.

I. Offense

In October 1944, following trial by general court-martial, Seaman 2d Class Freddie Meeks was found guilty of making a mutiny. He was originally sentenced to 15 years imprisonment, to be served at hard labor without pay; to a reduction to the lowest enlisted pay grade (E-1); and to be dishonorably discharged. After several reviews by the convening authority and by the Secretary of the Navy, petitioner's sentence was ultimately reduced to 17 months. Shortly before completion of his sentence, he was restored to duty, placed on 12 months probation, and his dishonorable discharge was remitted. He completed his term of service honorably, and received a discharge under honorable conditions in March 1946.

II. Background

A. Port Chicago Incident

The explosion at Port Chicago (near Concord, CA) was the largest stateside disaster of WWII. Two ships that were being loaded with ammunition were destroyed; the *E.A. Bryan* was literally blown to bits, and the *Quinault Victory* was lifted out of the water and broken into sections. Three hundred twenty persons were killed, 202 of whom were African-American – 15% of all African-Americans killed in WWII. Another 390 military and civilian personnel were injured,

including 233 black enlisted men. Only 51 bodies were ever identified. The blast damaged buildings 12 miles away, and was felt over 20 miles away in San Francisco.

Petitioner Meeks was among the sailors assigned to load ammunition at Port Chicago. At the time, the Navy was racially segregated, and at Port Chicago, only African-American sailors (supervised by white officers) were assigned to load ammunition aboard ships bound for the Pacific theater.¹ They were not trained to handle explosives. Reportedly, the officers would bet among themselves on whose men could load the fastest; units that performed well might be rewarded with leave, and those that caused their officers to lose bets were placed on restrictions or had privileges revoked. According to Mr. Meeks's petition, he was very anxious about the safety of the loading operation, and asked his commanding officer about the risk. His commanding officer responded that the bombs could not explode because they lacked detonators, fuses, or warheads. As the explosion illustrated, the African-American sailors indeed were required to load ammunition under extremely volatile and dangerous conditions.²

There are conflicting reports of what occurred immediately after the explosion. While many white officers were given 30-days survivors' leave to recuperate from the tragedy, many sailors, including petitioner, were assigned to pick up debris, including body parts. Just two weeks after the explosion, two divisions of African-American sailors were transferred to a barracks adjacent to a nearby ammunition depot, so they could return to work loading ammunition. They were not given leave to recover from the tragedy, and received no additional training. Despite the magnitude of the explosion and the number of dead and injured, they were told they were to resume loading ammunition under the exact same conditions under which the explosion occurred.³ Afraid to resume loading ammunition, 258 sailors refused, and were confined for two days while the Navy decided how to respond.

B. Court-Martial

Eventually, 208 of the men who initially refused to return to work did in fact resume loading ammunition.⁴ Fifty, including petitioner, maintained their refusal and were charged with mutiny. They were tried jointly by general court-martial. During the pre-trial investigation, petitioner made the following statement, which was read at trial: "I am willing to be governed by the laws of the Navy and do anything to help my country win this war. I will go to the front if necessary, but I am afraid to load ammunition." He requested a transfer of duty until he recovered from his "excitement," but was denied.

¹ African American sailors also had separate living quarters and restrooms, and ate separately, after the white sailors.

² The exact cause of the explosion was never determined. A Navy Court of Inquiry conducted a month-long investigation, and concluded only that the actual cause was one of a list of possible causes. The Army-Navy Explosives Safety Board recommended that the Navy strictly adhere to Coast Guard safety regulations for loading ammunition, which the Navy had theretofore rejected. The Navy Bureau of Ordnance advised that the loading practices that existed before the explosion be discontinued immediately.

³ According to the Department of Justice, the Secretary of the Navy felt the ammunition loaders should resume their duty quickly to keep them from developing "mental and emotional barriers" to the work.

⁴ These 208 men were charged with Refusing to Obey an Order, tried by summary court-martial and found guilty. They were sentenced to 90 days confinement at hard labor and fined according to their pay grade.

The court-martial panel, composed of six white officers, deliberated approximately 80 minutes and returned a guilty verdict for all 50 defendants.

The Office of the Judge Advocate General of the Navy ["OJAG"] reviewed the convictions in 1945. Thurgood Marshall advocated on behalf of petitioner and the other 49 convicted of mutiny. The court-martial panel reaffirmed the convictions. The Secretary of the Navy ordered two further reviews, by the Chief of Naval Personnel and by Captain Harold Stassen. The Chief of Naval Personnel recommended that the men's sentences be reduced by one year. Captain Stassen reported that, "the evidence is not particularly strong of a concerted move," but found the evidence nonetheless sufficient. He recommended that the convictions be upheld, but that the sentences be reduced from 15 years to 2 years imprisonment (3 years for sailors with prior records of misconduct). The Secretary of the Navy implemented those recommendations. Later, in 1946, the Secretary reduced their sentences further, restoring them to duty on 12 months probation.

C. Review by Secretaries of the Navy and of Defense

In 1991, Congress directed the Secretary of the Navy to initiate a thorough review of the convictions of all the African-American sailors court-martialed at Port Chicago "to determine the validity of the original findings and sentences and the extent, if any, to which racial prejudice or other improper factors now known may have tainted the original investigations and trials." The Secretary directed that the OJAG and the Board for Corrections of Naval Records ["BCNR"] review the proceedings and the convictions. While acknowledging that racial discrimination motivated the assignment of African-American seamen to load ammunition, the OJAG and BCNR concluded that the charges of mutiny, the proceedings, and the convictions were unaffected by racial prejudice. They further concluded that the convictions and sentences were appropriate punishment for the serious offense of refusing to obey a lawful order during wartime. The Secretary of the Navy approved the findings of both panels.⁵

III. Grounds for Clemency

In the 55 years since his conviction, petitioner Meeks has shown himself to be a law-abiding citizen and has continued to make a valuable contribution to society. During the remainder of his military service, after his release from confinement, petitioner served honorably. He returned to his home in Los Angeles after completing his service, and maintained steady employment through the years. He and his wife have resided in the same home since 1963, and have three adult children.

Petitioner has actively participated in charitable activities as a member of a local Masonic Lodge and as a Shriner, sometimes entertaining sick children as a clown. He has also raised funds for the United Negro College Fund, and remains very active in his church. Until recently, he hosted bible study groups at his home. Members of his community report that he is widely respected and well liked, and is a good neighbor who, if able, could be counted on to be helpful to someone in

⁵ Two of the original convictions were set aside. One conviction was invalidated for insufficient evidence, and the other because the defendant was judged not competent to stand trial.

need. His friends express great admiration for him, noting that he is forthright about his history and dedication to his country.

When interviewed in connection with his application for pardon, petitioner reiterates his strong belief that conviction for mutiny was inappropriate: "After being there and knowing what happened, you just didn't want to be there. . . . When you commit mutiny, you try to take over something; take charge. We didn't try to take charge of nothing. We were black. . . . They could have had a safer way to unload the ammunition . . . [a]nd it shouldn't have just been blacks."

Secretary of the Navy Richard Danzig reports that "the Department of the Navy poses no objection to favorable consideration of [petitioner's pardon] petition on the basis of good citizenship since his general court-martial conviction." He would oppose pardon if it were based on petitioner's innocence or on a finding that his conviction was based on racial discrimination.

Despite the Navy's conclusion, after reviews it conducted in the 1940s and in 1991-94, that the court-martial proceedings that produced the convictions were unaffected by racial bias, it is incontrovertible that the African-American sailors stationed at Port Chicago lived and served in an atmosphere of clear racial prejudice.⁶ Their actions after the explosion cannot appropriately be understood without reference to the context in which they occurred. Reflective of society at large, African-Americans serving in the Navy in WWII lived in segregated barracks, used separate restrooms, ate separately, and were assigned separate duty because of their race. Only African-American sailors were assigned to load ammunition at Port Chicago – without being trained, and under pressure to do so quickly. Only African-American sailors were told they were to resume loading ammunition after cleaning up the debris of a staggering explosion, including the grisly task of retrieving body parts of those who were killed.

Many people and organizations have contacted our office and/or the Department of Justice to express support for pardon of those convicted after the Port Chicago explosion. Among them are: the National Bar Association; the NAACP; Dr. Morgan Freeman; Jeffrey Prang, Mayor of West Hollywood; City Council of West Hollywood; and the following members of Congress: Howard Berman, Corrine Brown, Lois Capps, Eva Clayton, James Clyburn, Bill Clay, Danny Davis, Julian Dixon, Anna Eshoo, Sam Farr, Chaka Fattah, Vic Fazio, Bob Filner, Donna Christian-Green, Jane Harman, Earl Hilliard, Eddie Bernice Johnson, Carolyn Kilpatrick, Tom Lantos, Zoe Lofgren, Bob Matsui, Major Owens, Donald Payne, Nancy Pelosi, Barbara Lee, Carrie Meek, Gregory Meeks, George Miller, Brad Sherman, Charles Rangel, Lucille Roybal-Allard, Bobby Rush, Pete Stark, Ellen Tauscher, Esteban Torres, Edolphus Towns, Maxine Waters, Henry Waxman, Lynn Woolsey, and Senator Barbara Boxer.

People who were personally affected by the explosion have also expressed their support for pardon, primarily to heal the pain of the time. The family of a black sailor who died in the

⁶ Documents created during the investigation of the explosion display an extremely paternalistic attitude towards the African-American seamen. A memorandum written by the Commandant of the 12th Naval district reports his opinion that "[a] considerable portion of the men are of a low order of mentality, and as such are particularly susceptible to group influence," and that "[t]he use of Negro enlisted personnel at ammunition depots is a logical employment where many of them will be more useful than in other naval assignments."

explosion, leaving a wife and nine children then under the age of 14, writes that they now “feel personally and morally responsible to support” pardon. The widow and children of the captain of the *Quinault Victory*, who learned of their husband and father’s death in the newspaper, state that they “will never feel a sense of closure until a positive resolution is made in the case of the black sailors.” A Marine corporal, who was standing guard at the time of the explosion, and a former resident of the town of Port Chicago have both expressed their support.⁷

IV. Department of Justice Recommendation

The Deputy Attorney General writes that “even as he loyally served his country at Port Chicago, [petitioner] also suffered the unfair, offensive, and degrading treatment resulting from racially-biased Naval policies that were themselves reflective of the conditions in American society at large.” He states further that he believes petitioner Meeks is “clearly deserving” of clemency in recognition of his exemplary life of the last 55 years. Considering the age and situational nature of the offense, the Deputy Attorney General “strongly recommend[s]” that you grant [petitioner Meeks] a pardon.

Our office concurs, and recommends that you grant Freddie Meeks a full pardon of his mutiny conviction.

GRANT:

William J. Clinton

DENY:

MORE INFORMATION:

⁷ We note also that some people have contacted the Department of Justice in opposition to the petition, expressing concern that pardoning a Port Chicago defendant would be unfair to veterans who followed orders in time of war.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 15, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BETH NOLAN *Beth Nolan*
BRUCE LINDSEY *BL (sm)*
MEREDITH E. CABE *Meredith E. Cabe*

SUBJECT: Recommended Denial of Commutation of Sentence Requests

We have received the Justice Department's recommendations against commuting the sentences and/or remitting the fines of the petitioners listed below. After a review of the Department's memoranda summarizing each case, we have concluded that denial of these petitions is appropriate.

We will transmit your denial of the petitioners' requests for commutation of sentence and/or remission of fines in the following 326 cases unless you indicate that you want additional information on any of the cases listed. For your information, three are from Arkansas: Sylvester Gray (conspiracy to distribute cocaine base; 1989), Kenneth Wayne Hinds (manufacture of methamphetamine; 1989), and Rita Newman (conspiracy to possess with intent to distribute marijuana; misprision of a felony; 1996).

<u>Name</u>	<u>State</u>
Ramon Emilio Acevedo	Massachusetts
Goldean Adams	Florida
Warren Elder Adams	Florida
Humberto Juan Aguilar	Florida
David Agunloye	Illinois
Kent Allen Ahrens	Pennsylvania
Emmanuel Kwasi Amankwa	New York
Veronica Flores Andalon	Illinois
Althea Marie Anderson, aka Lisa Brown	Ohio
Charles Anderson	Florida
Richard Uchechukwu Anunaso	Texas
Juan Araujo	Florida
Joseph Frank Arengue	New York

Sergio Avalos-Peralta
Hermes Baca-Montgomery

Texas
Arizona

Martin Salvador Baldovinos-Ugalde
Louis Michael Bafile, Jr.
Paul Lamar Barrett
Michael Monroe Bass
Laurencio Bencomo-Prieto

Nevada
Pennsylvania
District of Columbia
Missouri
Texas

John Mark Berrill
Victor Betancur-Oyola
Oma J. Bibb
Sergio A. Blanco
Jaime Bonilla

Virginia
Louisiana
California
Virginia
Louisiana

Jose Ricardo Borrero-Gonzalez
Michael A. Bounos
Samuel Bowe
Sim Bradley
Steven Louis Brees

Puerto Rico
Illinois
Michigan
Pennsylvania
California

Randall Lewis Brooks
Roderick Dolphus Brown
Mark Lemel Brown
Jackie Lee Brown
Rufus Brown, Jr.

North Carolina
Maryland
California
Virginia
Pennsylvania

Lawrence Raymond Burns
Delroy Burrowes
Mohammed Bustami
Frank Cabrera
George L. Calhoun

Minnesota
Maryland
Illinois
New York
Florida

Armando Campos-Lopez
W.C. Cartwright, Jr.
Gustavo Adolfo Carreno
Angel Luis Carrion
Juan Manuel Castro-Hernandez

Texas
Missouri
Louisiana
Massachusetts
Texas

Jose Castano-Soto
Trinidad Castro-Lopez
Abelardo Castro-Rodriguez
Gerardo Diaz Castro
Jesus Chavez-Garcia

Utah
Texas
Texas
Texas
Arizona

Jose Chavez-Garcia	Texas
Maria Teresa Chong-Hernandez	Texas
Nam Kun Chung	Hawaii
Kevin C. Cole	Illinois
Lyndora Michelle Clarke-Cossio	Florida
Jesus Cisneros-Fernandez	Texas
Kevin Doyle Clark	California
Clint Edward Clark	Florida
John Edward Coles	Virginia
Victor Ramon Colindres-Reyes	Texas
Ramon Contreres-Rios	Utah
Jaime Humberto Cortes, aka Jaime Humberto Cortez	Florida
Robert Lee Couch	Ohio
Jerry Dean Cunningham	California
Renea Darby	Florida
David Davenport	Virginia
Oliver William Davis	Tennessee
Hubert Davis	Florida
Milton G. DeOliveira	Virginia
Dennis Delanoy	New York
Ernesto Delgado-Salazar	Florida
Robert Eugene Dietrich	Indiana
Myfit Dika	New Jersey
James Dillehay	Ohio
Kevin Lee Dixie	Indiana
Alejandro Duran-Llanas	Texas
Carlos Rafael Duque	Florida
Manuelita Duran	Florida
McArthur Edwards	Florida
Manuel DeLeon Escamilla	Georgia
	Texas
Edgar Espinel	Connecticut
Wesley Anthony Egerton, aka Michael Andre Jackson	Virginia
Cesar Augusto Espinosa-Colorado	Florida
Fabricio Espinoza-Trevino	Texas
Miguel Santiago Estremadoyro	Florida

Isiah Evans III

Leslie Glenn Farmer

Leonor Ferreiro

Reginald Shannon Fields

Darlene Elizabeth Frappier

Leonardo Franco-Almansa

Ariel Galeano

Leon Henry Garfield

Enrique Navarro Garcia

Luis Alberto Garibaldi-Gomez

Juan Garza-Vela

Francisco Javier Garza

Todd Gibson, aka Alexander Knowles

Garnett Anthony Gladstone

Gerardo Franco Gonzalez

Ivan Gonzalez

Vashon Alvin Graves

Sylvester Gray

Vincent Virgil Gibson

Burrell C. Gill

Bernard Gooden, aka Carlos Blackmon

Ignatizo Giuliano

Rafael Gonzalez-Carlos

Guadalupe Gonzalez-Gaona

German Grandos-Silva

Gerald Guerra

Terrence Gumper

Don Wayland Haddock

Danny Haley

Richard Vanderbilt Hamilton, III

Frank Lee Hart, Jr.

Jesse Hart

Donna Advernell Hatchett

Charles Hayes

David Raemont Henderson

Maria Eugenia Herrera

Georgia

Indiana

Hawaii

Florida

Ohio

Massachusetts

Texas

Illinois

Pennsylvania

California

Arizona

Texas

Texas

Florida

New York

California

Pennsylvania

North Carolina

Arkansas

Florida

Virgin Islands

Georgia

Florida

Texas

Texas

New York

Texas

Pennsylvania

Oklahoma

Tennessee

South Carolina

Ohio

Georgia

Illinois

Illinois

District of Columbia

Florida

Ohio

Jorge Herrera-Arcilla
Jaime Herrera-Avila
Elias Herrera-Corral
Jaime Herrera-Martinez

Georgia
Florida
Texas
Texas

Omar Hernandez-Chapa
Rafael Hernandez-Lopez
Geronimo Hernandez-Rodriguez
Franklin D. Hicks
Robert Hill

Texas
Washington
Oregon
Tennessee
Ohio

Kenneth Wayne Hinds
Paul Hookfin
Pamela C. Hogan
Nadine S. Horton
William Hughes

Arkansas
Illinois
Florida
North Carolina
Alabama

John Michael Ibarra
David O. Iloani
Michael Jackson
Tyrone Jackson
William Charles Jenkins

North Carolina
Texas
Ohio
Florida
Colorado

Julio Jiminez
Luis Jiminez
Obdulio Jimenez-Santiago
Julio Alexis John
James Johnson

New Jersey
New York
Texas
New York
Maryland

Spencer Johnson
Dewey Glen Johnson
Larry Jordan
Mark Jordan
Esneider Alexander Jurado

Florida
Virginia
Georgia
Pennsylvania
Texas

Kamal Kaga
Elsie Kapuschat
Harry Thomas Keeling, Jr.
Thomas Kennedy
Yong Hyon Kim

Pennsylvania
Illinois
West Virginia
Louisiana
Pennsylvania

Ronald Kohn
Thomas Negron Lee
Robert Ray Levy
Virgil Lee Lockett

Michigan
North Carolina
Minnesota
Illinois

Carlos Alberto Londono

Florida

Jesus Alberto Lopez

New Jersey

Anel Louis

Pennsylvania

Silvestre Madriz-Prado

California

Fernando Guadalupe Magana-Sosa

Texas

Moses Brown Makia

Florida

Ricardo Maldonado-Balderas

Texas

Michael Malloy

Delaware

Alejandro Manrique

New Jersey

Austin Hillman Marks

Missouri

Juan Martinez-Rosas

Texas

Seferino Martinez

New Mexico

Frederick John Marr

New York

Michelle Lopez Marrero

Pennsylvania

Miguel A. Marrero

Florida

Teresa Jacqueline Martinez,

Connecticut

aka Teresa Jacqueline Reinaga

District of Columbia

Tilson Martinez-Cabrales

Puerto Rico

Jesus Martinez-Guerrero

California

Javier Martinez-Ortiz

Texas

Quinton Mason

Georgia

Hipolito Mata-Picazo

Texas

Fleet W. Maull

Missouri

Billy P. McIntosh

Kentucky

Ralph McCallum

North Carolina

Timothy McCullers

North Carolina

Willard Lee McDaniel

Texas

Wayne E. McDuffy

South Carolina

Kenneth Eugene McNeil

Florida

Peter Medina

Florida

Ronnie Earl Melton

Virginia

Roberto Elias Mendez

California

Eleazor Mendoza-Olvera

Texas

Jose Bartolo Menjivar

Louisiana

Ronald Prince Meyers, Sr.

Washington

Sylvia Denise Miller

Florida

Jose Miramontes-Castellano

California

Arnold Mitchell	Missouri
Robert Leon Mixon	Alabama
Jesus Corrales Montanez, aka Luis Valdez Montanez	California
Vetter Moore	Massachusetts
Gary T. Moore	Virginia
William Andrew Moore, Jr.	New York
Magdaleno Dias Morales	Missouri
Gilberto Moreno-Mata	Texas
Ricardo Munoz-Flores	Texas
Ricardo Muniz-Salgado	Texas
Warren Murphy	Louisiana
Jake Neal	Colorado
Ramiro Nevarez-Gutierrez	Colorado
Rita Newman	Arkansas
Jose Nieto	Texas
Fernando Nino, aka Fernando Andrade	California
Tyrone Oliver	Florida
Fidel Ordaz-Hernandez	North Carolina
Jose Ornelas-Gonzalez	Texas
Lawrence Osume	New Mexico
Anibal Oyanguren-Zamarripa	Texas
Luis R. Pabon-Gutierrez	New York
Absalon Emilio Palacio	Florida
Pablo Panet-Collazo	Florida
Renato S. Panis	Puerto Rico
Willie James Parks, Jr.	New Jersey
Marco Antonio Parra-Bruno	North Carolina
Lazaro Cornejo Pascual	Texas
Jesse Passmore	New Jersey
Solomona Patu	California
Luis Paulino Paulino	Washington
Robert Pearson	Virgin Islands
Guillermo Peralta	Florida
Ignacio Barrera Perez, Jr.	New York
Manuel Perez-Romero	Texas
	New Mexico

Jose Luis Pena	Texas
Janice Penny-Feeney	Hawaii
Christopher Lynn Petty	North Carolina
Michael Perez	New York
Abelino Perez-Bazaldua	Texas
Ismael Perez-Huerta	Texas
Manuel Javier Perez-Zavala	Texas
Pedro Piedra-Leyna	Texas
Jean Wilson Pierre	Florida
Gerardo Plascencia-Garcia	California
Gerardo Perez-Sosa	Texas
James C. Pugh	Florida
Timothy Agbayani Racimo	Nevada
Gloria Ramirez	California
Nelson Ramirez-Gonzalez	Florida
Jorge Ramirez-Orozco	Texas
Miguel A. Ramos	New York
Arraion Range, Jr.	Georgia
Abdol Hamid Rashidian aka David Rashidian	Oregon
Jose D. Raygoza-Rocha	Arizona
Arturo Reynosa-Ortiz	Texas
Bertin Reza-Jaimes	Texas
Antonio Rios	Texas
Antonio Rivera-Lerma	Texas
Raul Rivera-Ramos	Puerto Rico
Allen Louis Robinson	Maryland
Luis Rodriguez Recio	California
Alvaro Rojo-Alvarez	Maine
Enrique Ruiz-Mendoza	Texas
Andres Alfonso Saavedra-Rosales	New Mexico
Juan Sanchez-Berume	Texas
Ciro Sanchez-Rosas	South Dakota
Benjamin M. Sandoval	Oregon
Olga Sarabia	California
David A. Shafer	Ohio
James William Smith Bey	District of Columbia
Maximiliano Rios-Escalante	New York

Sabrina Ann Riggs
Jose Francisco Sanchez
Saint Clair Sanon

Illinois
Texas
Florida

Vidolfo Satizabal
Anthony Andrew Skeete
Carol Sims-Robertson
Leonard Rodrigo
Martin Benjamin Saravia

Illinois
Ohio
Michigan
Louisiana
Texas

James L. Simms
Manley P. Simms
William E. Simms
Floyd Napoleon Simms

Louisiana
Louisiana
Louisiana
Ohio
West Virginia
New York

Herbert D. Sperling

Steve M. Stephens, aka Mose Stephens, Jr.
Tommie Lee Suber
Arthur O. Swan
Richard Leonard Swerdlik
Eugene Szymanski

Oklahoma
Georgia
South Carolina
New York
Michigan

Carlos Guillermo Teran-Lopez
Roberto Armando Terrazas
Johnny Thomas
Lewis Charles Thornton
Hector Manuel Tijerina-Villasana

California
Texas
North Carolina
Florida
Texas

Guillermo Tolosa-Sabioncello
Jorge E. Torres
Edwin Towne
Adrian Trevino-Esquivel
Ociel Trevino-Martinez

Florida
Maryland
Vermont
Texas
Texas

Michael Eugene Upchurch
Ontoniel Valencia-Morfin
Jose Angel Valencia-Espinoza
Jorge Enrique Valencia
Ricardo Vasquez-Maldonado

Kentucky
Colorado
Texas
Louisiana
Texas

Ricardo Remigio Vazquez
Jose Luis Velasquez
Guadalupe Vela-Salazar
Ramon Venegas

California
District of Columbia
Texas
Texas

Armando Santos Verduzco

California

Osvaldo Vergara

Florida

Jose Antonio Villareal-Ulloa

California

Auber Virgen-Aldana

Colorado

Riley S. Walls

Florida

Johnnie Watts

District of Columbia

Mississippi

Albert Lamar Wells, III

South Carolina

Barry Stanley Washington

North Carolina

Gary Westry

District of Columbia

Tobie C. Whitted

District of Columbia

Eric Williams

Georgia

Sharon Williams

Texas

Robert T. Williams

Florida

James E. Wimbush

Florida

Ronald F. Witte

Pennsylvania

Donna Charisse Woods

aka Donna Charisse Clay

Alabama

Joseph Lynn Wright, Jr.

District of Columbia

Hugo Alberto Yanez-Martinez

Texas

Kyu Bum Yoon

Hawaii

William Luther Young, Jr.

Maryland

Carlos Arturo Zapata

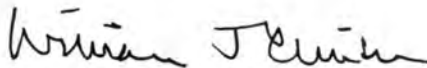
Florida

Sergio Zamora

Texas

DECISION

DENY:



GRANT:

MORE INFORMATION:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-27-



THE DIRECTOR

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

December 23, 1999

copied
Lew
Podesta

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Jacob J. Lew

SUBJECT: Possible call from Secretary Albright on FY 2001 State Budget Appeal

Secretary Albright may call you today to argue for \$500 million more for the foreign affairs FY 2001 budget. We have already provided State a total of \$1.4 billion above the passback level consisting of: roughly \$1 billion more for State/AID programs they requested; \$200 million for initiatives to be funded in foreign affairs accounts (e.g., AIDS, vaccines, trade/EXIM manufactured export initiative); and \$220 million for other foreign affairs spending in other agencies (e.g., debt/Treasury, threat reduction/Energy). In addition, NSC and OMB are favoring \$254 million in State's accounts for Colombia in FY 2001. Finally, we are planning to propose \$1.5 billion of supplemental spending in FY 2000 for State priorities (\$921 million for Colombia; \$400 million (notional) for SEI/Kosovo; and \$210 million for debt).

As you know, yesterday we moved substantial funds to plus-up NIH funding. At this point, further funds for State would require taking funds from the priorities of other Departments and reopening funding that had been settled.

✓ It is possible that Secretary Albright will raise with you the issue of payment for the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade. Sandy Berger will sending you a memo arguing that payment should be funded in State's ESF account, but that we should offer State an additional \$28 million to cover this cost.

TALKING POINTS FOR SECRETARY ALBRIGHT CALL

- I understand that OMB is offering you \$22.8 billion in FY 2001, plus \$1.5 billion in FY 2000 supplementals for assistance packages for Colombia and Southeastern Europe, as well as HIPC debt forgiveness.
- The level is \$2.2 billion above the comparable FY 2000 enacted level for international affairs, an 11 percent increase.
- As I understand it, this is roughly 70 percent of the amount in your last appeal to OMB.
- I am sympathetic to your needs, but there is simply no more room in the budget.
- I think there is sufficient funding for our priorities, from Colombia to embassy security to Southeastern Europe.
- I know I can count on you to use these resources effectively.

Reed - is the budget good
on this? —
Re

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The New York Times

copied
Reed
Podesta

3

MONDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1999

Drug Treatment Gets a Boost

The beginning of an important shift in the nation's approach to combatting drug-related crime can be seen in the recent success of "drug courts" and other programs aimed at reducing prison costs by diverting nonviolent drug users into serious drug treatment programs. Making more resources available at every level of government to expand these efforts would be a smart fiscal and crime-fighting strategy.

That was essentially the message the White House's director of national drug policy, Gen. Barry McCaffrey, tried to convey last week when he spoke before a gathering of law enforcement, prison and public health officials in Washington. As the nation's drug czar, General McCaffrey has long been an outspoken supporter of using alternatives to incarceration for nonviolent drug offenders, and of making treatment more broadly available to drug-dependent offenders when they are behind bars and after they are released. Nonetheless, his new remarks were heartening in that they seemed to signal a renewed push by the Clinton administration to persuade state and local officials to plow more money and energy into drug treatment for people whose addiction leads them into collision with the criminal justice system.

Of the 1.8 million people now in prison nationwide, a large percentage — 400,000 altogether — are

addicts or chronic drug users. Yet, as General McCaffrey noted, "incarcerating offenders without treating underlying substance-abuse problems simply defers the time when they are released back into our communities to start harming themselves and the larger society." He pointed to research showing that the recidivism rate declines significantly among those who undergo treatment before, during or following incarceration — powerful evidence that drug treatment works, even when it is imposed upon prisoners in custody or as a condition of avoiding jail.

The evidence also bears out General McCaffrey's claim that a move away from policies that automatically jail drug offenders would save taxpayers money. By instituting a program to divert low-level drug offenders into treatment, Birmingham, Ala., has been able to avoid the sizable expense of building a new jail to relieve overcrowding at the old one. Arizona, the first state to begin treating all its nonviolent drug offenders instead of locking them up, estimates that it saved more than \$2.5 million in the program's first fiscal year of operation. No less impressive, more than three-quarters of those on probation stayed free of drugs.

This is clearly a promising approach to a serious national problem, and General McCaffrey is right to promote it.

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U.S. to Develop a System For 'Fingerprinting' Guns

By FOX BUTTERFIELD

In a long-sought move that will help identify guns used in crimes when only their shell casings are left at a crime scene, the Clinton administration said yesterday that it was tripling the budget for the development of a unified national database of shell casings and bullets, and that one major handgun maker had agreed to start providing the federal government with information when new guns are test-fired.

"This system is very exciting and has the potential to do for gun crime what fingerprints have done for forensics," Bruce Reed, the White House domestic policy adviser, said.

The new system, to be run by the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, will work toward creating a virtual fingerprint for newly manufactured handguns by using a computer analysis of the unique markings a gun leaves on shell casings when it is fired, another administration official said.

The gun maker that will cooperate with the government is the United States unit of the Austrian company Glock GmbH. Paul Januzzo, Glock's general counsel, said, "As long as this is aimed at crime control, not gun control, we will support it."

Giving the firearms agency gun fingerprints "will speed up the gun tracing process incredibly," said Mr. Januzzo, a former prosecutor.

He added that giving the government the information could also help the firearms industry in a complex set of lawsuits filed against it by 28 cities and counties as well as by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and in parallel negotiations between lawyers for the cities and the gun companies. Mr. Reed joined those negotiations last week on behalf of the White House.

The cities have demanded that the firearms manufacturers develop a serial number that would be harder to obliterate. "If you have a system with gun fingerprints, it is better than serial numbers that can be tampered with," Mr. Januzzo said. "It may also do away with another demand by the people who want to put us out of business, registration of all gun owners, because you already

have the gun registered."

The new system relies on the computer analysis of marks made on shell casings, including those caused by firing pins and those pressed on the breach face of the casing during an explosion, as well as another unique signature left when the casing is ejected.

Glock will begin feeding information on all its newly manufactured nine-millimeter handguns into a machine provided by the firearms agency that was developed by a Montreal company, Forensic Technology. Mr. Reed said he hoped that the agency would eventually get test-fire information on all Glock's guns, as well as those made by other leading manufacturers, including Smith & Wesson and Colt's Manufacturing, which are now monitoring the pilot project in cooperation with the government and Glock.

The new system has another important effect: it will put an end to a long-running feud between the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which had developed two competing, noncompatible technologies to obtain ballistic information on guns, bullets and shell casings.

The system, to be known as the National Integrated Ballistics Information Network, was developed by representatives of the two federal agencies and the Boston Police Department. Police officials in Boston had found that to obtain complete ballistics information, they had to spend money to acquire technology from both agencies.

To create the new system, Mr. Reed said, the White House will increase the budget for ballistics work from just under \$10 million a year to more than \$30 million, with 230 local and state law enforcement agencies expected to have access to the new system within two years.

The new ballistics identification system and the program to enter test-fire information from Glock are part of a quiet effort by the Clinton administration to develop more effective ways to combat gun crime despite a political impasse in Congress and several state legislatures over new gun control bills.

Rabbis Call For Action On Guns

By GUSTAV NIEBUHR

Leaders of Reform Judaism's synagogue organization, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, voted overwhelmingly yesterday to adopt a resolution calling on social action committees in Reform synagogues to urge congregants to write their Congressional representatives "demanding that effective gun control" laws be enacted next year.

The decision came a day after the union's president, Rabbi Eric Yoffie, delivered a sermon saying Reform Jews should regard gun control as "a solemn religious obligation" to counter what he called society's idolatry of guns.

The resolution, passed by a voice vote at the union's biennial assembly in Orlando, also urged that each of the union's 875 Reform congregations invite elected officials in their area to talk about their positions on gun control.

Although the union has previously spoken out for gun control, the resolution goes further in asking Reform Jews to take specific actions and saying the next several months may be crucial to the passage of gun control legislation.

On Saturday, Rabbi Yoffie delivered a sermon to the 4,700 people at the gathering, in which he urged greater efforts to protect children. "Now is the time to assemble a critical mass of citizens who will stand up and say no to the deadly toll that guns take on the lives of our children," he said.

"Our gun-flooded society has turned weapons into idols," he said, "and the worship of idols must be recognized for what it is — blasphemy. The only appropriate religious response to idolatry is sustained moral outrage."

In an interview before his sermon, Rabbi Yoffie said the union wanted to go beyond rhetoric, to launch a nonpartisan but "very, very focused" effort. In the past, he said, "there's been a great deal of passion" by opponents of gun control, and not enough by its supporters among Reform Jews.

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As Labor Pool Shrinks, A New Supply Is Tapped

Women and Immigrants Are Filling the Void

By LOUIS UCHITELLE

Five years into a booming economy, America is "depleting its pool of available workers" — a warning often heard from Alan Greenspan. But beyond the pool of known recruits lies another mass of untapped labor that can supply an expanding work force — and sustain a robust economy — into the new decade.

This labor in reserve consists mainly of women and potential immigrants. The women are not so noticeable in the statistics; many hold jobs and are counted as employed. But nearly half the women working in the United States today do so only part-time, and millions are gradually stepping up to full-time schedules — making themselves available eight hours a day instead of five, or five days a week instead of three, or working through July and August instead of dropping out during their children's school vacation. Nearly a million women a year since 1994 have upgraded their status to full-time from part-time work.

The immigrants in question are not so much the uncounted people here illegally, but the men and women still in Canada or Mexico who move across the border when jobs beckon. "You have a construction contract and the work doubles," said Harley Shaiken, a labor economist at the University of California at Berkeley. "One of your workers makes a call back home, to his village in Mexico or Guatemala, and within a week a cousin shows up, or a cousin and the cousin's friend."

Tens of millions of people abroad are quickly available for jobs in the United States. The Immigration and Naturalization Service says that slipping into America and then working illegally for a year or two is not all that hard.

And suddenly a straitjacket that threatened to strangle a robust economy is not so binding after all. The work force has grown lately by 200,000 jobs a month, but rather than being depleted the pool of people available to fill still more jobs may be growing, or at least holding its own. Few issues in economics are more important than pinning down the size of this pool. A wrong answer could prompt the Federal Reserve to cut off the economic expansion, which started in 1991, gained steam four years ago and in February will become the longest in American history.

"The labor market gets tight, and these

people flow in from across the borders, which helps to explain why wages are not rising that much at the low end," said Daniel Hamermesh, a labor economist at the University of Texas at Austin. "The women, quantitatively, are not a big matter. But they represent a different segment of the population. These are skilled people in many cases, and going full-time leads to" less wage pressure in the middle.

Mr. Greenspan, the Fed chairman, and others at the Fed hold in their public pronouncements to a traditional view on the labor supply — one that suggests the economic expansion must soon be slowed for lack of available workers. When Mr. Greenspan refers, in his speeches and Congressional testimony, to a "depleting pool," he means two groups: those who are unemployed and seeking work and those who are not seeking work but would accept it if jobs they liked came their way. That pool has shrunk to 9.6 million lately from 11.2 million two years ago, Mr. Greenspan notes.

The significance of this calculation is clear. When workers are in short supply, employers tend to raise compensation to get enough people, and then raise prices to cover the higher labor costs. Neither trend has shown up yet. The inflation rate, a big concern at the Fed, is particularly mild. Even so, the Fed's response to a shrinking labor pool has been to raise interest rates, thus slowing the economy and reducing the demand for new workers. The Fed made that point with its last interest-rate increase, in mid-November. "The pool of available workers willing to take jobs has been drawn down further in recent months, a trend that must eventually be contained," the Fed said, in justifying the increase.

There are, of course, already many illegal immigrants working in America or available for work. The Census Bureau puts the number at 5 million or so. The Labor Department — along with Mr. Greenspan — includes this calculation in its estimates of how many people are working or available for work. The Census Bureau's estimate undoubtedly falls short of the actual number of illegal immigrants, but the shortfall is not considered big enough at the Fed or the Labor Department to make a difference.

The Immigration Service, though, counts many more heads. "What that 5 million does not include is the significant number of people on our northern and southern borders who come to the United States and work for a year, and return home and then

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The New York Times

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come back," said Robert Bach, the Immigration Service's executive associate commissioner for policy and planning. Crossing the border is not easy, he said, "but there are certainly ample ways to enter the United States without documents or with fraudulent documents or by abusing documents, such as a tourist's visa."

The results are evident even in the official statistics — the foreign-born hold nearly 12 percent of all jobs, up from about 10 percent in 1995 — and certainly their numbers are growing in a number of American cities.

Consider Atlanta, Cincinnati, Louisville, Ky., or Indianapolis, where Hispanic immigrants are now well represented in construction work, holding jobs as electricians, plumbers and carpenters. Or visit Malden Mills, a textile maker in Lawrence, Mass., whose best-known brand is Polartec. The company is adding 230 workers by March at wages of about \$11 an hour. Most of the existing 2,000 employees are Hispanic immigrants, mainly from the Dominican Republic, already settled in Lawrence, whose population is heavily Hispanic.

"For the first time, we are facing a situation where we might not have as many people already in the Lawrence area as we might need," said Jeff Bowman, the company's marketing director.

Some new applicants are relatives of Malden's Hispanic employees, or immigrants recommended by parish priests. Indeed, immigrants settling in America over the past two decades have created informal networks that facilitate the arrival of new people who, once in the country, have a relative or a friend who gives them lodging and helps them find work. "It is how you get to jobs in Oregon or Minneapolis or New

England that makes these networks pivotal," Mr. Shaiken said.

Malden Mills insists on proof that an immigrant is here legally, but even so has had some problems. An applicant must present a Social Security card and a photo I.D., both easily purchased on the street. And catching any falsehood can take the Immigration Service at least a year, often longer, because the Social Security Administration reviews Social Security numbers for accuracy only once a year.

"I have seen Immigration go one or two years before we are notified," said Alan Kraunelis, the company's director of industrial relations. "A lot of times by then, the employee has a lawyer and is trying to get a green card. In some cases you can keep the worker on and in others you cannot. You say this guy is a very good worker, he has excellent attendance, we have trained him in a skill, and for the most part, unless the worker has a problem back in his homeland, Immigration is pretty reasonable."

Or consider Unite, the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees, representing 300,000 low-wage workers in the United States. "Nationally, 20,000 are probably undocumented workers," said Bruce Raynor, Unite's secretary-treasurer. In Chicago, the proportion is higher, probably one-third, among the 1,500 laundry workers represented by the union, he said.

And the union, in its latest contract, tries to protect them. In addition to specifying wages of \$7 to \$9 an hour, the contract obligates the employers to bar immigration agents from their plants without search warrants. Just going to court for a warrant alerts undocumented workers, who then can disappear, returning home for a while or

reappearing, with fresh documents, at another job.

"I think of what is happening as a floating labor pool that kind of floats back and forth across the border," said Jeffrey Passell, a demographer at the Urban Institute in Washington. "Right now, there is some indication that this floating pool that tends to go back and forth is actually here."

Others are also contributing to the pool of potential workers, postponing the pool's depletion. Older people, for example, are working more years, either postponing retirement or coming back to part-time jobs. Supermarkets and telephone call centers, set up by so many companies to handle orders and customer queries, are recruiting more high school and college students and arranging schedules around their schooling. Blacks are taking jobs in greater numbers, and their unemployment rate has fallen sharply. And the number of people holding two or more jobs has risen by 800,000 since 1994, to 8.1 million.

But apart from immigrants, no group has made a greater contribution than women. The shift from welfare to work plays a role. Many new workers are unmarried mothers with at least one child younger than 3 years old. The percentage of these women now in the labor force — holding jobs or seeking them — rose to 65.8 percent last year from only 54.3 percent in 1995.

And across the job spectrum — from high-skilled work to low-skilled — the percentage of women shifting to full-time work from part-time rose to 56.4 percent last year from 52.8 percent in 1994. These women are adding millions of hours without changing the number of people employed or the nation's unemployment rate, now 4.1 percent.

The chance to increase family income draws some of the women. So does the aging of the work force; the oldest baby boomers have more time now that their children are young adults. And companies like Manpower, the huge temporary help agency, nudge women into working more hours.

Manpower supplies 25,000 people a day, on average, most of them women, as operators at corporate call centers. The percentage of those women working full time rather than part time is rising, mainly for two reasons, says Jeffrey Joerres, Manpower's chief executive. Some are drawn into longer hours by flexible scheduling, which allows them to work while their children are in school or in the evening when a husband is home. But higher pay is also a lure.

"I don't know where the inflection point is," Mr. Joerres said, "but \$1 an hour can make a very big difference at this pay level, and pay for call-center operators has gone up by \$1 an hour since the beginning of the year, to \$10 an hour."

Does that mean wage pressures have arrived, as Mr. Greenspan fears?

Apparently not, judging by the very mild movement in the Consumer Price Index. Wages might be rising for call-center operators and others, but not by enough to force prices up. The pool of untapped labor is still sufficiently untapped.

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Minority Growth Slips at Top Private Schools

A By RANDAL C. ARCHIBOLD

With anticipation and some foreboding, Alberto Monegro rides a bus every morning from the working-class brown brick apartment hulks of the Bedford Park neighborhood in the Bronx to the expansive lawns and mansions of Riverdale.

There, on an 18-acre neo-Gothic campus that resembles a small college, he is a junior at the private Fieldston School, one of the city's elite. It is his third year, yet he still wonders at times if he belongs.

A native of the Dominican Republic, Alberto has found few other Spanish-speaking students at Fieldston. He is floored by the affluence: the sport utility vehicles that pull up to the long drive off Manhattan College

Parkway, the jewelry worn by some students, the laptops toted by others. "It is," he says, "disorienting."

Alberto's experience is not unique. His journey — physical and emotional — from his familiar neighborhood to an enclave of power and wealth is made daily by scores of minority students. And while it is a triumphant voyage, it is a confounding one, and the number of those making it is stalling. In fact, despite three decades of intensive recruitment, and with the city's nonwhite population continuing to expand, the growth in the minority share of the elite schools is flattening. Officials at many of the schools say they are worried.

"It's a funny time," said Randolph Carter, director of diversity for the National Association of Independent

Schools, who fields calls constantly from schools across the country struggling with the issue. "Right now the economy is booming. The schools are raising more money. They have longer waiting lists. But on the other side I see a fluctuation in enrollment of children of color. There is certainly a paucity of teachers of color in the classrooms and in the administrative office. It is the best of times and really hard times."

Among schools in New York City, there is a fear they have hit a recruitment wall. Many schools, including Fieldston, Brearley, Spence and Friends Seminary, have entered into serious bouts of soul-searching over their attitudes toward race, ethnicity and class. Committees, task forces

and less formal gatherings have emerged. Books like "Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?" (Basic Books, 1997) by Beverly Daniel Tatum, a psychologist, have become required reading among staff members. Student forums on the topic abound, and several schools have hired multicultural affairs coordinators.

"Clearly, the American dream or ideal that we base diversity under has not been fulfilled, yet it still nags at our conscience enough to keep trying to make it workable," said Richard Eldridge, the director of Friends Seminary.

Minority parents and students say that while it is clear that the schools offer a top education, it is a painfully difficult decision whether or not to attend these schools.

Frances Sadler, a black parent who lives in Riverdale, said she was torn about sending her son to middle school at Fieldston, despite its reputation for progressivism and tolerance. She recalled her own discomfort as one of only a dozen or so black students at Barnard College in 1968.

"I did not want that experience for him," Ms. Sadler said. She added, nonetheless, that sending her son was the right decision, that he was happy and had done well at Fieldston. Yet she could not help worrying about a racial tinge when he was disciplined.

Indeed, many students say the price of admission is sometimes discomfort on campus. Many minority students say they find themselves in the spotlight, singled out for class discussions on race, sought out unnaturally for trophy friendships by white students, and constantly the subject of speculation over whether they are qualified or taking the spot of others more deserving.

So minority parents often choose other options, including parochial schools and a move to the suburbs.

This year, Priscilla M. Winn Barlow, the head of Brearley, said she was jolted when not one of the five black children accepted for kindergarten this fall enrolled. Transportation concerns, as well as the dearth of minority students in the lower grades were cited as main factors.

Some black parents of Brearley students were not shocked.

"You have to change what's in there before you can bring people in," said Donna Givens, an African-American parent there. "What is the community about now? What kind of bias awareness training do we have? We need to look at things like that,

not just the numbers."

Mrs. Givens said that until Brearley took a number of steps, including hiring more minority faculty members and reassessing its curriculum, it would be difficult to attract minority families.

Dr. Winn Barlow did not disagree but expressed concern about going overboard or falling victim to political correctness.

Some minority parents and people who have worked in private schools view such responses with suspicion. They dismiss the soul-searching at the schools as largely artificial, saying the institutions are so bound by tradition, so wary of significant change — and so focused on keeping their clientele happy — that little should be expected.

In fact, as tuition at top schools soars to just under \$20,000 a year, headmasters say that complaints have grown, primarily from white, affluent parents, regarding the amount of money devoted to minority-oriented scholarships, even though the percentage of tuition revenue spent on financial aid has remained steady, averaging about 13 percent. Many such parents labor under the mistaken impression that virtually all minority students are on full scholarship or were admitted under lower standards, the headmasters add.

Moreover, many white parents worry that places at selective colleges that might go to their children will go instead to minority competitors.

"The first thing you need to understand is the history of private educa-

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tion is one of exclusion, not inclusion," said Augustus Trowbridge, the retired founder of Manhattan Country School, a well-regarded private school that opened in 1966 on the Upper East Side with cultural diversity as its underpinning. "Private education is, for right or wrong, designed to bring people together who share common philosophies. Private education has had to catch up with a redefinition of its purpose."

Private education, of course, is not alone in this, but reflective of a broader national pattern, with many whites feeling their efforts have gone underappreciated and many blacks feeling patronized.

The road to self-reflection, never smooth at any institution, has included some awkward missteps at New York's private schools. Earlier this year, for example, Fieldston seriously considered a plan to cluster minority students in classes so that none would face isolation and alienation. The proposal, which was killed, ended up angering people across the board, some of whom sensed whiffs of segregation while others suspected an end run around more aggressive recruitment.

What cannot be denied is that the schools have made much progress in the last few decades and are, as a group, more integrated than most of the region's better suburban public schools and even many city public schools, which are now have a high concentration of minority students, a function of the demographics of the areas they serve.

Responding to the ferment of the civil rights movement, many schools

in the 1960's and early 1970's began recruiting minority students, primarily those who were black and Hispanic, because they were considered the most economically and socially disadvantaged, Mr. Trowbridge said. Such recruitment was seen as an act of social responsibility.

In 1970, minority enrollment at the city's most coveted private schools was about 11 percent, according to the schools' reports to the state. Since then, thanks mainly to the rise of recruiting organizations like Prep for Prep, A Better Chance, the Albert G. Oliver Program and Early Steps, minority enrollment has increased to about 21 percent, though the percentage tends to be lower in the elementary grades and higher in high school.

But the pace of growth has slowed — in 1990, minority enrollment was 19 percent — and its racial makeup has shifted. Asian-Americans' share of the enrollment has risen steadily while that of black and Hispanic students has not.

Blacks still represent the largest percentage of minority students among the city's elite private schools — 8.6 percent — but that may not last. Asians are at 7.5 percent and Hispanic students at 4.8. At a number of major schools, Asian-Americans and Pacific Islanders account for the largest proportion of minority students. (The state does not include a biracial category, though administrators say its numbers are significant.)

A growing concern is that many black and Hispanic families are going elsewhere. Even when they can afford the steep tuition, many opt for specialized public schools or parochial schools, or simply move to the suburbs, where public schools have a better reputation, said Frederick C. Calder, executive director of the New York State Association of Independent Schools, an advocacy group.

Justine Stamen, a former private school administrator who began a program this year called the Teak Fellowship to prepare 22 gifted minority students for the top public and private high schools, said none of the families initially expressed interest in the private schools.

Jason Lewis, an African-American student at Brooklyn Technical High School, one of the four top public specialized high schools in the city that require passing a standardized test for admission, said he hardly gave a thought to private schools. He had flipped through several brochures for them but found Tech, where 38 percent of the students are black and 18 percent Hispanic, to be

equal or superior. And it was free.

"Maybe a private school would be an option if I hadn't gotten into a specialized high school," he said.

Perhaps the overriding source of anxiety for minority students in private schools is just what role they play on campus. Are they there for white students to learn about differ-

Despite prosperity and commitment, the drive for more diversity stalls.

ences, or vice versa, or both? Black parents have the dual fear that their children will not be accepted by the majority and that if they are, they will lose any grounding in their own culture and origins.

Corey Manning, an African-American who is now a freshman at Howard University, said he had often felt misunderstood at Fieldston.

"Because of my face and the way I talk and the way I dress, I am deemed as lazy," said Mr. Manning, dressed one evening in a Fubu T-shirt, baggy jeans and a black headband. "Because I am not jumping around here with a smile, I am an angry black male. Why is that?"

Kamau Romero, a black senior at Horace Mann School in the Riverdale section of the Bronx, said that over all, he felt happy at the school, though at times he felt singled out for his race.

During a class discussion of the book "Black Like Me," which deals with prejudice toward black men, a teacher paused to ask, "What are some black stereotypes, Kamau?"

"He put me on the spot in the middle of class," Mr. Romero said.

As Hugo Mahabir, the director of multicultural affairs at Fieldston, reflected on the difficulties at Fieldston and other schools, he spoke for many: "I think there is a degree of honesty and reflection that feels very authentic. But it's easy to make a rhetorical commitment to diversity. It's harder to put that in practice."

As for Alberto Monegro, he has made peace of a sort with Fieldston, which he believes has put him on the path to realizing his dream of becoming a doctor. While he once would have been reluctant to recommend the school to a friend, he would do so now, with a qualification.

"I would recommend it," he said, "if they can handle it."

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Backslide on the Environment

There are a lot of reasons not to get too worked up over the impact we're having on our planet. Environmental changes seem nebulous and distant in time and place. Politicians don't appear concerned. Business people say calls to action are alarmist. And—the ultimate justification for complacency—even science seems divided.

No wonder most Americans, while professing environmentalism, remain unmoved by the looming but shadowy questions. It's enough to make active environmentalists want to grab us by the lapels—as a group of them assembled by the nonprofit organization Environmental Media Services attempted to do here recently.

"The story of the last decade" said Bill McKibben, an environmental writer, is that "human beings crossed a certain threshold: We became big enough as a species to affect everything around us. The story of the next decade is increasingly going to be the story of the effects of crossing that threshold."

True, we don't know precisely what these effects will be, said Jane Lubchenco, professor at Oregon State

University and past president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. But scientists agree—overwhelmingly—that "we are disrupting the function of the systems on which we depend."

It's no accident that the U.S. public is confused about what science thinks. People who are heavily invested in our current patterns of behavior put money into assuring us that we shouldn't be worried enough to change those patterns. Lubchenco says that thanks to groups such as the Global Climate Coalition—which calls itself "a voice for business in the global warming debate"—"We've seen junk science, ignorance and misinformation drown out good, credible scientific information and public understanding."

In fact, the evidence that we're changing the world around us, and changing it dramatically, is unmistakable. Take a recent international study combining 46 years of data on the shrinking of sea ice in Arctic waters. Results indicated a less than 2 percent probability that the melting of the past 20 years was caused by normal climate variation, according to

a Dec. 3 news story in *The Post*. "This strongly suggests that the observed decrease in Northern Hemisphere sea ice is related to [human-caused] global warming," the team of nine scientists wrote in the current issue of the journal *Science*.

Indeed, the business world increasingly is parting ranks with the do-nothings. European companies—whose leaders traditionally have been more environmentally driven—have led the way. But U.S. firms are now following. Ford Motor Co. announced recently that it is resigning from the Global Climate Coalition because it believes there is enough evidence of global warming that companies must begin working together more effectively to reduce carbon emissions. Dow Chemical Co. already had resigned from the coalition.

Whatever the level of certainty, as Lubchenco sees it, our current method is simply "to ignore the possibility of a problem until it hits us in the face." Instead, we should conclude that "uncertainty warrants precaution."

Also at the Washington gathering was Denis Hayes, coordinator of the

first Earth Day, 30 years ago. His current project is Earth Day 2000, whose aim is "to forge a global majority around environmental values." Americans should be leading the way toward international engagement with the environment, he said. "But our credibility elsewhere depends on our succeeding at home."

While Americans brought about huge environmental improvements after the first Earth Day, we have been backsliding lately. Over the past 10 years, said Hayes, we've had 12 percent growth in the harmful emissions—mostly from automobiles—that contribute to global warming. That 12 percent is more than the total amount of emissions that Latin America produces in a year.

"We must transform the latent support of the American people to force change," said Philip Shabecoff, publisher of *Greenwire*, a daily environmental news service. The challenge for Americans is to move out of the complacency we're lulled into by the seeming distance and uncertainty of environmental challenges and to act on the values we profess.

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Giuliani's New Mission: Get Marxists Off Streets

By JOHN KIFNER

A decade after the fall of the Berlin Wall signaled the swift collapse of communism's Evil Empire, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani is still darkly wary of Marxist influence in the nooks and crannies of the city.

The mayor's latest encounter with the Red Menace came as he faced down the threatened strike from the Transport Workers Union and its dissident faction, the New Directions Caucus.

"There are people who want to cause anarchy," the mayor warned at a City Hall news conference last week after a tentative agreement was announced. "I know a week ago I said that Marxism unfortunately is still alive in parts of New York City even in the latter part of this century, even though it's been disgraced all over the world."

Mr. Giuliani's vigilance in this matter has sometimes been overlooked in the hurly-burly of daily governance, but a review of his public statements shows that he has discerned a sinister Marxist tinge to a wide variety of enemies, from the paradoxically well-organized anarchists who sacked a Starbucks in Seattle to the gardeners who plant flowers in the city's vacant lots.

"The remarks of one of the leaders of New Directions is a perfect example of what I'm talking about, where he advocated taking away profits from business as being one of the really good side benefits of having a strike," Mr. Giuliani said. "I think he said he would take away the profit orgy of Christmas from businesses."

He was apparently referring to Tim Schermerhorn, a leader of the New Directions Caucus, who said, in threatening a strike: "The real powers that be in the city — business — is planning an orgy of profit-making. They're not going to rake it in if the trains aren't running."

That, the mayor said, "means taking jobs away from people. It means seeing unemployment go up. It means really hurting people who need the most help. And it's a true misunderstanding of what America is all about. That comes from the influence of Marxism, and if you need any better indication of it, it was said at a Marxist study group."

"So philosophy is important. It has done a tremendous amount of good things to help people, and the isms and ideologies of this century have cost an awful lot of human lives," the mayor concluded.

Mr. Giuliani expanded his horizon to foreign affairs last week, bearding Fidel Castro, that stubborn Communist holdout, by urging asylum for Elian Gonzalez, the 6-year-old found clutching an inner tube off Florida after his mother and stepfather drowned fleeing Cuba. There was even consideration at City Hall, later dropped, of inviting him to the New Year's Eve celebration.

"I think unfortunately and tragically Castro has become a romanticized figure in America," Mr. Giuliani said.

When the nonprofit Parks Council said that the growing reliance on private fund-raising for maintenance and repairs meant that greenswards in wealthy areas — like Central Park

— got better services than those in poorer neighborhoods, Mr. Giuliani was not fooled by the composition of the 90-year-old council, which is made up of prominent blue bloods and even a top fund-raiser for George W. Bush.

"That's the rich-and-the-poor knee-jerk reaction," the mayor said. "It probably comes out of spending some time in school in the 40's or 50's studying Marxism or something."

The council's position "comes out of a very, very extreme radical political outlook on the world in which you were taught to look at things that way, and you just see them that way no matter what the facts are," Mr. Giuliani said in October.

Earlier this year, the mayor tried to sell developers more than 100 city-owned lots that neighborhood groups had transformed from garbage-strewn wrecks into flowering miniparks, declaring, "This is a free-market economy; welcome to the era after communism." Protesters dressed as ladybugs and plants descended on City Hall, including a man in sunflower garb who took up a perch in a ginkgo tree. The dispute was resolved only by last-minute divine intervention, in the person of Bette Midler, who bought some of the



Tom Bloom

most endangered lots.

More recently, he said at a gathering of big capitalists, er, business leaders, that the unruly demonstrations against the World Trade Organization in Seattle indicated "the remaining damage that Marxism has done to the thinking of people." He added, "You know we have it in the city and the influence that it's had on universities and thinking and the idea of class warfare."

The mayor explained later, at a City Hall news conference, that his remarks at the "21" Club, the famous gathering spot of the ruling class, oops, the rich and powerful, were meant to examine "the whole notion of class warfare, which really comes out of the teaching of Karl Marx, trying to divide people into different classes." He did not elaborate on his reference to the city's universities.

Mayor Giuliani has said he intends to deliver a speech for the new millennium in which he will discuss "the influence of isms and ideology on the kind of violence we've had in this century. Just because we're in the latter part of the century doesn't mean the perversions of those philosophies don't affect it."

Stay tuned.

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German General's Kosovo Peacekeepers Are Fighting Crime

By CARLOTTA GALL

PRISTINA, Kosovo, Dec. 19 — In the absence of a strong international police force in Kosovo and facing a rise in crime, the commander of peacekeeping troops in the province has ordered his soldiers back out onto the streets in force.

He is not happy about it, but six months into the peacekeeping mission in Kosovo, he says the 1,800-member United Nations police force was not able to cope.

"We realized there was no success and that we had to back up the police," the commander, Gen. Klaus Reinhardt, said today in an interview at his headquarters, perched on a hill above Pristina, the Kosovo capital.

Over the weekend a marked increase of troops was evident here, as they set up road blocks to spot-check cars for weapons and to look at the identification papers of drivers and passengers. The troops were reacting to the increase in violence of recent weeks and a fear of kidnapping.

General Reinhardt joined in the call for nations to contribute more people to the police force, but in the meantime he is stepping in to fill the gap, sending some of his forces out from their bases by the hundreds. "You cannot fight the high-level criminal with a tankist or a soldier — they are not trained to do it," he said. "But there is a gap which we try to bridge by being there."

General Reinhardt took over command of the 50,000-member peacekeeping force for Kosovo in October, after his predecessor, Gen. Sir Mike Jackson, said the job was no longer one for the military, but for the United Nations police and civil administration.

Now, two months later, General Reinhardt and the overwhelming



The peacekeepers have headquarters on a hill overlooking Pristina.

presence of his soldiers represent the only realistic chance to prevent violence. Alongside ethnic killings and intimidation — mostly by Albanians against Serbs and other minorities — there has also been an increase in crime among the Albanians and a spread of organized crime.

The general, who began his military career in the German Mountain Infantry and went through the United States Army's Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kan. in the 1970's, is a gray-haired, unassuming man. In his loose-fitted German camouflage jacket, he lacks the charisma of the tall, battered figure of General Jackson.

Yet in his quiet way, he is tackling the nasty climate of ethnic retaliation with a firm resolution and some unorthodox ideas that he says are bearing results.

Each of his five military brigades in Kosovo has 120 patrols out on the streets, in the villages and countryside every day, he said, and 1,000 of his forces are day and night guarding Serbian families in their homes and protecting buildings.

He is now moving troops from areas that are relatively calm, dominated by one ethnic group, to mixed areas, or "fault lines," where there is violence. He has boosted the troop level in the Serbian area of Kosovo Polje, just outside Pristina, to 2,000 from 600, and improved security.

He has also sent an extra battalion to the town of Gnjilane, in the American sector, and moved in three companies to protect the various ethnic minorities — Serbs, Muslim Slavs or Goranis and Turks — in and around the town of Prizren in southern Kosovo.

German forces in the Prizren area have been criticized for not doing enough to stop the intimidation of minorities there, but the general sticks by his policy. "With 50,000 men, you cannot safeguard everyone, but by being there we can prevent things happening," he said.

He has been resolute too in ordering sweeps through districts where there has been an outbreak of violence, often traveling to watch the operations himself. He was there when French troops sealed off and searched an area in the Serbian part of the divided town of Mitrovica last week after a grenade attack. "We put on a big show of force," he said, "to show we take counteractions immediately."

Roadblocks or barricades are not tolerated, and even the residents of Orohovac have been persuaded to remove their weeks-old blockade against Russian troops who were to deploy there.

"I took them away by persuading

people that this is the better way," he said. He does not seem to have solved the issue of the Russian deployment there, which local Albanians vigorously oppose, but the tension has subsided.

The general also supports an unorthodox tactic used in Pristina, where the British commander of the city is using former policemen of the Kosovo Liberation Army as a source of information and problem-solving.

There are clearly parts of the mission that chafe the general. "It is tougher than I expected as far as the workload, and more difficult as far as human relationships," he said in a reference to the ethnic tensions.

He is impatient to see the judicial system up and running so he can rid his soldiers of the job of being prison guards.

Yet he has clear ideas about the running of the province that go beyond his role as a soldier. Just back from a lunch with four Serbian bishops in the monastery at Gracanica, outside Pristina, he was clearly determined to defend the Serbian minority. His forces will protect Serbian convoys and buses to allow Serbs to travel to market and to other Serbian enclaves. "By doing that we take the pressure out of the pot," he said. "If people feel under siege they become aggressive."

He called for funds for education and employment, saying a majority of young Albanians were jobless and frustrated, and were taking out their frustration on the minorities.

He also said he disagreed with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, which is advising displaced Serbs not to try to return to Kosovo for the moment, and he spoke with satisfaction that a few hundred Serbs had managed to return to villages in northern Kosovo under protection of his troops.

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U.S. JUDGE REJECTS A VOUCHER SYSTEM USED IN CLEVELAND

CHURCH-AND-STATE ISSUE

Program for 3,700 Students,
Most in Parochial Schools,
Will Continue for Now

A By JODI WILGOREN

A federal judge ruled yesterday that a program giving thousands of Cleveland children taxpayer-financed vouchers to attend parochial schools violated the Constitution's separation of church and state.

The closely watched case, which concerns one of the most contentious issues in education, has been the subject of debate in the presidential campaign and is widely expected to be reviewed by the Supreme Court.

Judge Solomon Oliver Jr. of Federal District Court in Cleveland wrote that the voucher program, enacted by the Ohio Legislature in 1995, had "the effect of advancing religion through government-sponsored religious indoctrination."

Noting that nearly all the students receiving vouchers attend parochial schools, he added, "a program that is so skewed toward religion necessarily results in indoctrination attributable to the government and provides financial incentives to attend religious schools."

The ruling is the latest in a series of legal victories for opponents of vouchers, but proponents have nonetheless gathered political steam as states continue to fashion new voucher programs. The governor and attorney general of Ohio vowed immediately to appeal the decision, and all parties to the case agreed to let children continue attending schools under the program until the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals rules.

"I am very disappointed with today's ruling because I believe it takes away a valuable option for Cleveland parents and students," Gov. Bob Taft, a Republican, said in a statement. "It interrupts an experiment that can shed light on how best to move forward with education reform."

The case was filed by a coalition of civil liberties groups and teachers unions, which contend that vouchers violate the First Amendment's prohibition on government establishment of religion and present a major threat to the public school system.

"Taxpayer dollars should be put to work in the public schools, where they belong, and not be used to subsidize someone's religion," said Carole Shields, president of People for the American Way, a Washington group that was among those supporting the plaintiffs. "The country would be wise to support proven education reforms, such as smaller classes, and not this voucher gimmick that's leaving children, parents and taxpayers high and dry."

But Christine Suma, a mother of 12 who has 3 children at Our Lady of Counsel under the voucher program, called Judge Oliver "the Grinch who stole Christmas."

The decision "leaves a lot of parents on a yo-yo," said Mrs. Suma, who was among the defendants named in the lawsuit. "I won't risk

my children's lives and future in education. If I had my children in the Cleveland Public Schools, I wouldn't have much say-so."

Under the Cleveland program, 3,761 elementary students receive up to \$2,500 in state money toward tuition at one of 56 approved private schools, more than 80 percent of which are religious. Currently, 96 percent of the students receiving vouchers attend parochial schools, a point emphasized throughout Judge Oliver's ruling. Most of those receiving the vouchers are poor.

The 63-page decision by Judge Oliver, who was appointed by President Clinton in 1994, opens with a litany of examples of the schools' religious nature.

At St. Patrick, one of several Catholic schools involved in the program, the student handbook says the No. 1 objective of education is "to communicate the gospel message of Jesus." St. John Nottingham, a Lutheran school, promises to teach "reading, mathematics, spelling, language, social studies and handwriting with a Christ-centered approach." Parents are warned that "religious truths and values" permeate "the whole atmosphere of the school" at St. Rocco, another Catholic institution, and that even non-Catholic students must attend religion classes and prayers.

Judge Oliver concluded that "it can generally be said that a central part of each school's program is instruction in the theology or doctrine of a particular faith and that religion and religious doctrines are an integral part of the entire school experience."

The ruling quotes Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, framers of the constitutional prohibition against mingling church and state, and suggests that the core values of the country are at stake. Judge Oliver rests his decision largely on a 1973 case known as *Community for Public Education and Religious Liberty vs. Nyquist*, in which the Supreme Court rejected a New York state program that gave parents \$50 or \$100 toward tuition at private and parochial schools.

"Like the program in *Nyquist*, there has been no endeavor to guarantee the separation between secular and religious educational functions and to ensure the state financial aid supports only the former," Judge Oliver wrote. "The effect of the aid is unmistakably to provide desired financial support for nonpublic, sectarian institutions."

Judge Oliver offers a detailed analysis of how the Cleveland case differs from recent cases in which courts have upheld the use of taxpayer money to defray the cost of parochial education — in one case, reimbursing the parents of public and private school children for transportation and textbooks, in another, paying the salary of an aide to a disabled student attending a religious school. But he said those cases were far narrower and thus less problematic than the Cleveland program.

Cleveland's was the first program to allow vouchers to be used for religious schools, though there is now a similar program in Milwaukee that was upheld by the Wisconsin Supreme Court. The United States Supreme Court declined to review the Wisconsin ruling.

Judge Oliver's decision comes af-

grams there may exclude parochial schools, and as Florida begins the first statewide voucher program that includes parochial schools.

In August, the day before school was to start in Cleveland, Judge Oliver temporarily blocked students from attending school using the vouchers, then backtracked days later amid parental protest.

The United States Supreme Court took the unusual step of intervening in the Cleveland case in November to guarantee the program's survival until the appeals court rules. That, combined with the clarity of the issues in the Cleveland case, is one of many reasons lawyers and advocates on both sides believe the case is likely to gain Supreme Court review.

Though litigation typically centers on the church-state question, vouchers are also controversial because of their potential impact on public education. Liberals fear that vouchers will drain essential resources and motivated children away from already struggling public schools; con-

Raising questions about the future of public education.

servatives see vouchers as a competitive market force that will push public schools to improve or die.

The issue has figured prominently in the presidential campaign. Republicans have lined up behind vouchers, while Vice President Al Gore has attacked his Democratic challenger, Bill Bradley, for voting in favor of vouchers while in the Senate. Mr. Bradley said in a televised debate Sunday that he had supported programs like Cleveland's only as experiments.

Judge Oliver was previously a federal prosecutor and a law professor. He was once on the board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has sparked criticism of his role in the case because the N.A.A.C.P. opposes vouchers, though its involvement in the issue came several years after Judge Oliver left the board.

"Given the judge's obvious hostility toward school choice, this decision was expected," said Clint Bolick, the litigation director for the Institute for Justice, a conservative law firm in Washington that joined in the defense of the Cleveland case.

"The kids deserve more than a lump of coal five days before Christmas," Mr. Bolick added. "We're not going to let the special interest groups ruin their dreams."

But Barry W. Lynn, executive director of the Washington advocacy organization Americans United for the Separation of Church and State, called Judge Oliver's decision "a powerful rebuke to those who believe the government can force taxpayers to support churches or church schools."

"The message from the courts is clear," Mr. Lynn said. "It's time to quit wasting time with these unconstitutional schemes and find real ways to improve public education."

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As More Are Deported, a '96 Law Faces Scrutiny

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By ERIC LIPTON

ROCHESTER, Dec. 16 — She prefers barbecued ribs to her mother's homemade lasagna. Her sons wear their Yankees caps backward and spend afternoons shooting hoops at their local schools. Her aunts, uncles, bothers, sisters and husband, a Rochester native, all live in this western New York community, which she considers her hometown.

But after being repeatedly convicted of shoplifting a total of less than \$500 in goods — items such as eye-drops, cigarettes and roll-on deodorant — Maria Wigent, 37, is being held in a county jail awaiting deportation next month to Italy, a country where she has not been since she was 5.

"I am not a drug lord. I'm not a terrorist. I am just a housewife who got mixed up and made a mistake," Mrs. Wigent said. "How can they just take me away from my country, from my husband of 16 years, my sons and my friends? This is my country. Italy is not."

Mrs. Wigent's predicament may seem extreme. But it has become so common in recent years that even sponsors of a tough deportation law enacted by Congress in 1996 are saying that the law — or at least its enforcement — is now too tough.

The United States Immigration and Naturalization Service deported 62,359 immigrants with criminal records in the 1999 fiscal year. That is up 72 percent since Congress expanded the types of crimes that can result in deportation, including some nonviolent offenses such as felony shoplifting. The new law also prohibits those convicted of so-called aggravated felonies from applying for deportation waivers and it permits people to be deported even if they committed their crimes decades ago and served their sentences.

"We are a just and fair nation, and must strike a just and fair balance in our immigration laws," said United

States Representative Bill McCollum. The Florida Republican was a co-sponsor of the 1996 legislation, but has sponsored one of five recently introduced bills that would amend it. Representative Brian P. Bilbray, a California Republican who was another co-sponsor of the 1996 legislation said, "We have a responsibility to go in and do a little tweaking."

Urged on by Congress, the I.N.S. is preparing a new policy on how to handle deportation cases involving less serious offenses, said Russell A. Bergeron Jr., a spokesman for the agency, although he said the agency preferred that Congress revise the law.

There are no solid estimates of how many immigrants convicted of less-serious crimes like Mrs. Wigent's are being deported each year, but there is agreement by both supporters and opponents of the 1996 legislation that the number is at least in the hundreds annually.

"You would never think you would get rearrested for something that you already paid for," said Jose M. Valesquez, 52, a native of Panama, who served three years' probation after being convicted in 1980 of conspiracy with the intent to distribute narcotics. Mr. Valesquez was detained by the I.N.S. after returning from a visit to his mother in Panama last December, and is free on bond while awaiting a deportation hearing. He acknowledges that he used drugs 20 years ago, but says he never sold drugs and has since lived a law-abiding life as a suburban Philadelphia deli owner.

Mrs. Wigent's case has captured widespread attention in Rochester, a city with a large Italian immigrant community. She, her brother and two sisters and parents came to the United States in 1968. Most of her aunts, uncles and cousins have also left their native city of Albi behind. Francesco Gaglianese, 68, and Anna Gaglianese, 58, Mrs. Wigent's parents, still speak Italian in their modest, two-story home. But the family has integrated into their adopted community, with her father, who is retired, spending 31 years as a laborer building homes. Her mother was a school custodian.

Mrs. Wigent, who dropped out of high school, married a short-order cook from Rochester, Larry Wigent, when she was 21. Two sons soon followed, Larry Wigent Jr., now 15, and Louis Wigent, 14. Her husband

and two sons are United States citizens. Mrs. Wigent said she mistakenly believed that by marrying a citizen, she became one too.

Her trouble began in October 1994, when Mrs. Wigent, who had been working in a series of fast-food restaurants and clothing stores, began a shoplifting spree. On 17 occasions, she was arrested on charges of petty larceny or attempted petty larceny, generally after being caught with inexpensive items such as cigarettes, court records say. She pleaded guilty each time, paying small fines. The convictions made her vulnerable to deportation in 1998, when upon the advice of a public defender, she said, she pleaded guilty to her two final larceny charges and a probation violation and was given a two-year jail sentence. That conviction fell under the 1996 law's definition of an aggravated felony.

A Rochester psychologist diagnosed Mrs. Wigent last month as suffering from impulse-control disorder, commonly known as kleptomania, court records show. Mrs. Wigent and her family do not dispute that she deserved punishment for the offenses. But deporting Mrs. Wigent to Italy, they said, is far too extreme. Her family hired a new lawyer, who asked a Rochester judge to vacate Mrs. Wigent's most recent convictions, arguing that the public defender had an obligation to inform her that a guilty plea could result in deportation. The request was denied, and Mrs. Wigent is scheduled to be deported Jan. 13.

The prospect of being sent to Italy — without the right ever to return — terrifies Mrs. Wigent, who cannot read or write Italian. In a recent interview at a county jail in Wyoming, N.Y., she said she knew of only one relative there, an elderly aunt who lives in a convent in Rome. "Sometimes I feel like I am in a dream and someone needs to wake me up," Mrs. Wigent said.

A petition drive has started in Rochester. A local newspaper columnist has taken up her cause. Her lawyer, Jeffrey M. Jayson, is appealing the Rochester judge's ruling.

To compound Mrs. Wigent's difficulties, her husband, Larry, was charged on Dec. 10 with criminal possession of a controlled substance. He is in Monroe County Jail, a spokeswoman at the jail said, and her sons are living with her parents, wondering just what will happen if their mother is sent away for good. "I thought she would always be here," Louis Wigent said.

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While Mrs. Wigent waits for her fate to be decided, others like her are already back in their native lands. There is Tony El-Dib, 35, of Manhattan, deported to his native Lebanon last month, after a 1998 bank-fraud conviction related to credit-card abuse. Sergio A. Sandoval, 38, meanwhile, was dropped off in a border town in Mexico on Dec. 1. He and his family left their native Mexico in 1964, moving to California. His deportation came after he served a 30-month sentence in Nevada for driving under the influence, his third alcohol-related driving offense. None resulted in an accident or injury.

"I am only really about 10 minutes away from the border, but it feels like a million miles," said Mr. Sandoval, a marine veteran.

The deportation of Mr. Sandoval and hundreds of others like him has heightened opposition to the 1996 legislation. A woman in Mesquite, Texas, whose husband served three years in jail after being convicted of possession of amphetamines in 1989 and who now faces deportation to Canada, has formed a group called Citizens and Immigrants for Equal Justice. It started with five families; today there are about 500 families in 26 states, the Mesquite woman, Laurie Kozuba, said.

"There are too many families out

there that just cannot survive without some relief coming soon," Mrs. Kozuba said.

National organizations, including the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Immigration Forum and the American Immigration Lawyers Association, have taken up the cause. Last summer, they initiated a "Fix '96" campaign calling for amendments to the law. Among other changes, the amendments would allow immigrants convicted of less serious crimes to apply for deportation waivers. Current federal law prohibits any special circumstances — or consideration of evidence of rehabilitation — for those convicted of an aggravated felony.

Five bills are pending in the House of Representatives and two in the Senate calling for changes in the 1996 immigration law. The first, introduced in April by Representative Barney Frank, Democrat of Massachusetts, has 74 co-sponsors, including six Republicans. It would allow long-term legal immigrants to seek a waiver to a deportation order.

Like Mr. Frank's bill, Mr. McCollum's proposal, introduced in October, would allow certain people who were deported but not convicted of serious violent crimes to apply for reentry to the United States. Mr. McCollum developed his plan after

he asked Congress to grant special relief to Robert A. Broley, the son of the former Republican Party treasurer in Orange County, Fla., who was deported to Canada last year after he was convicted of felony theft and fraud charges.

If either bill becomes law, it could provide relief to Mrs. Wigent and others.

These bills, along with two others in the House, have been referred to a House Judiciary Committee panel headed by Representative Lamar Smith, a Texas Republican who was the House sponsor of the 1996 legislation. Mr. Smith agrees that the law has, at times, been enforced unfairly. He helped draft a letter sent last month to Attorney General Janet Reno, signed by 28 Republicans and Democrats, noting that "there has been widespread agreement that some deportations were unfair and resulted in unjustified hardship."

But Mr. Smith is opposed to amending the law, maintaining that the Department of Justice and the Immigration and Naturalization Service can address the problem by choosing not to pursue deportation claims against immigrants convicted of less serious crimes. "Prosecutors across the U.S. make decisions every day about who they will prosecute," he said.

Mr. Bergeron, the Immigration and Naturalization Service spokesman, said that his agency would much prefer that Congress modify the law. But the immigration service is preparing a policy that would establish guidelines for its 33 district offices and other entry points into the United States detailing what kinds of cases its staff could, under certain circumstances, choose not to pursue.

"If we are left with no other alternative," the agency would likely put such a policy into effect, Mr. Bergeron said.

Immigration advocates also object to merely making an administrative change, noting that legal immigrants with relatively minor criminal convictions could never be assured that they would not suddenly be subject to a deportation proceeding.

But immigration advocates and families of those facing deportation are encouraged that the debate has at least started in Washington. "It is far from a done deal, but some of the right ingredients are there," said Angela Kelley, deputy director of the National Immigration Forum. "There is an unmistakable smell in the air of the need for change."

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WASHINGTON

Date 12/27/99

To: NASH, STREETT, TRAMONTANO

From: The Staff Secretary

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December 22, 1999

William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

Your words earlier today at the DC Central Kitchen were exceptionally powerful. We have distributed them to our staff and our colleagues in the field as a Christmas message.

As I mentioned, it is our understanding that Gov. Marc Racicot is completely through the vetting process and will be nominated when Congress returns. That is excellent, but announcing your "intent to nominate" as soon as possible would send a strong and very timely message about your determination to keep national service on a bipartisan or nonpartisan basis. You thanked Gov. Racicot for his willingness to serve almost a year ago at your dinner for the NGA. He wrote an excellent column about AmeriCorps (attached), but we need his active help in the effort to reauthorize the Corporation, and the next weeks are a critical time in seeking additional Congressional support – by visits here and by telephone around the country even before Congress comes back. Bob Nash has said he will try to expedite the announcement, nomination and confirmation.

Applying your simple, appealing reminder that each of us can write a new page in our own story each day, I want to remind you of the Martin Luther King Holiday – January 17, 2000. Seeing you in action and wearing that AmeriCorps vest made me realize once again how important it is for you to participate in a service project next month on the King Holiday. With your help, and the help of thousands of AmeriCorps members, we have made tremendous progress in establishing the King Holiday as "A Day On, Not a Day Off." Your continued participation in service projects on that day will help establish the tradition of service on this day and make a reality of the King Holiday legislation you signed in the fall of 1994.

With gratitude for all your service – and good wishes for the holidays and the New Year.

Warmly,



Harris Wofford



Community service that works

By Marc Racicot

Governors meet together and routinely stake out areas of broad bipartisan agreement that transcend the partisan struggles that have become synonymous with election-year politics. One issue that enjoys strong support from governors of both parties is national and community service. The support for service is based on a simple conviction that I share with many other governors: that every generation of young people needs to accept responsibility for its country and its community.

As a first-term Republican governor in January, 1993, I asked, and our legislature approved, a proposal to create a Governor's Office of Community Service intended to enhance the ethic of service and elevate the importance of "community," particularly among our young people. Meaningful service, we believed, would nurture productive young citizens committed to the future of our state because they had invested their sweat and labor in that future. Here in Montana, we sought to encourage service as a life-long "habit of the heart."

When the National Community Service Act of 1993 was passed, Montana was in an ideal position to move forward with the opportunities offered through AmeriCorps. The Office of Community Service's mission and the mission of AmeriCorps was one and the same: to develop opportunities for young people to provide meaningful, direct and demonstrable service to their communities. It was our hope that AmeriCorps would help us to build unique partnerships with public and private agencies by engaging young people in productive and

meaningful service to their communities. These partnership would serve as clear examples of how we could work together in Montana to improve how we, as fellow citizens, respond to pressing needs.

Now in its fourth year, AmeriCorps offers a creative, effective, and non-bureaucratic means of addressing the unmet education, human, public safety and environmental needs of our state — and our country. Indeed, AmeriCorps has become a model of devolution, where real authority and ownership for a federal initiative is delegated to the states. Through governor-appointed bipartisan state commissions, priorities are established and projects are selected to receive AmeriCorps funding.

The results are impressive. Last year alone, our locally-run AmeriCorps programs generated nearly 51,000 hours of service to Montana communities. Their service directly benefits 50,000 children and families in Montana, and indirectly almost one-third of our state population. Nationally, similar results abound. This year, some 40,000 AmeriCorps members will get things done for more than 1,200 communities across the country.

When AmeriCorps was created, some feared it might replay the worst of the welfare state — an entrenched, expensive, Washington-run program. Many feared, even more, that it would undermine traditional volunteers with yet another federal program. I can say from experience that the fears were misplaced. As a governor who tries very hard to be careful with tax dollars, I have witnessed time and again the fruits of this prudent investment in Montana.

Now, after more than five years, we have seen a tremendous rekindling of a sense of public service and civic duty, in many ways,

through the programs and opportunities generated through the National Community Service Act. I am convinced national and community service promotes core values — hard work, self-discipline, civic duty, personal responsibility, the cherishing of human life — that we too often sadly find lacking. If the era of big government is finally over, certainly the era of big citizenship must begin.

I have joined twelve of my fellow governors in urging not only continued federal funding of AmeriCorps, but also reauthorization of the Act, increasing the partnership with states and the authority of directing these programs at the state level. We join with our peers from the New England Governors' Conference in urging Congress to support reauthorizing the National Community Service Amendments Act, in order to improve the law's current language. As their resolution notes, we support the bill's "devolution provisions that add authority and flexibility to states . . . [to] provide Governor-appointed state commissions more control over program selection."

Community service is a vital element in the chemistry of our existence as a society, renewing our sense of community and civic initiative. It is the glue that bonds free peoples together. We in Montana have seen how vitally important this is, recently having completed our state Governors' Summit on Youth, and witnessing the real necessity of promoting opportunities for young people to give back to others. Through community service they learn what it's like to belong to something good and solid and decent. AmeriCorps helps provide that opportunity and truly puts the states in the driver's seat, which translates into meaningful ownership, and impact, at the state and local level.

Marc Racicot, a Republican, is governor of Montana.

7/1/14
P/S Sec' Gen's Office
Dunedin
Liza F. Mulla

copied
Herrnreich
Zurichardt
(for reply/
action)
Podesta

PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-27-99

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-27-99

1923 E. Joyce Blvd., #114
Fayetteville, Arkansas 72703
December 1, 1999

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

Dear President Clinton:

I am Sandy White, lifelong resident of Arkansas, lifelong Democrat. You know my cousin, Harold Riggan, Jr. (Blue Riggan of Corning, Arkansas). I am transmitting this letter through the kindness of our mutual friend, Ms. Liza Ashley.

I have a favor to ask, Mr. President. For fourteen years my friends, Mr. And Mrs. Michael Relton and their 21-year old son Johnny and 20-year old daughter Anita, have lived in Garland, Texas, where he serves as pastor to a non-denominational Christian Church. Mrs. Grace Relton, an R.N., has served as a nurse for many years. The children are both honors students at Southern Methodist University.

The Reltons are East Indian by birth; and all but Mrs. Relton, are citizens of Canada. All of the members of this family are desirous of obtaining U.S. citizenship. They have filed repeatedly, only to be told the quotas are over-subscribed. It would seem immigrants as well qualified as these folks would be regarded as excellent candidates for U.S. citizenship.

I would be pleased if you would intercede on behalf of the Reltons, Mr. President.

Yours sincerely,



Sandra K. White

P.S. Best wishes for the holidays.

cc: Mr. & Mrs. Michael Relton
2617 Emberwood Drive
Garland, Texas 75043

Dec 10, 1999

Mr. President
Whitehouse
Washington D.C.
U.S.A.

FROM,
Mrs. E.K. Relton
2617 Emberwood Dr.
Garland, Tx. 75043

SUBJECT: FOUR YEARS OF WAITING FOR GREEN CARD

Dear Mr. President,

MERRY CHRISTMAS AND HAPPY NEW YEAR !

I am approaching you as a last resort for my immigration matter. If you could kindly help me and I know you could, we can have a very, very happy Christmas on the American soil !

I am a Registered Nurse from Canada and a native of India. I heard about the shortage of nurses in U.S. And applied for the job after passing the Texas State Board Exam and licenced to practice nursing in Texas. I obtained the job at the Methodist Medical Hospital in Dallas and they are very happy to sponsor me to obtain my legal residency status in U.S. My husband is an ordained Minister from Canada and a Canadian citizen. My two children John Relton and Anita Relton were born in Canada.

I applied for my Green Card (Permanent Residency status) in 1995 through a lawyer and in 1996 we had an interview with the immigration officer by name Mike Peace, and was told that our application is approved but there is no visa available at this time. We all received work permits. When we inquired the following year we are told that the Federal Government is making some new regulations for medical professional from foreign countries.

According to this new regulations all the foreign nurses has to pass English Tests both written and oral. I was subject to this even though I worked in Canada for over ten years and in U.S. For 10 years. I have no problem whatsoever with my English. I have received many commendations for my job both from patients and management. I feel this is very unfair because If I came from India recently then I would'nt mind all these tests.

We have spent already over \$10,000 for lawyers to prepare the forms, medical and various other expenses related to our immigration. Also hundreds of hours of going to immigration offices and standing in the hot sun and rain outside, taking day off from jobs just to see an officer for a few minutes. We never imagined this pleasant experience of coming to this beautiful country will almost turn into a nightmare. Meanwhile my two children, honor students at Southern Methodist University are unable to get Federal Aid because of this.

PAGE 2

Mr. President, we tried every means with dead ends. ONLY YOU CAN HELP US. Please help us to get this Green card as a Christmas Gift to us from you ! We will be overjoyed and be very very grateful. Also I have not seen my relatives in India for the past 14 years. I kindly request you to help us get the Green card or American citizenship as soon as you can for all us .

We do very much appreciate your great leadership this country enjoyed for the last 8 years. The country has prospered very much and we had budget surplus for the first time after a long time. You are indeed a great president and an able leader. We prayed for you when you went through the difficult time of your life, especially for the First lady and Chelisa, your daughter.

May God bless you and we continue to look forward from you and your family great things for this country even after your retirement !

Thank you ever so much.

Yours sincerely,



Mrs Eshwara Kruppa Relton

P.S. Our Alien Registration Numbers are,

Rev . Michael Relton.....A269200

Mrs,EshwaraKrupa Relton.....A 269201

Miss.Anita J.Relton.....A 269202

Mr.John Relton.....A 269203

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-27-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 26, 1999

MR. PRESIDENT:

89 DEC 26 10:41

Attached are the following weekly reports:

- (A) Update on Global Markets/Interests Rates and Stock Prices
- (B) Communications

12/27/99

Tab B - Ucelli/Tanenday
Podesta

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

December 23, 1999

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-27-99

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Ucelli
Janenda
Podesta

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LORETTA UCELLI
TOM JANENDA

RE: Communications Weekly Report

Millennium Celebration: Publicizing The Event And Dealing With Security Concerns

We are working on two fronts to insure successful millennium celebrations in Washington. First, we are coordinating public outreach to promote the events themselves. Second, we are working with all appropriate officials to ensure that celebrities and others promoting Millennium events can respond appropriately to any questions involving security concerns.

We are implementing a public outreach plan to promote the broadest possible public participation in millennium events. We are undertaking a number of efforts including: public service announcements by you and celebrities participating in the gala; interviews in the national and local media by celebrities participating in the events; set-up stories in local print media; radio actualities and call-in interviews; print outreach via a letter from you in local newspapers and another to all federal employees in the Washington area; local distribution of 500,000 brochures; promotional billboards on the metro and around the Washington area; and a web site and 800 phone number providing information about millennium events. We are working with a local public relations firm (Hill & Knowlton) to accomplish many of these tasks.

In addition, we are coordinating -- on an ongoing basis -- with the NSC, State Department, Justice Department, White House Press Office, Mayor Williams' Office and others to provide information about security issues related to holiday and millennium events in Washington and around the nation. We are providing appropriate guidance on these issues to everyone involved in promoting the millennium events in the metro-Washington area.

Y2K: Setting Up A Communications Plan For New Year's Eve Day And Beyond

We are working with John Koskinen and your Y2K Council, the Press Office, Deputy Chief of Staff Maria Echaveste and others to prepare for communications efforts related to the transition of computer systems to the new millennium. Specifically, we have arranged for a series of briefings beginning New Year's Eve Day and continuing through "back-to-work" day on Monday, January 3rd.

The current plan for early Y2K briefings includes:

- Friday, 6:00am – 7:00pm EST: Monitoring *international events* prior to impact on US systems (briefing by John Koskinen and Thomas Pickering from State 12:00 noon);
- Friday, 7:00pm – 12:00am EST: Monitoring transition of *US East Coast* systems (briefing by Koskinen, Secretary Richardson, Secretary Slater 8:30pm);
- Saturday, 12:00am – 4:00am EST: Monitoring transition of *US Central/Mountain/Pacific systems* (briefing by Koskinen at 1:00am and 4:00am);
- Saturday -- Sunday: Monitoring additional information and testing of *US systems nation-wide* (briefings on Saturday at 11:00am and 3:00pm with an optional Sunday 9:00pm briefing on “back-to-work” systems in Asian-Pacific nations);
- Monday, all day: Monitoring systems/markets, etc. as America goes “*back-to-work*” (briefings at 12:00pm, 5:00pm and an optional 9:00pm).

Year End: Highlighting Your Leadership Through Executive Action

 In the context of your environmental announcement regarding cleaner car and air standards this week, we worked with the Press Office, CEQ and others to provide selected reporters with a fact sheet demonstrating the many ways you have exerted Executive Branch leadership on behalf of the American people. We continue to share this fact sheet with reporters, columnists and pundits who are working on “year-end” stories.

State Of The Union:

We continue to work with Terry Edmonds, the Speechwriting staff, the policy committees, the Press Office and others to develop drafts of your upcoming State of the Union Address. We also are devising a communications lead-up strategy for you and cabinet officials to preview and promote major themes of your speech.

New Year's Day: Live, Televised Radio Address To The Nation

We are working with the Press Office to coordinate preparation for your live, televised radio address to the nation on New Year's morning. Speechwriting is preparing to have all drafts of remarks for all New Years activities into you by Christmas.

Budget Priorities: Coordinating News Coverage Over The Holiday's And Early January

We are working with the NEC, DPC, OMB, Press Office and other offices to strategically promote and advance the priorities you will pursue in next year's budget proposal.

MONSANTO

Food • Health • Hope



99 DEC 27 AM 11:00

Robert B. Shapiro
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer

MONSANTO COMPANY
MERCHANDISE MART, SUITE 900
200 WORLD TRADE CENTER
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60654
PHONE (312) 840-5454
FAX (312) 840-6007
bob@monsanto.com
<http://www.monsanto.com>

December 13, 1999

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President,

Your remarks in Seattle on biotechnology were greatly appreciated. Your personal leadership and public comments on the issue over the years have been extremely helpful as we work to help make American agriculture more productive.

I greatly appreciate your support, and the hard work of many in your Administration.

Thank you, and please let me know if I can be of assistance to you in any way.

Sincerely,

12-27-99

Send to Burkhardt?

Yes ☒

No ☐

C.

MICHAEL A. GOLDBERG
P.O. Box 1012
Aspen, Co. 81611
Telephone: (970) 920-0070

EB
Forwarded to
Counsel -
not sure he
can do

December 16, 1999

Dear Mr. President

'99 DEC 27 AM 11:00

A belated thank you for a wonderful evening at the White House.

I have taken you
Happy Texas. I send to Burkhardt?
Being from Oklahoma
have a similar perspective
(Texas) as you will; Send to Counsel?
Therefore, I feel
"True Stories" - I
many "true stories" within it, and laughs well.

I would also ask that you take
a look at the package from Anne Brown,
as I think it is a worthy cause.

Best wishes for a healthy, happy
New Year to you and the First Lady
from Ana & me (and David, Daniel & Andrew).

Michael

MICHAEL A. GOLDBERG
P.O. Box 1012
Aspen, Co. 81611
Telephone: (970) 920-0070

EB
revised to
counsel
not sure he
can do

December 16, 1999

Dear Mr. President

'99 DEC 27 AM 11:00

A belated thank you for a wonderful evening at the White House.

I have taken your advice and watched Happy Texas. I laughed a lot!

Being from Oklahoma (ages 5-18), I have a similar perspective to that state (Texas) as you might, being from Arkansas.

Therefore, I feel compelled to send you "True Stories" - I think you will find many "true stories" within it, and laugh as well.

I would also ask that you take a look at the package from Anne Brown, as I think it is a worthy cause.

Best wishes for a healthy, happy New Year to you and the First Lady from Ana & me (and David, Daniel & Andrew).

Michael

Anne H. Brown, M.S.C.S.
Psychotherapist

P.O. Box 4708
Aspen, Colorado 81612

970-920-7686

Dear Mr. President,

Sunday, December 12, 1999

DEC 27 AM 11:00

As parents, we all understand we live in a time when our young people are more confused than at any other time in this century. A situation like Littleton calls our attention to the deep need for listening to our youth and responding with our wisdom and experience.

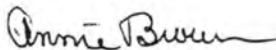
Young people are crying out for guidance, a helping hand, parenting, family values, signposts along the path. If we continue to ignore these blatant cries for help, we fail our children, our society, our future.

Our book, *Heroes and Heroines Passing the Baton*, addresses the issue of mentoring, communication, and guidance, thereby providing some of these crucial signposts. The book is a simple but bold project in which we invite high school students from socially and ethnically diverse backgrounds—including students from Columbine high school—to ask important life questions of well-known, respected adults. The adults answer with the wisdom of their life experiences. Part of the proceeds of this book will go to support children's causes. We are approaching David and Valerie Robinson, Christin Cooper (enclosed sample), Oprah Winfrey, Robert Redford, Andrea Jaeger, David Hermelin, Loretta Sanchez, and others.

We would feel very honored if you would join us in improving the lives of children. *Heroes and Heroines Passing the Baton*, offers us all an opportunity to invest in our youth by having important mentoring conversations with them, and listening to their concerns. Our commitment is to create a model that will encourage high-school students across our nation to ask questions of heroes in their community.

We look forward to discussing this project in depth with you and working with you on a concern that is close to all of our hearts. We have enclosed a sample set of questions and answers from Christin and Alana. Thank you for your time and consideration.

With Respect,



Anne Brown, RN,CS
Radio Host and Family Therapist

Tom Farrell, MA
Superintendent of School, Aspen School District

Edgell F. Pyles, Ph.D
Chaplain, Snowmass Chapel

CHRISTIN COOPER

Born October 8, 1959 Los Angeles, Ca Raised Sun Valley, Idaho
Current Resident Aspen, Co
Married to Mark Tache(U.S. Ski Team 1978-85/U.s Pro Tour 1986-92)

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

Eight-year member U.S. Ski Team and World Cup Team: 1977-1984
Two-time Olympian: 1980-1984
Two-time World Championship Team member: 1978,1982
Triple Medalist-World Championships-Schladming, Austria: 1982
Silver, Slalom; silver, Giant Slalom, bronze, Combined
Olympic Silver Medalist-Giant Slalom-Sarajevo, Yugoslavia: 1984
Winner of five World Cup races: 2 Slalom, 1 Giant Slalom, 2 Combined
Third in World Cup Giant Slalom standings: 1982
Six-time U.S. National Champion: Slalom: 1977, 1980. Giant Slalom: 1980, 1984
Combined: 1977, 1980
Inducted into U.S. Ski Hall of Fame: 1984
Honored by the World Sports Humanitarian Hall of Fame: October, 1995
(for traveling to the besieged city of Sarajevo during the height of the Bosnian war to found, with Spirit of Hope, a "Summer Sports for Sarajevo Youth" program
1991-Hired by CBS as an expert analyst to cover the women's World Cup, three winter olympic games (Albertville, Lillehammer, and Nagano, and three World Championships.

Dear Alana,

Hi! Thanks for thinking up such thoughtful and insightful questions. I do believe one of the secrets to an interesting life is the ability to ask interesting questions.

I hope I haven't run on too terribly, but I tend to do that. I seem to be constitutionally incapable of single-sentence answers. Things just don't seem that condensable to me. I'm a Libra too, so that could have something to do with it. Always looking at things from numerous points of view, and seeing some value in every one of them. (It's maddening when shopping for a simple pair of pants).

Anyway the notion of a well-lived life (and how to make one) is a pretty compelling subject. Much to be learned by just considering it.

I'm curious if my thinking will connect with you: you never know whether one person's take on life will hit home or leave a person cold, shrugging their shoulders, shaking their head. But I've found that even when I can't relate to the details of someone else's life or the choices they made, there's usually some universal threads woven through.

It's been an honor to spend some time with your questions. I learned a little more about myself, and the way my life has gone so far and what I believe to be true.

It makes me think that everything we need to know is all around us, either already within or just hanging around, waiting to be plucked, considered, embraced, rejected. We just have to have our eyes open and be willing to trust that what comes our way is just what we needed.

Looking forward to hearing from you,

TO: Alana Monge
FROM: Christin Cooper
DATE: July 22, 1999

#1.

When I was 18, I was totally consumed with what was going on in my life at the moment. Maybe I thought five years into the future, at the very most, but I couldn't imagine being 40 (which I almost am) and I couldn't imagine a life without ski racing, even though everyone knows you can only do that for so long. Anyway I kept my goals a closely guarded secret: I figured they were my business and if I spilled them out to everyone who asked, they'd get scattered or abused or lose their spirit or something. The main one was to reach my potential in ski racing, which wasn't very specific (as was pointed out to me by my coaches), but since I believed my potential to be limitless, it was specific enough to get me to the top. I just didn't say so aloud because who knew? And I just tried to behave in a way that would increase my chances of success. I kept it personal, a little secretive, even downplaying how hard I trained, sometimes, because it was no one's business but my own and I relished that. I trained and prepared by myself a lot because I loved the solitude and the focus of working alone in nature. It was more fun and less needlessly competitive and more powerful to keep it personal. So at 18 I was fully absorbed and not looking beyond the immediate horizon.

But within a few years it was a different story and I started branching out and developing other interests that could provide some release from the pressures of constant travel and world-class competition. Those release valves helped me handle the stress and became the things that still serve me well today. I climbed a lot of mountains and did a lot of backpacking in my free time. That kept me strong and was my religion. I found God in nature and it was there that I did my connecting. And I wrote a lot: journals, letters, essays, poems. Writing was an outlet for intellect interested in so many different things, but committed to focusing primarily on one. Also, I had a passion for modern dance. I studied, went to performances and took class in the summers when I could, thinking if I could reach my goals in ski racing and quit while my body still worked, I would try to dance professionally. I remember thinking I had to hurry.

Did my predictions come true? I had success in ski racing and that experience, those 15 years of work and joy are pretty much the bedrock for who I am today, so yes.

But did I end up becoming a writer, a climber or a dancer after that? Well, kind of. I have written a lot for publication but I wouldn't label myself because true writers have to write or they'll implode. I can take it or leave it. I am generally tortured by the process even when I'm proud of the outcome. I climb mountains and technical rock with a passion today. I'm totally grateful for my early exposure to it, but I didn't have the heart for the professional dancer's life by the time I quit racing. All that traveling with all those highly-strung athletes, endless training, sore joints, and no future sounded like more of the same.

#2

I love my life today. It's a killer balance of work and play, public and private time, responsibility and invisibility. I'm challenged by work, but living a lot of life in between to stay recharged and have the clarity to work with focus and enthusiasm. I'm committed to balancing time inside with time outside. The out of doors is where I process best what is happening with work. And my husband Mark seems to be the same way. We sift through the details, while climbing or hiking, of where we are and where we're going, of what just went down, what it means and almost always end up with a sense of the bigger picture. I just can't get that kind of perspective in the office or at home, not with the same consistency. So I make room for it. No apologies. We are creatures of

nature and need contact with the earth to think straight, so the natural world's a big part of our daily life. It never fails either. When we return to our "responsibilities" we go refreshed and with a clearer vision of where we're heading and what we're willing to do, or give up, to get there. Maintaining the balance between earth and intellect is, for me, totally connected to how well I operate in my areas of responsibility to others (and how enthused I am to get out of bed in the morning!)

#3

I haven't kept in touch much with friends from high school, (and only attended one semester of college part-time, when I was 28, and married). I was off ski racing during high school, traveling with the US Team or training to get there. I made it to school just the first two weeks and the last two weeks of my senior year. I graduated by correspondence and it's a good thing that I loved to read and write or I never would have graduated. My classmates' lives were completely dissimilar from mine. It didn't seem possible to bridge the gap.

The most amazing thing happened two years ago. I attended my 20-year high school reunion—we're talking 30 kids and only 12 showed—but these were people who were in grade school with me. Still I hadn't seen them in 20 years and kind of expected to be miserable for two days. Instead I was given the most unexpected gift: there was a bond that existed between us that made us just naturally accept each other with no work at all. Sounds crazy. And it really was totally unexpected. There was a level of core acceptance that had nothing to do with the details of how our lives have transpired. Old hurts were forgiven or laughed over, and everything brought up and scrutinized and kind of understood through the filter of maturity. It was so cool. We had all grown up and now could have some compassion for who we'd been as kids. These people are part of my story, like it or not, and I'm part of theirs. And we only get one. So it was like family almost, only with more curiosity and more respect in many ways. Total acceptance.

Maybe I was lucky: I had some great people in my class. (And clearly enough time had to pass before I was ready to appreciate them). But I think there's a quality to childhood friendships that can't be found anywhere else. You lay out who you are with childhood friends in a way that you can't or won't later in life. And adult friends, no matter how close and wonderful, can never know you in the same way.

We all promised to keep in touch, which we haven't, which is totally fine. I hear of births and marriages and occasionally a friend passes through town and I value the connection, but we don't belong in each others' lives today and don't need to force it. I don't have to attend their BBQs or baby showers, but it is nice to know I have a few soul brothers and sisters out there who think I'm OK. The feeling is *mutual*.

#4

I don't know how I knew, or even if I knew that I'd spend the rest of my life with Mark because I don't really think in those terms, but I did know from the first meeting that we had connected in some unusual deep extremely natural way. I'd just never experienced anything like it. It seemed like we already knew each other or that we'd always known each other and that we just hadn't bothered to actually meet yet.

We met 19 years ago when we were both 20 and ski racing on the US Team and we became basically inseparable from that moment on. We just chose to be together in life from that point forward. We didn't actually say so, it was just known. For my part I knew I'd met someone who got me, who instinctively knew who I really was, what I was about, what my fears were, how ruled I was by them, and how that didn't make me any less precious to him. He fell in love with

my soul, and I with his, I guess. The trials, changes, doubts and weird behaviors that adolescents and twenty-year olds go through were kind of incidental. We, for some phenomenal and unknowable reason, were on the same wave-length in life, holding a very similar world-view then and still now, which took away much of the awkward early stages of getting to know one another. It was as if we already knew what needed knowing. We knew who each other was at the core, so the details would work themselves out, which they have, and do. To this day, Mark probably knows me better than I know myself, and loves me in spite of it. He loves the things about me that I can't stand to look at or admit to. I think because he sees me as a work in progress which is how I see him and which is what keeps the relationship so interesting. We're both constantly changing, getting shaped by life beyond each others' control, but open to each others' input. If that makes any sense. I guess we trust each that other's essential nature will remain even while changing and developing every day according to what goes down in daily life.

We are lucky. And we knew from the first moment that we were onto something special and so we treat it with reverence. We give it priority. Nothing means as much to us and as a result we tend to save our best stuff for each other. This, by the way, irks our friends, especially those in bad relationships, and those who are just more social generally. They want us to be more available, but there's only so much time and you have to make hard choices about how to spend it.

Anyway, we still wake up every morning enthusiastic to see what the other person will bring to the day. We kiss all the time, and are physically affectionate with each other, and act like we just met, because we did! I'm happy to make the guy's acquaintance every day.

Will it last another 20 years? Who can know? But it's lasted this long, with this much juice I think because we are each other's best friend, and we treat each other that way, with pretty large bits of forgiveness and understanding and curiosity for mistakes. Like you treat your buddies. Like you want them to treat you. We try not to assume, or expect, or drift into any sense of ownership. He's my friend. And that happened at first sight.

#5

I guess by biggest regret about how I lived my twenties was that I gave much too much power to my fears. I was afraid of success (pressure) and petrified of failure (being worthless). Not a lot of room to operate, there. I made too many decisions based on fear of what people might think, or what I might miss or what happen, if I said what I really felt, or God forbid, took a pass and said no. It took my twenties and a good part of my thirties to let go of the idea that it was my duty to say yes to every opportunity and then perform to perfection. I thought I owed it to the world to be a writer because I had the talent to be one, that I was supposed to save the world because I had the opportunity to do good deeds. I was supposed to be great at whatever I tried because I'd been a great skier, and because the potential was there and anything less would be a waste of my gifts. Guilt and resentment were huge.

So I spent my twenties exhausted, running around, doing too much, keeping too many people happy and not listening to my own spirit (which was dying). I didn't give my best stuff in my twenties, because I wasn't giving for the right reasons. I didn't know how to put my own needs first.

If I could do it differently I'd ask for the courage to follow my instincts more, to trust my own brain, emotions and heart. That small quiet voice was always there telling me what was right and wrong in terms of how and where I was putting my energy, but I wasn't really listening. I let it get drowned out by the noise of "society's expectations" and by some weird sense of duty and

towing the line. I did too many things halfheartedly instead of fewer things with the full weight of my conviction and joy and enthusiasm.

I now know to give from the heart!. Time is too precious.

The thing is, I'm not sure I could have learned this without going through it exactly the way I did. I think I had to wear myself out to learn, finally, out of sheer desperation, to say "no".

#6

I always have taken bits and pieces of inspiration from everyone. No one person has ever embodied all that I wanted to be. I respected my father for his fearlessness, my mother for her intellect, one skier for her grace under pressure, another his humility in the limelight, God, Buddha, John Lennon, the ocean, bits and pieces from everywhere.

Today I'd have to say my role model/hero is my husband, Mark, because he has such a fine combination of traits. He approaches life with total enthusiasm and tireless energy and he looks at things with a critical eye and a problem-solving mind, constantly searching for ways to improve. He teaches me to look for solutions between the extremes, and I need that. He has taught me there is nothing you cannot learn if you apply yourself and that there are few dead ends, just places where choices must be made, maybe a compromise accepted, to keep moving forward.

#7

I'm such a gatherer of twigs, its hard to point to a single branch as the key to the fire. Plus, as far as giving advice goes, who am I? I'm someone who makes it up as she goes along, tries not to make the same mistakes twice, and same mistakes twice, and stumbles forward with tenacity more than anything else, and a sense of humor, thankfully. But here's three points:

1. Respect people. No one succeeds on their own.
2. Let yourself be a beginner. It turns life into a playground.
3. And this, which has seen me through many a rough patch:
"If you can't get out of it, get into it."

#8

My greatest challenge has been learning to just be who I really am (versus acting some alien I thought I was suppose to be). It's trite, but true. When my Dad died of cancer, I was age 10 and I spent years trying to live up to some idea I had of who he would have wanted me to be. Super woman! Tough as nails! Don't cry if it's not bleeding! Stuff like that. Since he wasn't there to tell me I was just fine the way I was (or that it might even be a good idea to cry now and then) I just kept my head down and kept pushing, ignoring most natural impulses towards balance. It helped my ski champion aspirations but made me miserable a good part of the time. So the challenge for me today is to recognize what I really think and feel and put it out there, unguarded and free of fear. I'm learning to say "No, thank you" to things that make me feel bad and tiptoe towards the ones that make my heart soar. I take the occasional nap today! I try to trust my instincts.

When I do that-when I use my Dad's strength but not try to be him-I pretty much have a great life. I greet each day with enthusiasm, but don't expect to be inspired every day, or do great things all the time. Don't expect society to back this tendency to leading a balanced life. We are generally encouraged to do too much, take in huge amounts of useless information, spend too much time with too many acquaintances, and leave too little space in our days for reflection. I'm into resisting that, honoring the soft and the hard, the yin and the yang, the good, the bad and the ugly in equal measure. Of course things don't naturally stay in balance. (Believe a Libra when she tells you that). Going for it keeps things interesting!



L A R O C H E C O L L E G E

99 DEC 27 11:00

12-27-99

Office of the President

SEND
TO SCHEDULING
BY

December 8, 1999

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I would like to invite you to be the honored guest at a dinner in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania on February 19, 2000. The dinner celebrates the establishment of an international board of directors to oversee and promote an educational program that serves the needs of college-age women and men from war ravaged and developing nations. The program provides young persons from these regions with a college education that combines courses in the liberal arts with courses in professional studies. Those selected by an elaborate and fair process promise to return to their homeland upon graduation.

The program has been in operation at La Roche College in Pittsburgh since 1992. Students have returned to Bosnia, Macedonia, Croatia, Northern Ireland, The Dominican Republic and Haiti. They are making significant contributions as nurses, teachers, accountants, managers and political interns. Twenty Rwandans will return to their homeland this summer, meaning, among other things that the number of accountants in the nation will rise from three to nine. Currently, students from Rwanda, Uganda, Palestine, Jordan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Yemen, and Namibia are in the program.

Queen Rania Al Abdullah has agreed to serve as Honorary Chair of the international board of directors, and she will be present for the dinner. Joining her as board members will be Mrs. Janet Museveni, the First Lady of Uganda, Mr. Mohamed Benaissa, the Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Morocco, and Dr. Emmanuel Mudiddi, Minister of Education of the Republic of Rwanda. Joining these notable leaders will be others from the United States, Latin America and Europe.

President Clinton
page two

During the last several years we have received advice and counsel from The Peace Corps and the United States Agency for International Development. Both entities have been helpful in designing the directions that this program, entitled The Pacem In Terris Institute, has taken.

Mr. President, this program is unique in the world, and in a very real way, I believe, it is in keeping with the values you have enunciated on several continents and in many nations. You have raised awareness of the importance of education and you have spoken often of including in the blessings of education those from third world nations, women as well as men, who have little chance of escaping poverty or building democracy without education. Your presence at this dinner of approximately 700 persons from all over the world would be honor those involved in the program, and give all of us a chance to say 'thank you' for your leadership in this as in many areas.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "William A. Kerr". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "W" and a long, sweeping underline.

Msgr. William A. Kerr
President

12/13
From: Meg Flournoy <megff@aol.com> on 12/08/99 02:06 PM GMT

To: President@gateway

cc:

Subject: White House visit by Kosovo Refugee Family

EB 12/15/99
Nancy Joffe
99 DEC 27 AM 11:07

[Connection Information]

CLIENT: 205.188.192.151 [205.188.192.151]
BROWSER: Mozilla/4.0 (compatible; MSIE 5.0; AOL 5.0; Windows 95;
DigExt)
URL: http://www.whitehouse.gov/WH/Mail/html/Mail_President.html

[Sender Information]

PERSONAL-NAME: Meg Flournoy
EMAIL-ADDRESS: megff@aol.com
ORGANIZATION: First Presbyterian Church, All
RELATIONSHIP: Kosovo Re-settlement Committee
STREET-ADDRESS: 5002 Maranatha Way
CITY: Allentown
STATE-PROVINCE: PA
ZIP-CODE: 18106
COUNTRY: USA

If Valued have
them call me
4566610

[Message Information]

PURPOSE: Seek assistance from the White
TOPIC: No Answer
AFFILIATION: Private Citizen
SUBJECT: White House visit by Kosovo Refugee

[Message]

My name is Meg Flournoy I serve on the Kosovo
Committee of our church, First Presbyterian in
Pennsylvania. We have been working with Cathol.
to support a family who recently resettled here
from the refugee camps in Macedonia. The Gashi
Kosovo.

While the Gashi's were in the camp, they met
Clinton, their 12 year old daughter had two toes
to an accident while in the camp. President Cl.
her at her bedside. He told the family if they
United States to write to come to the White Ho
Washington D.C.

The Gashi's are now here, very happy in the

12/27/99
Should we send
to USC?
Yes ☒
No ☐
FOR REPLY PER
NANCY'S NOTE

12/13
213 12/13/99
Nancy Goss
99 DEC 27 AM 11:07

From: Meg Flournoy <megff@aol.com> on 12/08/99 02:06 PM GMT

To: President@gateway
cc:
Subject: White House visit by Kosovo Refugee Family

[Connection Information]

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[Sender Information]

PERSONAL-NAME: Meg Flournoy
EMAIL-ADDRESS: megff@aol.com
ORGANIZATION: First Presbyterian Church, Allentown Pennsylvania
RELATIONSHIP: Kosovo Re-settlement Committee member
STREET-ADDRESS: 5002 Maranatha Way
CITY: Allentown
STATE-PROVINCE: PA
ZIP-CODE: 18106
COUNTRY: USA

[Message Information]

PURPOSE: Seek assistance from the White House
TOPIC: No Answer
AFFILIATION: Private Citizen
SUBJECT: White House visit by Kosovo Refugee Family

[Message]

My name is Meg Flournoy I serve on the Kosovo Resettlement Committee of our church, First Presbyterian in Allentown, Pennsylvania. We have been working with Catholic Social Agency to support a family who recently resettled here in Allentown from the refugee camps in Macedonia. The Gashi family is from Kosovo.

While the Gashi's were in the camp, they met President Clinton, their 12 year old daughter had two toes amputated due to an accident while in the camp. President Clinton visited her at her bedside. He told the family if they come to the United States to write to come to the White House and Washington D.C.

The Gashi's are now here, very happy in the United States,

trying to learn English. The parents and oldest son are working full time and the 3 younger children are in school. They are very interested interested in going to Washington D.C. and we write to see if there is a possibility to come to the White House to meet the President. They (and we) are very very grateful for the acceptance by the United States of the refugees from Kosovo.

Working with this project has been one of the most rewarding things I have done.

If you need any further documentation about the family please let us know. I look forward to your favorable reply.

Sincerely, Meg Flournoy Committee Member Kosovo
Resettlement Project Allentown, Pennsylvania megff@aol.com