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R. Ballentine

You might
write
Paul & tell him
what we are
trying to do

Bob

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Ballentine
Podesta

Reckonings

PAUL KRUGMAN

Sins Of Emission

Sam drives a huge S.U.V., Pierre drives a tiny Citroën. Both agree that for the sake of the environment they must reduce their combined fuel consumption. But who should bear the burden?

You might expect Pierre to demand that Sam do most of the adjusting. All that Sam has to do is switch to a smaller but still comfortable car; Pierre's car can't get much smaller. You certainly wouldn't expect to find Sam trying to wriggle out of the bargain, insisting that he be allowed to adopt a tree instead.

But that, more or less, is why efforts to curb global warming collapsed last week. There's plenty of blame to go around, but the essential problem was that Europeans got fed up with America's unwillingness to reduce its emission of greenhouse gases, even though it is the world's prime source of such gases.

Why is the United States such a big

Who's to blame for the climate debacle?

emitter? Energy use tends to be more or less proportional to gross domestic product, and we have the biggest economy. But that's not the whole story: We release about twice as much carbon dioxide per capita as other advanced countries, even though we don't have anywhere near twice their per capita G.D.P. The main reason for that disparity is that we have much lower taxes on fuel, especially gasoline. The image of the American filling up his living room on wheels with dollar-a-gallon gasoline while his European counterpart carefully spoons precious petrol into his mini is a caricature, but gets at an essential truth.

This comparison suggests that it should actually be much easier for

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WJC HANDWRITING

an essential truth.

This comparison suggests that it should actually be much easier for the United States to reduce its energy consumption and carbon dioxide emissions than it is for Europe. High taxes on fuel have already induced Europeans to do the easy conservation steps; in America, where gasoline is literally cheaper than (bottled) water, we haven't even tried.

Now it turns out that there are some complicating factors. Some estimates suggest that the cost of meeting international targets for emission reduction would actually be larger for the U.S. than for Europe, mainly because our economy grows faster, and faster growth increases the demand for energy. Still, one can easily understand European fury at America's refusal to make any serious effort to reduce the amount of carbon it burns.

But don't blame our negotiators, or for that matter the administration they work for. They had to respect domestic political realities. And what could the U.S. actually do to reduce its emission of greenhouse gases?

Any Econ 101 textbook can tell you the answer. If carbon dioxide is deemed to inflict damage on the environment, then the efficient way to resolve the problem is to provide market incentives to burn less carbon. The most straightforward policy would be an across-the-board carbon tax that ...

I can't see any point in finishing that sentence. Never mind that even free-market economists favor "effluent taxes"; never mind that we're not talking about an overall tax increase, that any new tax on carbon could and should be offset by tax cuts elsewhere. In America's current political universe there are too many people who believe that the only good tax is a dead tax for any such proposal to be accepted. Such people aren't a majority, but they do control at least one house of Congress, and it just isn't going to happen.

In other words, the ultimate reason that the climate talks failed, that global warming will go unchecked, is the power of America's vitriolic anti-tax right.

Is there any way out of this trap? A decisive political defeat for the rabid right might open a path; but that didn't happen in this election.

The only alternative would be a Nixon-goes-to-China scenario. It's nice to fantasize that if George W. Bush ends up in the White House he might try to heal the wounds of his dubious triumph by, among other things, taking on his own party over environmental issues. But quite aside from his oil-industry connections and his dismal environmental record in Texas, Mr. Bush has said he is not convinced that the scientific evidence for global warming warrants policy action. And somehow I don't expect further evidence to change his mind.

Maybe future retirees won't have

Warren Linn

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"Every day we have him, we are grateful," says James (with Thomas at New York City's Beth Israel hospital in October).

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waited while lawyers and politicians—among them presidential candidates John McCain and Alan Keyes—attempted to change the FDA's mind. Last August, after tumors spread to Thomas's spine, his parents finally submitted him to chemo. It failed. Now the FDA is insisting that he undergo radiation as well, though Dr. Burzynski says

it would prevent *his* therapy from working. "My authority over my child has been stolen from me," says Donna, 34, who recently shuttered the law-enforcement supply company she ran with her husband. Since February Congress has been considering the Thomas Navarro FDA Patient Rights Act, which would allow patients (and their guardians) to choose treatments without FDA approval. But the Navarros, once again in hiding, won't have an answer until next year—and for Thomas, now 5, that may be too late. "We've jumped through almost every hoop," says Donna, "and my son's life is still on the line."

him for what?" The Navarros wanted to try a gentler approach: antineoplaston therapy, an experimental treatment—more successful than conventional methods, according to its inventor, Houston physician Stanislaw Burzynski, 57—aimed at switching off the genes that cause cancer growth. The Food and Drug Administration would grant permission only if chemotherapy and radiation proved fruitless. When the Navarros refused to try either, Thomas's oncologist filed charges of medical neglect with Arizona child-protection authorities. The family fled to a Houston hotel room, where they

Dying to Live

As a boy fights cancer, his parents take on the FDA

In the summer of 1999 James and Donna Navarro faced an agonizing dilemma (PEOPLE, March 20). Their 4-year-old son Thomas was dying of brain cancer, and doctors said his only hope was a barrage of chemotherapy and radiation. But the Tucson couple were terrified by the possible side effects, including brain damage and blindness. "We might save him," says James, 46, "but save

Photograph by Marc Asnin/Saba

Short on Horsepower

Zippy Chippy's perfect track record remains unblemished

When he blew his 86th consecutive run for the roses in September 1999, Zippy Chippy took home an uncoveted title: the losingest horse in racing history (PEOPLE, May 8). But on Aug. 17 bookies at Rochester, N.Y.'s Frontier Field gave the 9-year-old gelding 2-to-1 odds against an unusual opponent—Jose Herrera, 27, center fielder for minor league baseball's Rochester Red Wings. After all, even the speediest human (and Herrera, who spent two seasons with the Oakland A's, is known for his fleetness) can't match the average racehorse's cruising velocity of about 40 mph. When the starting flag was dropped, however, Zippy proved once again that he is far from average. As is his habit, he hesitated. And by the time he got moving, Herrera had a 20-yard lead, crossing the finish line $4\frac{1}{2}$ horse lengths ahead of the horse. "He wanted Jose to win," theorizes owner Felix Monserrate, 57, who keeps Zippy—one of his four horses—at his Clifton Springs, N.Y., home (shared with wife Emily, 43) and trains another 24. Perhaps such gen-

Photograph by Kimberly Butler



On his home turf, Zippy Chippy noses out the competition.

erosity of spirit also explains Zippy's performance in September, when he returned to the site of his record-breaking defeat, the Three-County Fair in Northampton, Mass., for losses number 87 and 88. In any case, Monserrate maintains a winning outlook: "Every time he runs, he comes back happy. I don't get disappointed, no matter what."

PHOTOGRAPH BY JWC HANDWRITING

Unsinkable Kid

Shot by pirates, Willem van Tuijl lost the use of his legs—but his spirit remains buoyant

Last March Jacco van Tuijl, 38, his wife, Jannie, 46, and their son Willem, 13, were winding up their five-year odyssey aboard the *Hayat*, a 44-ft. sailboat that Jacco built himself, when calamity struck (PEOPLE, April 24). Thirty miles off the coast of Honduras, the Dutch family was attacked by pirates—and Willem, shot in the hip, was instantly paralyzed from the waist down. With coaching from ham radio operators, his parents were able to keep him alive until he and Jannie were picked up 14 hours later by Honduran rescuers; other hams helped Jacco navigate the boat to safe harbor more than a day away. After hospital stints in

Honduras and Dallas (the latter arranged by the president of the American Radio Relay League, Jim Haynie, 56), Willem and his family returned home to Enkhuizen, a small town 25 miles north of Amsterdam. Today the van Tuijls remain in e-mail contact with some of their radio saviors, including Ed Petzolt, 53, a telecommunications consultant in Hobe Sound, Fla., who says, "Willem is always upbeat and cheerful." Reports the teen: "I'm like 10 times as strong as I ever was before. Being in a wheelchair isn't that bad—I just can't walk, that's all." Since the attack Willem has tried his hand at wheelchair tennis and sled hockey and

has cycled up to 18 miles with a removable third wheel attached to his chair. ("I go just as fast as an ordinary bike," he boasts.) But he has also suffered from leg pains and incontinence, and in November surgeons at Miami's Jackson Memorial Hospital attempted to allay those ills. The team, led by neurosurgeon Dr. Jim Guest, 41, performed the pioneering 18-hour operation free of charge. (Donations helped pay for related expenses.) First they untangled the knot of nerves and scar tissue responsible for Willem's aches; then, in a bid to restore bowel and bladder control—and possibly some mobility in his lower body—they grafted nerves from his legs to the tailbone area. "We restored things anatomically to the best of our ability," says Guest. Although it will take at least a year to know how well the operation worked, he adds, "Willem has a good prognosis."

Photograph by Sam Kittner



During Willem's surgery last month, his family stayed aboard the *Hayat* (Turkish for "life"), which has been berthed in Miami since shortly after the attack.

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Photograph by Cindy Karp/Black Star

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In Oregon, a Push to Protect a Forest Before Bush Takes Office

■ Biologists call the Siskiyou region's diversity a critical link in evolutionary chain. State's timber interests pin hopes on GOP White House.

By KIM MURPHY
TIMES STAFF WRITER

CAVE JUNCTION, Ore.—Some 200 million years ago, the Pacific sea floor shoved itself beneath the coastal plate, leaving exposed a primeval ocean under crust of magnesium and iron. Rough shrubs grew. Over the years, hardy cedar and spruce pushed down roots.

Today, the serpentine slopes and forested valleys of the Siskiyou Mountains of southern Oregon are a rare window into the ancient past. Some wildflower and tree species trace their roots back further than anything in the U.S. West.

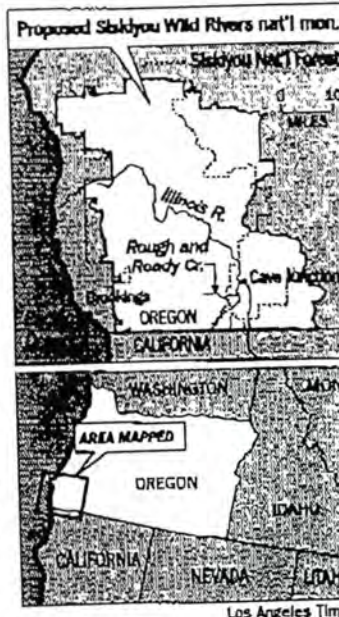
As the Clinton administration moves into its final weeks, conservationists have launched a last-minute push to get 1 million acres of the Siskiyou region declared a national monument, protecting one of the most diverse coniferous rain forests in the world from a likely new push for logging and mining under the Bush administration.

Across the country, environmental groups are zeroing in on more than a dozen potential new monuments, from Alabama to Idaho, to supplement the 11 Clinton has declared since 1993. Top priority is on permanent protection for the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska, threatened with oil drilling.

But such groups as the World Wildlife Fund say it is the Siskiyou region on the Oregon-California border, with 14 wild rivers tumbling through forested canyons and more than 280 plants unknown anywhere else on Earth, that is the next priority.

"It's the Noah's Ark gene pool of the West," said longtime outfitter Dave Willis. "And so far, it has had only piecemeal protection."

Biologists say the region's unique botanical diversity, with



continuous vegetation over a span of 70 million years, represents a critical link in the evolutionary chain. That link, conservationists say, is threatened with plans to log 24 million board feet of timber a year and mining claims that could transfer thousands of acres of public forest into private hands for open-pit mining.

Yet the push by environmental groups to expand the Siskiyou wilderness comes just as the crippled southern Oregon timber industry is seeing, with the advent of a Republican administration, a potential end to more than a decade of disaster.

The 27 sawmills that once dotted the Illinois River valley have shrunk to just two as logging cutbacks have closed off all but 7% of the Siskiyou National Forest to timber harvests.

"Right now, we have zero federal timber under contract. There's a high probability that if this monument was created, we would cease to manufacture lumber," said Link Phillippi of Rough and Ready Lumber, whose \$6-million payroll is one of the only engines left in Cave Junction.

"After 150 years of natural resource production, they still think we're beautiful enough to make a monument out of," said Ron Smith of the Oregonians for Responsible Conservation Alli-

ance, which is fighting the monument. "Do you think the federal government is going to take better care of this place than the people who live here and raise their kids here?"

In the end, the debate about the proposed Siskiyou Wild Rivers monument is the same debate that is playing out across the Northwest: Are the disappearing old-growth forests, seen by many scientists as a bedrock of biodiversity upon which human survival depends, able to survive further political compromise? Do they belong to the miners and loggers who have coexisted with them for generations, or to the Earth itself? Is there a new economy that can transform dying timber towns into havens of eco-tourism and sustainable wood product production?

Cave Junction was never an economic powerhouse; gold miners in the 1850s launched the first outposts, and today the Illinois Valley is a motley mix of liberal new-agers, flannel-shirted loggers, California retirees and backwoods gold miners.

Supporters of the monument say that protecting the wilderness and its stunning, salmon-bearing rivers will bring flocks of tourists, with an estimated 6.5% increase in new visitor spending. The 143 logging jobs lost could be offset by work restoring damaged watersheds, they say.

But there is skepticism. Nearby Crescent City hardly boomed with the opening of Redwood National Park. More than 179,850 acres of the Siskiyou were protected as the Kalmiopsis Wilderness in the 1960s and 1970s, notes miner Walt Freeman, "and they promised then the mill jobs would be replaced by tourism jobs. Well, we're still waiting for the first of those jobs to show up."

On the other hand, Josephine County in October posted its lowest unemployment figure in 35 years: a 5.4% jobless rate, with substantial new growth in the service industry. The transition, many believe, is already underway.

The problem with logging and mining the remaining pristine forests, says William Mondale, the brother of the former Democratic presidential candidate who

Perspectives on the News

TUESDAY, JANUARY 2, 2001/NA

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BARBARA ULLIAN / For The Times

Environmentalists want a million acres in the Siskiyou Mountains declared a national monument.

gave up his job as a labor organizer in Washington, D.C., for a cabin in the Illinois Valley, is that there is never enough wood, never enough gold.

"If we stood out of the way, and if everybody just stood back and said, 'Go!'—does anybody believe anything would be left?" Mondale asked. "And if everything went, tell me then: Where are the jobs?"

□

A narrow trail winds up near Babyfoot Lake, and Romain Cooper, a biologist for the Siskiyou Project, pauses to point out why there is no more diverse coniferous forest in the world, save perhaps small tracts in the Himalayas.

Sadler oak, Jeffrey pine, Brewer's spruce, incense cedar, Port Orford cedar, Douglas fir, sugar pine, red fir, white fir.

On the red-rocked slopes nearby, untouched by the glaciers that scoured most of the nation, low flowering plants such as the *Kalmiopsis leachiana*, an ancient relation of the rhododendron, and the tubular, insect-eating cobra lily date well before the Ice Age.

Incredibly, the Siskiyou region is home to the Alaska yellow cedar from the Arctic forest and the California desert manzanita. Plants from the Great Basin and the Pacific Coast have all found niches and prospered.

"About three years ago, me and several colleagues tried to

catalog biodiversity across the North American continent and put it in a global context," said Dominick DellaSala of the World Wildlife Fund. "What we found were a handful of eco-regions across the continent that were truly outstanding on a global scale. The Klamath-Siskiyou region was one of them."

President Clinton already has imposed some protection in a new roadless area policy that will exempt much of the Siskiyou from new road building and logging.

But Barbara Ullian, conservation director for the Siskiyou Project, worries that policy will do nothing to stop hundreds of new mining claims to be staked throughout the forest.

Already, rundown shacks and large piles of gravel mark mining claims staked across the region. The most controversial is Freeman's claims totaling more than 4,000 acres, above Rough and Ready Creek, a prime botanical resource area. His company, Nicore Inc., proposes to extract 40,000 tons a year of nickel laterite to make stainless steel.

Ullian and others fear the mine would devastate salmon in the creek and the fragile plants along its banks. The Forest Service this year approved the plan, first submitted in 1992, but with conditions that will require him to spend more than \$1 million to first prove that he can profitably extract the ore.

"They have subjected me to a war of attrition: delays, stalling, environmental impact statements. They figured I would run out of money and run out of heart, and they would win by default," Freeman said. "If people knew how their money was being squandered by these federal bureaucrats, there'd be open rebellion in the streets. And now they say this monument proposal isn't going to affect life in the Illinois Valley. Well, that's a crock."

Lou Gold, a former Illinois college professor, was another who came to the Siskiyou and never left. For much of the last decade, he has spent his summers on the face of Bald Mountain. He traveled in the winters with a slide show of the ancient forest and the vision he had that it was his life's work to protect it.

The monument plan forced him out of retirement when he looked at a map of it and saw—right in the middle—the mountain he lived on for much of his youth.

"There's a Native American story that says you go up on the mountain and you scream and you cry for a vision, and it comes out, and you spend the rest of your life trying to figure it out," Gold said. "So that's what happened. Eighteen years later, I got the other piece."

A MONUMENTAL PROPOSAL

Oregon Division endorses effort to protect Siskiyou.

In July, the World Wildlife Fund and Siskiyou Regional Education Project in Oregon proposed naming the Siskiyou Wild & Scenic River system in southern Oregon a National Monument. Now the Izaak Walton League's Oregon Division is strongly backing that proposal, too.

In a letter to conservation and government officials — including President Clinton, Vice President Al Gore and Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt — Oregon Division President Dawn Olson wrote, "This area is the largest concentration of wild, untamed watersheds left on the West Coast. We find that the proposed Siskiyou Wild Rivers National Monument both reflects and encompasses the doctrine of the Izaak Walton League ... to strive for the purity of water, the clarity of the air, the wise stewardship of the land and its resources."

The Siskiyou watershed includes the

Rogue, Illinois, Chetco, Elk and Smith Rivers, and covers nearly one million acres of land. It is managed by both the Siskiyou National Forest and the Medford Bureau of Land Management.

The thrust for Oregon Division to endorse the proposal came from Lynn

Jones, a member of the Beaver All-State (Ore.)

Chapter and a resident of the Siskiyou area. She is also the Division's Save Our Streams coordinator and has been conducting water quality studies in the Siskiyou watershed.

National Mon-

ument designation would limit logging and mining in the area and raise the quality of the region's environment, creating jobs and revenue through increased tourism, according to the Siskiyou Wild Rivers Web site, www.siskiyouwildrivers.org. It would also protect habitat for restoring native salmon and steelhead. — Jason McGarvey



BARBARA ULLIAN/OREGON

Rough & Ready Creek is one of many rivers flowing through the Siskiyou Wild & Scenic River system.

CLAYTON NAMED CONSERVATIONIST OF THE YEAR

Chuck Clayton has handled some tough issues in recent years: Improving the national Farm Bill, oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, destruction of the Florida Everglades. In September, Clayton was honored for his efforts to protect natural resources when he was named South Dakota Conservationist of the Year — the South Dakota Wildlife Federation's highest honor. Clayton, who serves on the Federation's Executive Board, is the current president of the League's South Dakota Division and a member of the Beadle County Chapter and National Executive Board. An avid hunter of deer, upland birds and waterfowl, Clayton makes his home in Huron.



After receiving the League's Conservation Award in July, Chuck Clayton was named South Dakota Conservationist of the Year.

IN OTHER NEWS...

Airguns on Target

The Damascus Air Rifle Club of the Wildlife Achievement (Md.) Chapter displayed adult airguns at the 2000 Annual Meeting of the National Rifle Association in Charlotte, N.C., winning the meeting's "Best Educational Exhibit of Contemporary Firearms" honor. Also, in September the club sponsored the Mid-Atlantic Airgun Show in Damascus, reported to be the heaviest attended airguns-only show in the world.

Chapter Land Acquisition

The Dragoon Trail (Iowa) Chapter has purchased 17 acres of land that will be the new site of its headquarters. The chapter will build a 32-by-54-foot clubhouse and will offer ranges for rifle, pistol, archery and trap shooting. The total cost for the new headquarters will be more than \$160,000. As for the chapter's old home, a 12-acre site located in the City of Ankeny, the city plans to develop it into a community park.

Cribs for Fish

There are two byproducts of the Illinois state licensing exams for plumbers: licensed plumbers and discarded PVC pipes. In 1998, members of the Champaign County (Ill.) Chapter salvaged the pipes and used them to build cube-shaped fish cribs that will protect young fish from predators. In September, the chapter installed the cribs in Clinton Lake with the help of local Boy Scouts. It was one of the last major projects for the chapter's president, Gene Shove, who passed away in October (see p. 16) and was a long-time protector of the region's watersheds.

Big Game Show

The Rockingham-Harrisonburg (Va.) Chapter held its annual Virginia Big Game Trophy Show in September, attracting nearly 2,500 people and raising more than \$26,500. Hunters displayed deer, bear and turkey trophies hoping to win top honors in their regions. But perhaps the real winner was the League itself, which ran a special "Join the IWLA today and get in show free!" and signed up about dozen new members.



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Right-wing coup that shames America

Continuing unofficial counts reveal the full extent of Al Gore's lead and the massive abuses that have put George W. Bush into power

Will Hutton
Sunday December 24, 2000

I never thought I would live to see it. There has been a right-wing coup in the United States. It is now clear beyond any doubt that the winner of the Presidential election was Al Gore. In Florida the votes are being counted unofficially in a way the Supreme Court would not permit: he was already 140 votes ahead when counting stopped for Christmas and his final lead promises to be in the thousands. Nationally he leads by over half a million votes. What has happened is beyond outrage. It is the cynical misuse of power by a conservative elite nakedly to serve its interests - and all of us should be frightened for the consequences.

The issue is not George W. Bush's conservatism, opponent though I am of what Bush plans to do; a democracy only has vitality and political tension if its philosophy and stream of thinking is articulated and pitches to win elections. The incontrovertible abuse is that Bush has won power despite losing, and critically he only pulled off this feat because the Republicans control the Supreme Court. The Right has subverted pivotal US institutions to win power - a campaign of which the discrediting and attempted impeachment of Clinton was part - and in the process disgraced the legitimacy of US democracy at home and abroad, and undermined conceptions of the rule of law. It is a poor augury for the twenty-first century.

In Britain the response has been woeful - itself a token of our own lack of hard democratic instincts. The commentary, especially in the right-of-centre press, has been to decry Gore as a poor loser and to insist that he had to accept the rules of the electoral game, respecting the votes in the US electoral college which, when Florida was lost, gave Bush the election. But as the great liberal defenders of freedom, Karl

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[allows the winner to lose
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the great liberal defenders of freedom, Karl Popper and Isaiah Berlin, both argued when unjust, illegitimate governments win power through subverting the rules it is our responsibility to contest them.

The nine-member Supreme Court, apart from the heady decade of the 1960s when it advanced the cause of civil rights in the South, has always been a bastion of a regressive conservatism. In the 1930s it tried to rule that key elements in Roosevelt's New Deal were unconstitutional. Its defence of the sovereignty of states rights has been fundamental in extending capital punishment and allowing bible-belt states to resist implementing federal legislation banning violence against women. Yet its general prohibition in interfering in a state's rights has been overturned in one instance; the highly politicised intervention in Florida.

The more you examine it, the more outrageous the now famous judgement was. What the Court had to do to serve its political purpose was to find a way of acknowledging a sovereign state's rights and the continuing legitimacy of hand recounts in closely contested elections - after all George W. Bush had passed a law as Governor in Texas in 1998 endorsing hand recounts - but at the same time give the election to their Republican champion by finding that events in Florida were a special case. This was tricky. In the first place, even the conservative judges shared the unanimous view that it was reasonable for hand recounts to be undertaken because, as the judgment concedes: 'Punch card balloting machines can produce an unfortunate number of ballots which are not punched in a clean, complete way by the voter.' Consequently individual states are obliged, when the winning margin is tight, to mount an effort to find out what the 'clear intent' of each voter was. In other words Gore was completely within his rights to demand the hand recount.

The five conservatives had a problem. How could they deliver the coup? The solution was elegant. The process was too subjective, said the Supreme Court, unless the Florida court put in place even more protective measures to ensure impartiality than the Florida legislature had provided for - a position that is constitutionally impossible, as the judges knew, because it meant the Court would have to change rather than interpret Florida law. Hand recounts are thus legal in principle but impossible in practice because of possible partiality. And in a telling aside in its judgment, the Court said that hand recounts would 'cast a cloud' over Bush's 'legitimacy' that would harm 'democratic stability'. It never crossed the five-strong conservative majority's mind that the opposite might be the case; that not counting votes which would give Gore the presidency when nationally he had won half a million more votes than Bush would damage, not democratic stability, but the entire democratic principle.

But then right-wing America is not much interested in the democratic principle. It believes

that its duty is to sustain America in its unique destiny as a Christian guardian of individual liberty, a place - I joke not - that will deserve Christ's second coming. It sees itself in a holy war against a liberal enemy within, and it uses every tool at its disposal ruthlessly to dispose of its foe.

The Right enjoyed 12 years of power under Reagan and Bush, lost the Presidency to Clinton in 1992 when Ross Perot split the conservative vote and pledged to continue their jihad against what they saw as his illegitimate victory from the beginning. Hence the fantasies of Whitewater. Hence the Starr inquiry into the Lewinsky affair, where now we learn key evidence was fabricated. Hence the attempted impeachment. Mud sticks, they reckoned, and even though they knew impeachment would fail, they calculated it would put any Democrat presidential candidate in 2000 in a presentational bind - association with the successful Clinton years would be attacked as an association with immorality.

But for all their efforts American public opinion remained stubbornly tolerant, sceptical of tax cuts and moderately centrist. To win Bush had to outspend his rival two to one in the last month and build on the strategic dilemma faced by Gore about the Clinton years. But even then it has taken the Supreme Court to complete the coup.

For all the talk of reconciliation Bush is building a tribal conservative administration bent on supporting business at home and asserting US unilateralism abroad. His next Treasury Secretary has been picked not for his capacity to negotiate the US and the world through the minefield of a fragile international financial system, but his interest in feathering the nests of corporate America. And so it goes on, offering the US and the world a policy and perspective not wanted by the majority of Americans.

The consensus view is that within months the whole Florida affair will be forgotten, and Bush will be installed as a legitimate US President. I don't agree. The value of democracies is they produce administrations broadly in tune with the times and will of the people, and thus able to marshal both consent and the correct policy responses for the varying crises that hit them.

Not so in America. Whether the need to respect international treaties abroad or the desire to universalise medical protection at home, the US has the man in power it did not want and whose instincts are opposite to those of the majority. This will prove a disastrous administration for America and the world, and the coup will become widely understood as a moment of partisan infamy. It is a brutal lesson for us liberals. Never, never forget the treachery and poison on the Right.

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Siskiyou Wild Rivers

National Monument Proposal

Contacts - Dave Willis (541) 944-2247 (cellular) - sodamtn@mind.net

Barbara Ullian (541) 474-2265 - barbara@siskiyou.org

January 1, 2001

Overview

The Proposal

To create the first national monument dedicated to breathtakingly beautiful wild rivers - carved through one of the largest expanses of wildlands remaining on the West Coast - a reserve where salmon, steelhead and cutthroat trout still return to their home streams, unimpeded by high dams, as they have for thousands of years. The monument would formally protect the biologically diverse watersheds of five national wild and scenic rivers and the rich ecological continuum of their unprotected tributaries. It would recognize and preserve the nationally significant botanical values, geologic features and archeological sites of one of the world's most unique landscapes.

Where

Siskiyou Mountains (Oregon) along the panoramic Pacific Coast - an ancient tangle of mountain peaks, jagged ridges, sweeping, rounded plateaus and steep, boulder strewn canyons, encompassing the most productive salmon and steelhead habitat (with the exception of the Columbia) between the Olympics and Baja. Public lands managed by the Forest Service (863,380 acres) and BLM (184,801 acres).

Threats and Solution

Threats include mining, off-road vehicle abuse, logging, and roads that damage watershed integrity - with mining impacts presently the most irreversible, persistent and unmanageable. It was mining that led to the genocide and extirpation of the area's indigenous cultures in 1856.

The mining continues today with persistent, fish killing, habitat destroying, speculative mining operations asserting dominance over this ancient landscape and its irreplaceable wild rivers, salmon and botanical values. Increases in logging, through congressional riders or erosion of the NW Forest Plan, could devastate watersheds and wildlands.

Citizens, organizations and officials across the nation urge the President to establish the Siskiyou Wild Rivers National Monument and to withdraw its public lands from mineral entry and patenting, under the 1872 Mining Law, through authority granted by the Antiquities Act. **History will prove this monument one of the President's greatest and most enduring environmental legacies, providing permanent, comprehensive protection for this exceptional landscape.**

Public Support

Endorsed and supported by nationally prominent scientists and over 35 organizations including the Pacific Coast Federation of Fisherman's Associations, the largest organization of independent commercial fisherman on the West Coast, the Native Plant Society of Oregon and the World Wildlife Fund.

Endorsed by the Eugene Register Guard on 12/2/00: **"Clinton should designate a Siskiyou monument as he prepares to leave the White House, solidifying a strong legacy of protecting public lands."**

Endorsed by the Ashland Daily Tidings on 12/8/00: **"President Clinton has before him a proposal to declare one million acres of Siskiyou National Forest ... land a national monument. Such a designation would be the crowning environmental achievement of Clinton's eight year administration."**

Endorsed by the Oregon Division of the Izaak Walton League: **"This area is the largest concentration of wild, untamed watersheds left on the West Coast ... the proposed Siskiyou Wild Rivers National Monument both reflects and encompasses the doctrine of the Izaak Walton League."**

Economics

The West Coast salmon fishing industry has lost an estimated 72,000 salmon-produced, family wage jobs over the last 20 years. These losses are directly related to widespread inland habitat destruction. Protection of habitat is the cheapest investment the nation can make to sustain productive fisheries.

While establishing a Siskiyou Wild Rivers National Monument "would cause relatively little economic disruption" (Eugene Register Guard 12/2/00) it would provide long term benefits to those dependent on healthy watersheds, rivers and salmon populations, while helping to preserve quality of life.

The Northwest Forest Plan reduced the allowable cut on the Siskiyou National Forest from 166 million board feet to 24 mmbf. Despite this reduction, Josephine County recently experienced the lowest unemployment rate in 35 years (Grants Pass Courier 10/28/00). **Southwest Oregon's Siskiyou Region is no longer timber dependent. Its public lands are more valuable as fully protected watersheds for some of this nation's last, best free flowing rivers.**

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Why Current Protection is Not Adequate

Q – President Clinton has protected large areas of public lands with the Northwest Forest Plan and the Roadless Area Policy. Why does the Siskiyou Wild Rivers area need additional protection in the form of a national monument?

A – The Siskiyou National Forest and surrounding BLM lands are unique in many ways. In addition to the area's superb fisheries value, globally significant botanical values and expansive, wild coastal watersheds, it has a high concentration of mining claims – more than any National Forest in the Pacific Northwest. Most of the claims are in sensitive and high values areas such as Riparian Reserves, established to protect salmon and steelhead, or in rare plant habitat. Claims blanket large inventoried roadless areas.

Though there are lots of mining claims, few of the claims are likely to be valid – i.e. mineral deposits are marginal. Despite this, the Siskiyou Forest receives 100 to 250 notices of intent to mine in Riparian Reserves annually, including plans for larger mining operations. This often unregulated mining can inflict serious and irreparable damage to sensitive lands and their scientific and historic values. John Leshy, currently solicitor for the Dept. of Interior, has written that small-scale miners can do considerable harm with a bulldozer in a short time and that it's difficult to enforce regulations on smaller operations.

The Northwest Forest Plan (NWFP) provides little protection against mining's impacts and will be politically vulnerable and subject to increased, indiscriminate logging through congressional riders. The part of the Plan with the ability to alleviate some deleterious effects of mining in Riparian Reserves has effectively never been fully implemented. Angry miners are refusing to comply with the NWFP, filing hundreds of bogus plans in an attempt to thwart the Forest Service, while mining other claims without notice. A lawsuit against the Forest Service is planned by mining organizations.

The Forest Service's Roadless Area Policy (as proposed in the Final EIS)) provides less protection from mining than the status quo and does not address the threat of increasing off-road-vehicles abuse in inventoried roadless areas. Mining is the only activity totally exempt from the prohibitions on road construction and reconstruction in roadless areas. Further, the Policy does not address impacts of mineral exploration and development on roadless areas. All roadless areas remain open and vulnerable to mining.

Q – Why is monument establishment necessary to address the impacts of mining?

Mining is different from any other activity on public land. A logging company, for example, has to get permission to cut trees on federal land. Mining claims, however, are

self-initiated. By simply going out and staking a claim on public lands, anyone can establish a property right against the federal government that is often considered unequivocal under current agency policy. The Forest Service and BLM have a long history of leniency and solicitude towards mining. It is only during Secretary Babbitt's term at Interior that gains have been made in correcting the agencies' flawed implementation of the statute. As the President prepares to leave office, any gains made by Interior are likely to be lost, adding to the urgency of the need for monument designation. **The President's ability to withdraw the monument from mineral entry and patenting is the most effective, permanent way to address the persistent, habitat destroying impacts of speculative mining on the irreplaceable non-mineral values of the Siskiyou Mountains and rivers.**

Q – How will the establishment of a monument address the mining problem?

A – In the proclamation, the President withdraws the area of the monument from mineral entry and patenting (sale), subject to valid existing rights. No new mining claims could be filed after the date of withdrawal but valid existing rights under the Mining Law would be preserved. While existing claims found to be valid could still be mined, establishment of a monument would mitigate the impacts of mining on any valid claims by requiring the development of surface mining regulations. The purpose of the regulations would be to protect the objects of scientific and historic interest for which the monument is established while complying with the Mining Law. Mineral withdrawal and regulation are likely to result in a significant attrition of mining claim numbers, due to their marginal nature and to the protective status of the land, leading to the eventual elimination of mining in the area.

Conclusion

The imperative for a Siskiyou Wild Rivers National Monument is no less than for the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument. No other action will address the constant, deleterious impacts of mining as effectively and permanently. A national monument designation will address other significant threats, such as off-road vehicle damage, indiscriminate logging of old growth and riparian forests and the preservation of rare plant habitat, unique wetlands, Port Orford cedar, archeological sites of the indigenous Takelma and Tututni cultures and ancient geologic features. **More than existing piecemeal and politically vulnerable measures are needed to preserve these outstanding scientific and historic values.** The Siskiyou Wild Rivers area deserves comprehensive, watershed-based, permanent protection commensurate with its globally significant scientific values.

Siskiyou Wild Rivers National Monument Proposal

Objects of Scientific Interest

1. Some of the most valuable free flowing salmon and steelhead habitat in the United States and important populations of native, naturally produced anadromous fish.
2. Five congressionally designated Wild & Scenic Rivers with nationally outstanding scientific values which extend into their unprotected watersheds and tributaries
3. Ten Wild & Scenic candidate rivers with nationally outstanding scientific values.
4. Globally significant botanical values including many plant species found nowhere else in the world and rich floras representing millions of years of evolution.
5. Landscapes of great antiquity and geologic, topographic and climatic complexity.
6. As dramatic an expression of the relationship between natural communities and geologic formations as to be found anywhere in the world.
7. One of the largest exposures of ultramafic rock in North America and the best preserved segment of old oceanic crust in Western America.
8. Among the highest percentage of endemic plants on the North American continent.
9. Unique habitats such as serpentine fens and Jeffrey pine savannas with their extensive native bunch grass communities.
10. Ancient refugia for plant species as they migrated during periods of climate change.
11. Reservoir of species from such diverse ecoregions as Pacific coastal forests, Arctic forests, California chaparral communities and deserts of the Great Basin.
12. The highest remaining concentration of wildlands and large watersheds on National Forest and BLM lands on West Coast, between the Olympics and Baja.
13. Extensive old growth forests providing habitat for rare, threatened or endangered old growth related species along the West Coast.
14. Habitat for rare and threatened species such as wolverine, fisher and marten.
15. Refugia for Port Orford cedar, a threatened ancient conifer species endemic to Klamath-Siskiyou region.

Objects of Historic Interest

1. Archeological site dating back 8,560 years (Marial). Earliest known cultural period.
2. Archeological site dating back 6,000 years (Tiegetlinten). Represents two cultural periods.
3. Numerous archeological sites containing irreplaceable information and some of the little remaining record of the final indigenous cultural periods, ending in 1856 with total extirpation of the Takelma and Tututni cultures (5 years after discovery of gold).
4. The only two petroglyph sites known to southwest Oregon.
5. Site of first Euro-American settlement in southwest Oregon (Sebastapol).
6. Numerous historic sites which include every cultural milestone in local history from the discovery of gold in 1851.
7. Forest Service and Civilian Conservation Core structures on National Register of Historic Places.

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FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

DATE: January 4, 2001

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RE: Jack McAuliffe

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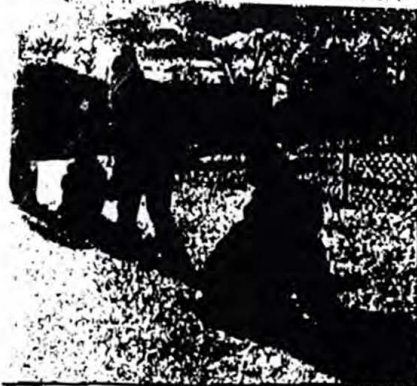
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Good morning,

I imagine the President has seen the Syracuse newspaper writeups on Jack McAuliffe, but send these along just to make sure. Pretty interesting man.

Regards,


Jim



Stephen D. Longwell / Staff photographer
Freeman Bucktooth (left) and his daughter
Jacobs Nation (right) with their daughter
Lynn (right) as they pose for a photo.

Wray Smoke and Jeremiah Krigbaum, both 11, and Guy Printup, 12, weren't worried about the snow. They were having too much fun.

The boys planned to go around New Year-ing until they got tired, they said. Around midday, Smoke counted hot cocoa offered at one home as the best treat of the day. Printup thought chocolate chip cookies were the best.

"It's just to have fun," Krigbaum said. "And it's not every day people give out free food."

Many adults accompanied the younger children, some pulling them along on wagons or sleds, and others driving carloads of youths.

Freeman Bucktooth, Jacobs and Lynn's grandfather, recalled his New Year-ing days fondly.

"You'd always remember those homes that just made those doughnuts," he said, and every so often, someone would even give away pies.

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"When I was little, it was as big as Halloween," Bucktooth said.

Jacobs said he was told the traditional greeting is "New Yea" because that's how the younger children pronounced "New Year."

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ig treats.

The number of people yelling at Thomas' door seemed to be down this year, but that was

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Agency for parking garages and road improvements needed for the expansion.

After today, the legislature will work on the issues in special committees to come up with possible revisions to the proposed payment-in-lieu-of-taxes agreement; the PILOT agreement that was approved by the Syracuse Common Council and needs the legislature's approval.

Sanford hopes to call a special meeting in late January to vote on the tax deal.

If the legislature approves a PILOT different from the one narrowly approved by the council, the plan will have to go back to the council for another vote.

Call NewsLine

Call NewsLine at 472-2111 and enter category 6397 (NEWS) for a report on today's Onondaga County Legislature meeting concerning the proposed Carousel Center expansion. The category will be updated after 3 p.m., when the meeting is scheduled to end.

into black hole

at hap-

Linda Alexander among them.

"I always think about Angela around the holidays," Linda said before Christmas. "She was a beautiful woman, inside and out. She caught your eye. So graceful."

Linda's voice trails off as she thinks about her spirited colleague and how lost that spirit is today.

"One day, she just wasn't there," Linda recalls. "We never knew what happened. We still don't. She never spoke about trouble at home, although there were times when she didn't seem to look forward to going home."

HUSBAND, PAGE B-2

Jack McAuliffe remembered as mentor, indomitable spirit

By Luis Perez
Staff writer

Jack McAuliffe, former treasurer of the Onondaga County Democratic Party and father of big-league Democratic fund-raiser

Terry McAuliffe, died Sunday of an apparent heart attack.

Friends and family gathered Monday to remember an indomitable spirit. Jack McAuliffe, 83, died at his Syracuse home while watching a football game, said his wife, Millie.

Terry McAuliffe said Monday

that his father cultivated his interest in politics.

"I went to my first Democratic event when I was 6 years old," McAuliffe said.

Terry McAuliffe, who has raised record amounts of money for the Democratic Party, is in line to become the new chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

President Clinton, a close friend of Terry McAuliffe's, called Sunday to offer his condolences to him and called Millie

NATION'S, PAGE B-2

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When A.J.'s enlistment was up,
they decided to return to Onon-
daga County.

"It was time to settle down,
and we wanted to be closer to our
families," he said. "Actually, I
wanted to experience Central
New York winters again," he
said, prompting groans from rela-
tives.

Sam was born at a military
hospital — a different experience
from the Birth Place, Tiffany
Monaco said.

"The whole birth process
there seemed out of my control. I
just did what I was told, like in
the military. I guess," she said.
"Here, there was a lot more help,
more one-on-one, personal atten-
tion. Much better."

The Monacos have been married
seven years. Tiffany Monaco
is a civil engineer with SU's de-
sign and construction division.

Abigail is the first grand-
daughter — and second grand-
child — on both sides, so such a
fuss was warranted, said mater-
nal grandmother Joan Zalknick of
Fayetteville.

"This is just wonderful," said
Zalknick, who is a nurse at St. Jo-
seph's. "We couldn't be hap-
pier."

A.J.'s parents, Diane and Tony
Monaco of Brunswick, Maine,
had been visiting for the holidays
and planned to leave Sunday —
until Tiffany went into labor.

"Then they said they weren't
going anywhere till after the
baby was born," Tiffany Mona-
co said.

It's unclear whether the future
will bring a sibling for Sam and
Abigail. "We're still negotiating
that," A.J. said.

Obstetrician Leonard Marotta,
who delivered Abigail, "wanted
us to name her Leonard, even
though she's a girl. We told him
maybe next time," A.J. said.

he said.

Some divers said they were cold standing in
the snow and 20-degree air. They preferred
floating in the water, where it was a comparati-
vely pleasant 38 degrees.

"It's about Zen," said Mark Erickson of
Liverpool.

"You find your neutral balance and you
float."

It was the first Frozen Fin Dive for Erickson
and his wife, Alison. They were joined by
Mark's brother, Tom, who was doing his third

of Skaneateles, a 10-year Frozen Fin veteran.

"We found a few bottles, and a lot of zebra
mussels," he said.

Still, because diving suits can't keep all the
water from the skin, it was quite cold, Loperfi-
do said.

"The initial shock on the forehead — the
sinus passages — it hurt," he said. "It's a
sharp pain, like putting ice on your head."

Did it go away?

"No," Loperfido said. "I just got used to
it."

Nation's top Democrats offer their condolences

NATION'S, FROM PAGE D-1

McAuliffe Monday. When Clin-
ton was visiting Skaneateles in
1999, he stopped by to see Millie
McAuliffe at St. Camillus Health
& Rehabilitation Center, where
she was recuperating from surgery.

By 7 p.m. Monday, Clinton
had called again, and Vice Presi-
dent Al Gore, House Minority
Leader Richard Gephardt and the
Rev. Jesse Jackson were among
top Democratic officials who
also called the family.

Terry McAuliffe said Clinton
will not be able to attend services
for Jack McAuliffe Thursday in

St. Ann's Church because of
swearing-in events for his wife,
U.S. Sen.-elect Hillary Rodham
Clinton.

Jack McAuliffe took his son to
his first Democratic National
Convention in 1976 in New York
City. Last summer, Terry McAu-
liffe took his father to the Demo-
cratic convention in Los Angeles,
which he chaired. McAuliffe has
also taken his father and mother
to White House state dinners as
guests.

Millie McAuliffe recalled her
wedding 53 years ago at Univer-
sity of Notre Dame, where Jack
McAuliffe had gone to school.

The couple got married at 8 a.m.,
held a reception and attended a
football game later in the day,
she said.

"Thank God Notre Dame
won," Millie McAuliffe said.
"... Life was a lot of fun with
Jack."

Jack McAuliffe worked at
Eagan Real Estate in manage-
ment and commercial develop-
ment for more than 50 years. He
was involved in the development
of MONY Plaza, the Carrier
Towers, Skyline Towers and Re-
gency Towers, among other pro-
jects.

Former Syracuse Mayor Tom

Young called Jack McAuliffe a
great friend and father figure
who went on to become his polit-
ical mentor.

His advice was always "sage
to the point," Young said.

Young, whose own father died
while the former mayor was a
junior at Le Moyne College, re-
membered talking to Jack McAu-
liffe about his dissatisfaction
with law school. McAuliffe
ended up hiring Young at Eagan
Real Estate.

"He was the one person who
acted as father ... who set me
off on a life's pattern," Young
said.

Husband doesn't know where Allen went

WISCONSIN, FROM PAGE D-1

Linda's only memory of the
days after Angela didn't return to
work was how her husband
"showed up and tried to pick up
her paycheck. I don't think he
got it."

Hubert explained to police he
hadn't a clue about Angela's dis-
appearance, except to hint about
some trouble she might have
been in.

Clues lacked precision: "Need-
le in a haystack," investigator
Tony Stinson remarked. Tony
retired from the city force with-
out doing what he really wanted
to do: close the Angela Allen
file.

It's still open, still reviewed
from time to time, especially
when an unidentified body's
found.

The last time was three years

One of the facts he mentioned
in the letter was connecting him
to Angela's disappearance.

"Ms. Angela E. Allen's disap-
pearance had nothing to do with
me, in spite of what everyone
else may believe or think," he
wrote.

"The morning that Angela
disappeared, I left home and she
was talking to her mother on the
phone and I have not seen or

Couple's fight ends in stabbings, charges

By Sue Wilbezal
Staff writer

A man and a woman were
charged with assault in a fight
that started Monday morning
over a broken crack pipe, Syr-
cuse police said.

"She broke his crack pipe. He
got mad," said Capt. Richard
Walsh of the police department's
Criminal Investigation Division.

The argument started shortly
before 8 a.m. at the Rollins

bers. For information: 474-6064.

Theater

Forever Plaid: Empire Theatre,
Harriet May Mills Art & Home
Center, State Fairgrounds, Geddes
7:30 p.m. Thursday. Tickets: \$14
to \$20. For information and reser-
vation: 479-5495.

SPORTS Basketball

Notre Dame vs. Syracuse Uni-
versity: Carrier Dome, Syracuse
University, Syracuse. 7 p.m. today.
Tickets: \$11. For information:
443-2121 or (888) 366-3849.

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Tuesday, November 21, 2000

Clinton's Vietnam Visit Called 'Home Run'

Policy: Popular enthusiasm in face of Communist officials' reticence is testament to president's impact.

By ROBIN WRIGHT, Times Staff Writer

HO CHI MINH CITY, Vietnam--While his own constituents were caught up in a frenetic domestic drama over his successor, Bill Clinton returned Monday almost unnoticed from scoring one of the most important--and unexpected--successes of his presidency halfway around the world, in Vietnam.



PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

Vietnam's government provided limited advance notice of his visit and terse coverage by state-controlled media after he arrived, yet Clinton received the kind of public adulation from tens of thousands normally associated with pop idols. On signs and in shouts for his attention, the Vietnamese clamored in ever growing numbers to get close to a man they called simply "Bill."

The president and his senior aides were openly taken aback by the public reaction, with Clinton describing various aspects of his visit as "overwhelming," "profoundly moving" and "astonishing."

In the process, the president set an important precedent for his successor in 21st century diplomacy: Constructive engagement with long-standing enemies works.

"Sanctions and trade and investment embargoes--all of those things have not delivered much in places like Cuba, Iran and Iraq. But as we saw in Vietnam, engagement has delivered. And it certainly costs less to American taxpayers than an embargo," said Moises Naim, editor of Foreign Policy magazine.

Over the past eight years--and despite the controversy over the president's position on the Vietnam War three decades earlier--the Clinton administration gradually but deliberately lifted the trade embargo in 1994, opened diplomatic relations in 1995 and negotiated a U.S.-Vietnamese trade agreement in 1999.

The thaw led Vietnam to approach Clinton exactly a year ago about becoming the first American president to visit Vietnam in the postwar era.

North Korea Could Be Next

"It would have been easy for him to say, 'Vietnam is just one of those issues I don't want to deal with.' But instead, he picked up the bat and swung--and hit a

home run right out of the park," said Thomas Vallely, a Vietnam veteran and former Massachusetts legislator who now heads a Harvard University development project in Vietnam.

The administration may be on the verge of reaping similar rewards in North Korea, arguably the most feared of what until recently the U.S. called "rogue states." Again, it has been a phased effort beginning with an agreement to dismantle a nuclear energy program in 1994 that might have been used to produce nuclear weapons.

Last month, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright became the first ranking U.S. official to visit Pyongyang, the North Korean capital, to discuss terms that would limit the North's ballistic missile program. Clinton is now considering a trip before he leaves office to negotiate a formal agreement.

"Even after such a short time and such limited engagement, there's been a diffusion of the threat. We're now less jittery about the dangers North Korea presents," said Naim, the editor.

Engagement is especially effective with a twist: going around the government directly to the people.

"Clinton had such an impact because, in the new age of global communications, it's easier to constructively engage society rather than its leadership," said Thomas Carothers, vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington.

"And that has implications for how a president uses the new global pulpit in the future, not only in Vietnam. It shows that there's great value when a president stands firmly for certain values and speaks out purposefully but is available for dialogue."

The second effect of Clinton's visit appears to be an intensified debate inside Vietnam about the pace and direction of change. The president left in his wake a Communist leadership scrambling to counter both his message and popularity.

Just hours after the president departed, an official paper published a front-page article Monday by Lt. Gen. Le Van Dung, chief of staff of the Vietnam People's Army, pledging to "crush" the threat posed by "peaceful evolution," code words for pro-democracy political reforms.

"Nowadays, hostile forces are fighting against us actively to sabotage socialism and the leading role of the Communist Party of Vietnam," he wrote in the Vietnamese-language People's Army.

He also warned that the military has a special duty "to give constant direction to the entire army and the entire people to struggle to make sure the peaceful evolution plots of the hostile forces fail."

Blunt Talk From Communist Officials

As the public turnout to see Clinton mushroomed almost by the hour, the leadership also took what U.S. officials considered the unusual and undiplomatic step of publishing a blunt admonition to the American president by Le Kha Phieu, secretary-general of the Communist Party, delivered in a private meeting Saturday.

"We respect the choice, the lifestyle and political systems of other nations. We in turn demand that other nations respect our people's choices," Phieu told Clinton, according to the party's official newspaper. Phieu is the hardest-line Communist in Vietnam's troika of leaders, which also includes the president and prime minister.

Phieu also challenged Clinton's allusion to the war era as the "painful past." Phieu reportedly countered: "For us, the past was the root, the foundation, the strength of the present and future. The result of our anti-aggression resistance was

that we gained independence, reunified our country and brought our country to socialism. Therefore, for us, the past was not a dark, sorrowful and unhappy past."

Senior members of Clinton's entourage conceded that the United States and Vietnam still have serious differences over both politics and economics. Yet they say they are convinced that Hanoi can't back away from the relationship--nor avoid the consequences of inviting American business and aid organizations to visit and of globalization.

"Only the United States can help Vietnam evolve from a developing country over the next 15 years," said a ranking administration official in the entourage. "Not France, not Japan, not China--only the United States."

The only issues are how this Southeast Asian nation makes the required compromises and when, he said.

'He Got All Parties to Sit Down'

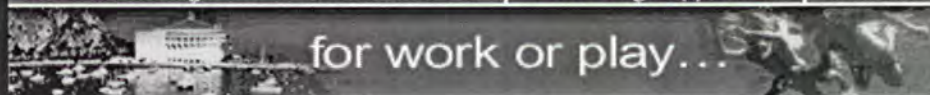
The final effect of the president's historic three-day visit was on his legacy. It was more than a feel-good trip for the first president to visit Vietnam since 1969, when Richard Nixon stopped for six hours to rally troops at the height of the war. It may also have closed the chapter over his own initial attempt to avoid the draft.

"Clinton has always had Vietnam somewhere in his psyche," said Valley, the Vietnam vet and development project chief.

"Despite his past, he never gave up the idea that at the end of his term he was going to do something big with Vietnam. He did it: He got all parties to sit down, and he made Vietnam more comfortable with dealing with the United States. In the end, that will probably shape his legacy even more than his position on the war."

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To: President Clinton
From: Lynda

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-3-01

LR businessman found stabbed to death in home

BY LISA TURNER
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

A Little Rock businessman was found stabbed to death Monday at his home in west Little Rock, police said.

The body of Guy E. Pestino Jr., 50, of 39 Robinwood Drive was discovered by neighbors at 11:15 a.m. New Year's Day slumped over the side of his bathtub.

Police said two men who live near Pestino had gone inside the house to check on him after noticing Pestino's back door standing open.

Pestino was stabbed several times in the neck, police said. His body has been sent to the state Crime Laboratory to determine a time of death.

Police have no suspects and are not discussing motive.

"We're not speculating at this time," said detective Ronnie Smith.

There was nothing missing from inside Pestino's house, police said, but detectives believe the killer left in Pestino's black 1999 Ford van. Police described

it as a custom-built van with a raised roof and gold pinstripes.

Pestino, who police said lived alone, was the owner of GP Floral Glass Products. He was a nephew of former Cleveland Mayor Anthony Celebrezze, who served as secretary of health, education and welfare under President Kennedy.

Pestino was an active fundraiser for the John F. Kennedy Library Foundation of Boston. He was a collector of White House Christmas cards and displayed his collection annually at the state Capitol. That collection included White House Christmas tree ornaments, and a prized 1963 Christmas card that was never posted but was signed by Kennedy shortly before he left for Dallas, where he was assassinated.

More recently, Pestino donated a commercial warehouse to the American Red Cross to serve as a kitchen after the Little Rock organization's kitchen was destroyed in a January 1999 tornado.

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WASHINGTON

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PARTISAN CONVERSATION

Senator John Ashcroft

Missouri's Champion of States' Rights and Traditional Southern Values.



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Leahy
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Podesta

John Ashcroft has made a career of public service in Missouri. After serving as Auditor (1973-75), Assistant Attorney General (1975-76), Attorney General (1976-84), and Governor (1984-1992), he was elected to the U.S.

Senate in 1994. In his short time in Washington, Senator Ashcroft has already become known as a champion of states' rights and traditional values. He is also a jealous defender of national sovereignty against the New World Order. His bold leader-

ship on these issues and others makes this Border State senator a natural for the pages of Southern Partisan. Senator Ashcroft serves on three committees: Commerce, Foreign Relations, and Labor & Human Resources.

Southern Partisan: Senator, our subscribers followed the rise and fall of the McCain tobacco bill very closely. The legislation was quite shocking in that it was even proposed, then so many Northern Republicans jumped on-board with it. For those of our subscribers who don't know anything about the tobacco legislation, what exactly happened there?

Senator Ashcroft: The bill turned into a massive taxing and spending bill. It was a way to extend government substantially under the guise of a program to curtail smoking among teenagers. However, it didn't do anything to place any responsibility on teenagers. The bill would have increased taxes, in my judgment, by a minimum of \$868 billion, and it would have created, according to the bill itself, about 17 new boards, commissions and agencies. I was the only person to stand up and vote against that bill in the Commerce Committee. (I guess so many people thought that it was a lead pipe cinch, that the American people would join with the President and his rhetoric rather than look at the reality of the bill.) But, when we began to expose the nature and extent of governmental extension in the bill, the first thing the proponents of the bill did was to take some of the labeling out of the bill so that the new boards and commissions would have a function. They were de-labeled and tucked into existing Departments so that the extension of government became a stealth extension.

This bill was going to be rushed through prior to the Memorial Day recess after an hour of debate. That's when I decided I would have extended debate! I don't know how much you remember, but earlier in the Memorial Day week, I spent four hours debating the bill without yielding the floor and signaled my willingness to do so for an extended period of time. When they realized they were not going to be able to carry this through at the high velocity they wanted (you know, *velocity* is the enemy of reason) they fell back.

Tucked into this bill were just incredible things, like the \$350 million a year to be spent subsidizing overseas studies about the cost of smoking in

other cultures. I mean, \$350 million a year! That averages \$7 million a state. This was flying under a masthead of teen smoking, but it turned out to be everything from big government to internationalism, all financed under a tax on cigarette companies. But it wasn't a tax on the cigarette companies at all. 59.4% of the taxes would have been paid by people earning less than \$30,000 a year. So what you'd have is a massive tax for an extensive extension of government, and when the American people found out what it was, my colleagues decided that they could afford to join me in opposing it.

Southern Partisan: So many of us remember Ronald Reagan and his campaign against big government, but we can't assume that every Republican is against a more powerful Washington. Still, I'm surprised that so many Republicans fell for this one.

Senator Ashcroft: Well, you know, I'll have to tell you, when the President lines up on something, when he's the power behind something, so many of our guys run to the pole, lower the flag and basically do what he thinks. Frankly, we need to be looking at the substance of things to see if there is something there worth fighting for. If there is, then we ought to take the President on.

Southern Partisan: Another issue to do with the President is this idea of an International Criminal Court. You've again been one of the few that has been willing to stand up against that.

Senator Ashcroft: It's an outrage! It has the potential of subjecting Americans citizens... (at least for their actions abroad and maybe for their actions at home) to vague criminal charges that would spring from so-called "crimes against humanity."

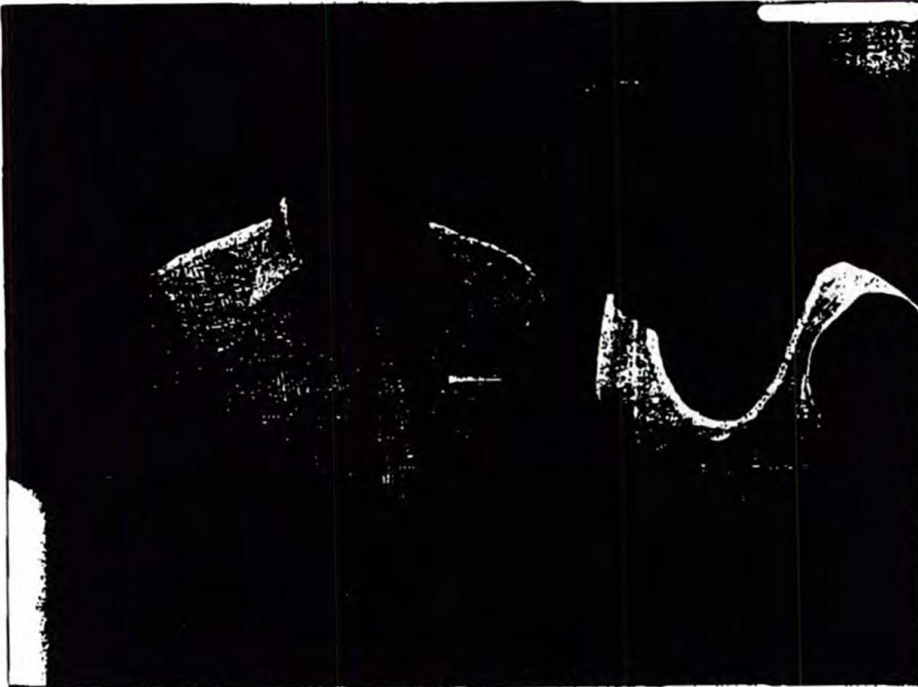


Some of the things they're listing as crimes against humanity are "enforced pregnancies." There are lots of people who wonder if the culture would decide not to make abortion available, would that mean that they were "enforcing a pregnancy"? For heaven's sake, that would make *withholding* of an abortion a crime against humanity when many Americans believe that providing an abortion is a crime against humanity. This is a part of this administration's effort at international government, and in order to govern internationally, they have to sacrifice sovereignty at every turn.

You mentioned Ronald Reagan. Let me just run something by you. Ronald Reagan had a profound impact in terms of the way the world operates. But it wasn't because he would sacrifice sovereignty. Ronald Reagan did not see himself as a governor of the world, he saw himself as a leader of the world. Instead of sacrificing to some coalition or committee bits of U.S. sovereignty as a way of influencing the course of world events, he would strengthen the position of the United States and lead the world to his point of view. That's a profound difference.

Southern Partisan: On the local and national front, we have another effort at twisting meanings and twisting history. It's this idea of national history standards...

Senator Ashcroft: Revisionism is a threat to the respect that Americans have for their freedoms and liberty that was at the core of those who founded



this country, and when we see George Washington, the founder of our country, called a racist, that is just total revisionist nonsense, a diatribe against the values of America. Have you read Thomas West's book *Vindicta: The Founders*?

Southern Partisan: I've met Professor West, and I read one of his earlier books, but not that one.

Senator Ashcroft: I wish I had another copy: I'd send it to you. I gave it away to a newspaper editor. West virtually disassembles all of these malicious attacks the revisionists have

brought against our founders. Your magazine also helps set the record straight. You've got a heritage of doing that, of defending Southern patriots like Lee, Jackson and Davis. Traditionalists must do more. I've got to do more. We've all got to stand up and speak in this respect, or else we'll be taught that these people were giving their lives, subscribing their sacred fortunes and their honor to some perverted agenda.

Southern Partisan: A young lady in North Carolina was recently was

sent home from school because she had a Confederate flag on her knapsack. What do you think about those kinds of incidents?

Senator Ashcroft: Well, you know, I was down in Texas the other day, and someone asked, "Where was Missouri in the Civil War?" I said, "Frankly, it was in Texas." After Fort Sumter, the legislature seceded, and they were run out when the federal troops came in and they set up a government in exile down in Texas.

The right of individuals to respect our history is a right that the politically correct crowd wants to eliminate, and this is just not acceptable. Take those history standards: the standards make no mention of Lee's military genius! I guess there's too much space devoted to Madonna.

Southern Partisan: As *Southerners* we worry a lot about states' rights because we have been fighting for these rights for a long time; since the founding of this country. Do you think states' rights is dead? Is there any hope for restoring a true federal system?

Senator Ashcroft: A few years ago, when they celebrated the bicentennial of the Bill of Rights, they asked me to be one of the guys who wrote the Tenth Amendment portion. The Tenth Amendment was on life support systems then, there's no question about that. But I think we're on the road back. Maybe this is just an old patriot's desire to see a glimmer of hope in the embers and ashes of a situation, but during my time as governor, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a decision called *Gregory vs. Ashcroft*. That was one of the first Tenth Amendment cases that expressed a hint that there was still life to be had. Justice O'Connor wrote, "In the tension between federal and state power lies the promise of liberty." Those are profound words. If we lay to rest the states' powers, there's no place, according to Justice O'Connor, for liberty to reside. God help us if we no longer have a place for liberty!

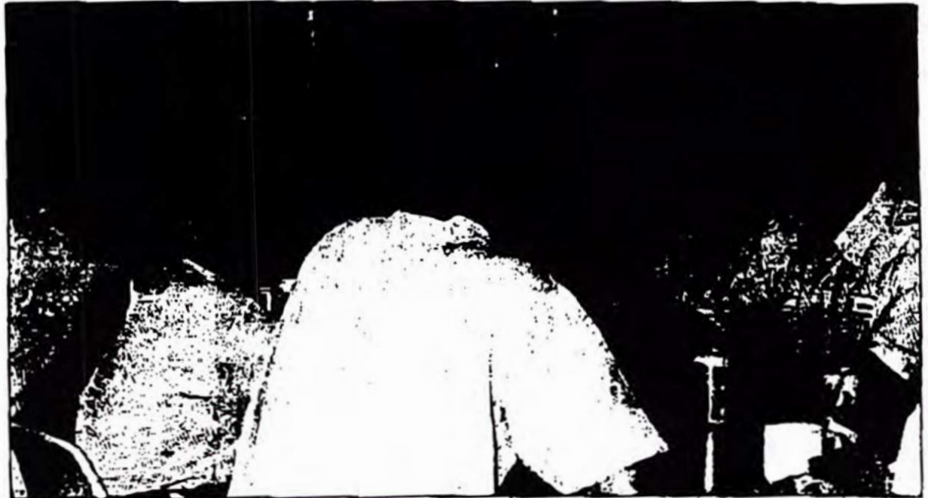
That really was a fight that I waged against federal authority as governor, because our law said that I could

retire judges when they hit 70. They appealed and said no, under federal age discrimination laws they had the right to stay *ad infinitum*. I said, "I'm the Governor here. I'm appointing your replacement." So we went all the way to the United States Supreme Court to defend that. The Supreme Court said the State of Missouri had the right to legislate in that area and that those judges were history. When the Court said those judges were history, it basically said the Tenth Amendment wasn't history.

We come to *U.S. vs. New York* and now the Lopez decision. All I'm saying is that these indicate there is still some fire left in states' rights. I'm not saying we've arrived, but from my perspective, I agree with Justice O'Connor: "in the tension between federal and state power lies the promise of liberty." I believe that the Tenth Amendment, which was the capstone of our Bill of Rights, does appropriately reserve powers to the states, and it is time for Washington, D.C. to rediscover this founding principle, especially given the fact that the courts have made something of a discovery of it.

I have to say this: I have been as critical of the courts as any other individual, probably more than any other individual in the Senate. I have stopped judges and I have argued against liberal expansionism and I will continue to do so, but there are a couple of areas where the courts have regarded the Constitution with respect, and I haven't seen the Congress do it. Frankly, the court is signaling it's time for us to recognize as a federal government, (and that would include the Congress), that there are rights, not only inherent in, but protected by, the Tenth Amendment to the states.

Secondly, in the most recent affirmative action case (the *Aderand* case in Colorado) the Court has indicated that quotas and preferences are not consistent with the Constitution. What disappoints me is that the Senate, even after that had been done in the United States Supreme Court, continues to pass into law the same quota and preference system that was struck down in the *Aderand* case.



Southern Partisan: That's great. I did not realize that you'd been such a big part of fighting the states' rights fight.

Senator Ashcroft: Well, frankly, there aren't any big parts. There are just a lot of soldiers, and I happened to have been one of the soldiers at whom they fired a shot. Like Churchill said: "There's nothing quite as exhilarating as to be shot at and missed." They tried to take me out of appointing the judges of the State of Missouri on the basis of an interventionist federal age discrimination statute, and they missed on that. That put my name in the history books.

Southern Partisan: My last question has to do with education: It seems that whether you're a standard Old-Right conservative or a religious conservative, education issues continue to rise to the top. What do you see as far as education and particularly the danger of a power grab from Mr. Clinton and his allies on Capitol Hill? Does it look like we're going to be able to stem the tide against nationalization of education?

Senator Ashcroft: Well, you know my role in this. When they came along with the federalized testing system, I was the only person in the Senate to stand up and speak against it on the floor. I got 12 Senators to vote with me at the time, but since then we've fought back. The last time we took a vote on this, there were 52 votes and Jesse wasn't there, so it's safe to say that

there are 53 votes to deny any federal funding for the development, implementation, deployment, or field testing of a national testing system. If you control and specify the tests, you're going to control and specify the curriculum.

For me, education is far too important a thing to cede to faraway bureaucrats. Education happens best at the hands of those closest to those being educated. Moms and dads, school board members, teachers, and the local community are the best educators, and whenever we try to expropriate from them and endow bureaucracy here in Washington as replacements for moms and dads, school boards and local communities, we seriously damage the educational potential of America. We simply have to do everything we can to make it possible for people at a fundamental level of society (it's cultural base, it's families, communities, school districts) to make decisions which will result in far greater educational achievement. Being against federal intermeddling in education is perhaps one of the strongest things you can do in favor of student achievement in education.

Southern Partisan: Well Senator, we thank you so much.

Senator Ashcroft: I'll be seeing you! ☐



NAVIGATE

CBS News | Eye on Politics

Ashcroft Controversy Brewing

*Bush's Pick For Top Cop Helped Linda Tripp, Paula Jones
Also Hailed Confederate War Heroes As 'Patriots'
But Advocates Say He'll Be Strong Enforcer Of Civil Rights Laws*

Dec. 27, 2000



AP

Sen. Ashcroft with President-elect Bush

As his soon-to-be former colleagues in the Senate prepare for confirmation hearings, the Missouri senator's conservative views are being scrutinized for what they may foreshadow of his views as attorney general.

Ashcroft has also advocated an increased role for charities while opposing federal money for drug treatment, saying government assistance shouldn't further the **"lowest and least"** conduct.

And a decade ago he refused to sign a presidential panel's report that concluded America was falling behind in efforts to bring equality to minorities, calling it too negative.

Democrats and critics have made clear they intend to make Ashcroft's civil rights record an issue.

On **CBS News' Face The Nation**, Sen. Bob Graham, D-Fla., said the Senate grants Cabinet picks **"a presumption of correctness,"** but there will be **"a lot of questions"** for Ashcroft.

Another Democratic senator, John Breaux of Louisiana, said that while Ashcroft **"is probably more conservative than over 95 percent of his fellow colleagues in the Senate, I think he still will be confirmed. I think he's a man of integrity."**

Ashcroft's record shows he vigorously sought to end abortions, advocated a larger role for charities, pushed amendments that would permanently alter the Constitution for various conservative causes and sent what critics say is a mixed message on race and poverty issues.

In a 1998 interview with *Southern Partisan* magazine, Ashcroft criticized efforts by some historians to portray early Americans, like slave-owning George Washington, as racist, calling them **"malicious attacks"** and **"revisionist nonsense."**

"Your magazine also helps set the record straight," Ashcroft told the two-decade-old periodical that has published articles defending Confederate soldiers and political figures, and once sold a T-shirt commemorating Abraham Lincoln with the phrase his assassin uttered, **"Thus always to tyrants."**

"You've got a heritage of ... defending Southern patriots like

(CBS) President-elect Bush's choice to be America's top law enforcement officer once hailed Confederate war heroes as **"patriots"** and suggested they shouldn't be portrayed as having died for **"some perverted agenda."** Sen. John Ashcroft also rented his fund-raising list to Linda Tripp at the very moment he was sitting in judgment of President Clinton at the Senate impeachment trial.

As his soon-to-be former colleagues in the Senate prepare

Interactive



Follow the transition Bush takes over the from Bill Clinton.

In a 1998 interview *Southern Partisan* magazine, Ashcroft criticized efforts by some historians to portray early Americans, like slave-owning George Washington, as racist, calling them **"malicious attacks"** and **"revisionist nonsense."**

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(Gen. Robert E.) Lee, (Gen. Stonewall) Jackson and (Confederate President Jefferson) Davis," Ashcroft said in an interview. At the time, he was courting conservatives for a possible presidential candidacy.

"We've all got to stand up and speak in this respect or else we'll be taught that these people were giving their lives, subscribing their sacred fortunes and their honor to some perverted agenda," he added.

During the campaign last winter, Bush's campaign criticized John McCain for using a consultant who wrote for and helped edit *Southern Partisan*, calling the consultant's writings in the magazine **"offensive"** and **"out of line."**

But Juleanna Glover Weiss, a spokeswoman for Bush's transition, said Ashcroft's comments reflected that he **"believes in an exact reading on history."**

"He holds sacred the legacies of Jefferson, Washington and Martin Luther King," she said. **"Senator Ashcroft's favorite historical figure is Abraham Lincoln. He has been an avid student of history."**

She added, **"he will be an exceptionally strong enforcer of the civil rights laws as he has been a proponent in Missouri and throughout his career."**

As Missouri governor from 1985 to 1993, Ashcroft signed into law a state holiday honoring Martin Luther King Jr.; established musician Scott Joplin's house as Missouri's only historic site honoring a black person; created an award honoring black educator George Washington Carver; named a black woman to a state judgeship; and led a fight to save Lincoln University, which was founded by black soldiers.

And when he considered becoming Republican Party chairman in 1993, he urged Republicans to be **"tolerant"** and to avoid being **"mistakenly portrayed as petty, divisive and mean-spirited."**

But in 1989, when former President George Bush appointed Ashcroft to a federal commission to study the plight of minorities in America, he refused to sign the panel's final report.

That report concluded that the nation was slipping in its efforts to achieve equality for blacks, Hispanics and Indians and that many minorities were **"afflicted by the ills of poverty and deprivation."**

Ashcroft was one of only two people on the 40-member panel, which included former presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter and King's widow, Coretta, to refuse to endorse the findings.

Ashcroft's office said at the time that he believed the report's portrayal of minorities was too negative and that its **"generalizations about setbacks in progress are overly broad and counterproductive."**

A decade later, Ashcroft found himself under attack from black leaders after he helped scuttle a federal judgeship for Missouri Supreme Court Judge Ronnie White, the first black on the state's high court.

Ashcroft said he considered White to be soft on criminals, and noted he had supported 23 of the 26 nominations of black judges during his Senate tenure. But black leaders pledged to work against Ashcroft's re-election.

He again came under fire for accepting an honorary degree and giving the commencement speech at Bob Jones University, which once opposed interracial marriages and dating.

Ashcroft said he was unaware of the university's views when he gave the speech but declined to return the degree.

In February 1999 as he sat in judgment of President Clinton during the Senate impeachment trial, Ashcroft's political action committee

sold access to his fund-raising mailing list to Tripp, whose secret tape recordings of Monica Lewinsky prompted the investigation, so she could raise money for a legal defense fund.

Federal records show Ashcroft earlier rented the same list to Paula Jones, who had sued Mr. Clinton for sexual harassment.

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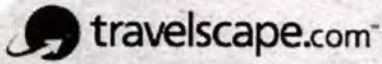
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Questions for Ashcroft

Bush's choice for attorney general is lugging some heavy conservative baggage, and Congress should take a close look.

President-elect George W. Bush repeatedly promised during his campaign that he would govern from the political middle. But his nomination late last week of outgoing Sen. John Ashcroft as attorney general raises troubling questions about the sincerity of that promise.

If confirmed, as is likely, the Republican senator from Missouri will become the nation's highest law enforcement officer in January. His responsibilities will range widely, from civil rights and antitrust enforcement to oversight of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Drug Enforcement Administration. He probably will also have strong influence on Bush's judicial nominations. The job comes with enormous legal and political clout as well as a national bully pulpit.

The attorney general's post is one of two in the Cabinet that Bush's conservative backers consider "must-have," the secretary of Health and Human Services (yet unannounced) being the other. With Ashcroft's nomination, they scored a huge win.

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The 58-year-old politician is a devout Pentecostal Christian, as staunch an opponent of abortion and gun control as he is a supporter of the death penalty. He has a troubling record in the area of civil rights, and he's no conciliator. "Two things you find in the middle of the road," Ashcroft once said, are "a moderate and a dead skunk."

Such rigid views could present a real problem in the wake of a bruising presidential election, one that saw Bush barely win the electoral vote while losing the popular vote. Democrats, including Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle (D-S.D.), have indicated they won't oppose their colleague in his quest for the attorney general's office, but they promise tough questioning during his confirmation hearings. Those questions should fully explore Ashcroft's views on the issues he will face once in office.

What are his views, for example, on enforcement of voting rights laws? The question is particularly pertinent given the problems spotlighted in Florida, where, it was alleged, aged and inaccurate voting machines were disproportionately found in poor, minority neighborhoods.

On abortion, how vigorously will Ashcroft enforce federal laws protecting clinic personnel and patients from violent protests?

Ashcroft led a nasty, partisan charge last year against the confirmation of a prominent, moderate black jurist, Ronnie White, to the federal bench. White's stinging loss in the Senate--the first defeat for a federal judicial nominee in many years, following Ashcroft's absurd allegation that White was soft on crime--has rightly angered many civil rights groups and should trouble all Americans. Ashcroft, though he did not oppose other black nominees, should expect aggressive questioning on why he blocked White's nomination.

When introduced last week by Bush, the Missourian promised that as attorney general he will enforce all the nation's laws. In his Senate confirmation hearings Ashcroft must flesh out that vow on the record.

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This May Be a Pre-Mortem of the 2000 Campaign

Think Bush is going to win (a lot of people do)? A BBC documentary provides remarkable insight into Dubya's devilishly clever campaign against Al Gore

BY MARTIN LEWIS

If George W. Bush overcomes the revelations about his drunk-driving conviction and wins on Tuesday, you can thank — or blame — "Oppo."

That's the name for the backroom boys (and gals) who, by well-aimed research, managed to change Al Gore's image from that of wooden Boy Scout into untrustworthy liar — and may have cost him the election.

Of course, every presidential election season has its new tactics and campaign strategies — the Rapid Response teams run by James Carville that helped bring President Clinton to power is the most recent example — but the latest ways in which the electorate has been persuaded don't usually become apparent until magazines do election retrospectives or books are published.

But for those who pay attention to the men behind the proverbial curtain, Britain's BBC has unveiled something of a first: a glimpse deep inside the 2000 campaigns that has been seen before the election. Last week the British TV network premiered "Digging the Dirt," a documentary that exposes the rough-and-tumble tactics of both the Bush and Gore campaigns.

The film delves into many aspects of this year's battles. We see close-ups of how Bush decimated McCain by brutal push-poll phone calls and how Gore trounced Bradley by savage attacks on his health care proposals.

But the overwhelming message of the film is the insight it brings to the Republican version of Carville's War Room — the seething research room at RNC headquarters in D.C. where GOP head of research Barbara Comstock and her deputy, Tim Griffin, ply a rough trade.

The key ingredient of the 2000 elections is undoubtedly the enormous growth in the past four years of the people who do "oppo," the nickname for the opposition research departments in each campaign.

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That both sides maintain teams dedicated to unearthing material on the other is not new. What is new is the intensity of the digging, the sheer breadth and depth of the search, and, most of all, the now seamless and instant deployment of the results directly into the mass media.

In fact, the film reveals how much the media has come to depend on the "Oppo" research for material. Traditionally, newspaper journalists and TV producers have conducted independent research of charges made by a campaign. That has now dwindled, both due to news organizations being more and more stretched and because the media believes that the backfire effect on the campaigns would be far too devastating if the information provided were wrong.

In the film we see RNC glee as the Associated Press accepts their oppo research on a Gore misstatement during the first presidential debate. During their months of filming BBC producers also observed producers for NBC's Tim Russert, among others, calling to enquire if the team had any new material. This was apparently normal practice.

"It's an amazing thing," says RNC researcher Griffin in the film, "when you have top-line producers and reporters calling you and saying 'We trust you.... We need your stuff.'"

This increasing dependence on the zeal of the oppo teams has paid far richer dividends for Bush than for Gore. And for two reasons: First, the Bush/RNC team has been far more assiduous and painstaking in its work. And second, the fruits of its labors have been of considerably more value to its overall strategy.

For instance, one of the Gore/DNC campaign objectives has been to discredit Bush's Texas record, in much the same way that President Bush successfully trashed the Massachusetts Miracle that was Dukakis' intended trump card in 1988. The Gore campaign has achieved its task in pure terms — there is certainly an awareness that Texas isn't quite the Garden of Eden that Bush has been portraying. But at the same time they were also trying to convey the belief that Bush, as a one-and-half-term governor of a state where the chief executive has very little power, would therefore lack the hands-on experience necessary to run a nation. Highlighting the fact that the Texas legislature meets for only four months every two years makes the case well. But the corollary is that it has weakened the overall argument against Bush. It is difficult to make the case that the Texas governor can be held very accountable for failures if the gubernatorial power is so weak.

Meanwhile, the Bush campaign came up with a much more effective plan. It was apparent early on to the Bush team that the election could not be won on what are traditionally described as "the issues." As the polls continue to show, the majority of the issues favor Gore and the Democrats.

Instead, said the RNC tacticians, Bush had to

ensure that the election be about personality and likeability. But it also had to subtly be about Bill Clinton. So the primary remaining task has been to color Gore not just as less likable than Bush. There had to be a way of linking him to Bill Clinton so that Bush could run against Clinton.

Gore has done everything he can to dodge this tactic, principally the questionable tightrope act of declaring that he is "his own man" and in the process both distancing himself from Clinton and the eight-year boom that has accompanied his presidency. This left the Bush team with one key objective. To redefine the popular image of Al Gore.

If one looks back a couple of years, the prevailing conventional wisdom about Gore was not about lies, deceits, exaggerations and embellishments. It was how wooden he was. Robo-Veep. Gore even made fun of it, often making a self-deprecating quip that he was so boring that his Secret Service code name was Al Gore. Yes, there had been the Buddhist temple incident and the White House fund-raising phone calls, but those seemed to be viewed as technical breaches of obscure laws rather than examples of outright mendacity. His overall image was of a boringly earnest Boy Scout. His Rose Garden defense of a just-impeached Clinton, an act of understandable loyalty.

That was not enough to run against. With those clothes, Gore could run as a dull Clark Kent whose biggest sin would be his lumbering and pious integrity. The Bush team had to find a way to make this uncharismatic cipher take on the hue of Clinton. Gore's chameleon-like approach to the campaign played into their hands.

As Gore stumbled from alpha male to Prozac-ed debater — like an over-the-hill teen pop star searching for a comeback image — the Bush team decided on its plan. It would take all of Gore's perceived weaknesses and find a way to define them as all being part of the same character flaw. And the kicker would be that it was the same defect that the public had detected in Clinton.

The Bush team had a willing accomplice in this. Gore, like many politicians, has a long-identified habit of decorating his speeches with self-aggrandizing filigree. But it is usually dismissed by the public as being par for the course. The Bush campaign's intuition was that if this trait could be vulcanized as being the core of Gore rather than just one of the many traits — good or bad — then they were made.

How to do this? Simple. Establish a massive database of every utterance in Gore's 26 years in public service — and then pounce on any and every discrepancy like a bulldog lawyer seeking to discredit a witness. It wouldn't matter how tiny the variance. Any deviation could be characterized as an embellishment, an exaggeration, an untruth, a dishonesty. And then finally the word that would superglue Gore to Clinton. A lie.

And so, on the night of the first debate we see a pumped-up Tim Griffin barking orders to his large

team of "oppos." Jim Lehrer tosses Gore the question about him having cast doubt on whether Bush has sufficient experience to lead. Gore demurs and parses his response. Griffin leaps into loud action. Within minutes, his team have tracked down an obscure Gore quote buried within the transcript of a lengthy speech. Gotcha! "It directly contradicts what he just said in the debate! He just lied!" crows Griffin. Seconds later Griffin has fed the contradiction to the Associated Press. This is beyond post-debate spin. This is play-by-play impeachment. And incredibly effective.

Moments later the topic is the Balkans. Gore speaks of how World War I started there and says "my uncle was a victim of poison gas there." The RNC oppo staff giggles at this and Griffin bellows: "This family stuff is killing me... let's check his uncle!" There is a flurry of activity — and then palpable disappointment that Gore's uncle really was a gas victim. "OK, so that is not a lie..." Griffin grimaces, and phones the bad news to a waiting colleague: "Hey... we confirmed the uncle tear-gas story...."

But when Gore makes what turns out to be his misstatement about visiting Texas fire sites with FEMA director James Lee Witt, Griffin senses blood. "Have Jeanette take a look at that!" he cries. And his hunch is right. Gore has transposed dates or people. And that gives Griffin another opportunity.

The BBC cameras catch him on the phone exulting to a colleague: "You know what this would be perfect for is... Get one of these AP reporters or somebody on it for the next few days and then we get a lie out of it... and roll a few days with a new lie!"

And "LIE" was what they got. The New York Post trumpets "LIAR LIAR" on its front page — and the post-debate spin cycle becomes about Gore's perceived chronic character flaw. And so it has gone every week since the debates. The image is enshrined.

Did it matter that that Gore has in fact visited Texan fire sites (but with another FEMA executive)? Did it matter that he had made other visits to Texas with James Lee Witt? Were Gore's words a misstatement or a lie? What would have been the benefit in intentionally lying about such a trivial fact? Was it important either way?

To Griffin it didn't matter.

"Research is a fundamental point," he says. "We think of ourselves as the creators of the ammunition in a war. Research digs up the ammunition. We make the bullets."

The enduring legacy of the 1992 campaign was the large sign in Carville's War Room, bearing a phrase that subsequently entered the political lexicon. "It's the economy, stupid."

Behind Griffin in the RNC Oppo Room, the BBC camera captures a large sign he has erected. "On



my command — unleash hell on AI."

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MIAMI-DADE

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Published Thursday, December 28, 2000, in the Miami Herald

Blacks' votes were discarded at higher rates, analysis shows

BY ANDRES VIGLUCCI, GEOFF DOUGHERTY AND WILLIAM YARDLEY
aviglucci@herald.com

In nearly all of Florida's majority-black precincts, presidential ballots were invalidated at higher rates than in mostly white neighborhoods in the Nov. 7 election, a Herald analysis of the state's uncounted ballots shows.

The analysis -- the first to examine precinct-by-precinct trends -- shows that the lopsided loss of black votes occurred throughout Florida and not just in widely publicized instances in Palm Beach and Duval counties.

The study found that poor and less-educated voters of all races were more likely than better-off voters to spoil their ballots. However, Florida's balloting problems affected blacks in greater measure.

The analysis also points to a potential solution: Discard rates for all groups, including blacks, were minimal in precincts where electronic machines scan fill-in-the-oval ballots and immediately alert voters to botched ballots so they can correct them.

Those precinct scanners are critically important, the analysis shows. The optical-scan systems in counties that lack the error-notification feature had discard rates that were higher than in punch-card counties, where the now infamous hanging chad caused so many problems.

THE FINDINGS

Florida's patchwork of punch-card machines and optical-scan systems clearly hurt some voters more than others on Election Day, the study found:

Ballots in majority-black precincts were discarded at a rate three times higher than those in non-black precincts. Nearly one in every 10 ballots in majority-black precincts went unrecorded. In majority-white precincts, the discard rate was less than one ballot in 38.

Eighty-two percent of Florida's 463 majority-black precincts had discard rates above the statewide average of about 3 percent. By contrast, 41 percent of majority-white precincts had higher-than-average discard rates.

Ballots in precincts with high poverty were discarded at a rate nearly double that of better-off precincts.

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Voters in precincts with lower educational attainment spoiled their ballots at a rate 1 1/2 times that of other precincts.

Some experts say the unequal effects on black voters could leave Florida's voting system open to challenges under the federal Voting Rights Act, which prohibits government practices that -- intentionally or not -- dilute minority voting.

The NAACP has said it is contemplating a Voting Rights lawsuit. Experts say such a suit might seek to force the state to mandate and help pay for a uniform, state-of-the-art system across Florida.

"Many African Americans are upset over what happened in Florida, and as your data points out, with some reason," said Louis Seidman, an expert on voting rights at Georgetown University Law School. "I wouldn't be at all surprised to see litigation along these lines."

SEVERAL FACTORS

The balloting disparities were magnified on Election Day by a surge in black turnout that brought to the polls tens of thousands of new or infrequent voters, who are more likely to make mistakes, said David Bositis, senior political analyst at the Washington, D.C.-based Joint Center for Political Studies, which studies issues of concern to minorities.

The problem was compounded by a ballot crowded with 10 presidential candidates, Bositis said, because such long lists make voter errors more likely.

Some local ballot designs led to even more errors, the analysis found: At least 14 counties broke up the presidential candidates into two columns or spread them over two ballot pages -- and had discard rates twice that of the other counties.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights will hold a series of hearings in Florida early next year that will focus in part on how black voters fared under the state's voting systems.

The Herald analysis indicates they started off at a disadvantage. The study looked at precinct returns and demographic data for all but three of Florida's 67 counties.

For one thing, a higher proportion of black voters than white voters live in 24 counties that use error-prone punch-card machines. More than half of Florida's black voters are concentrated in five large urban counties, including Miami-Dade, Broward and Palm Beach, that use punch-card systems.

Conversely, blacks are slightly less likely than white voters to live in the 25 counties equipped with optical-scan readers that alert voters to errors -- the places that had the lowest discard rates in the state.

Those machines, which read fill-in-the-oval ballots at the precincts, are typically programmed to return the card if a voter marks more than one candidate in a race. In some places, the machines also return the ballot if they fail to register a vote in a race.

When these electronic readers are used in predominantly black areas, the discard rate drops to 3 percent, the analysis found. In contrast, the discard rate for blacks is 16 percent when they use scanning systems without the correction feature and 11 percent for punch-card machines.

DUVAL PROBLEMS

Nowhere was the trouble with punch cards more obvious than in Duval County in North Florida, where confusing instructions appear to have played a large role in the invalidation of 22,000 ballots for double-voting -- about 9,000 of them from majority-black precincts.

In fact, 19 of the 20 precincts with the highest spoilage rates in the state were heavily black neighborhoods in Duval, the analysis found. All had at least a fifth

of their ballots tossed out. Elections officials blamed first-time voters and ``people who didn't follow directions."

Tiny Bradford County, a mostly rural place that is home to Florida State Prison in Starke, has a more-modern fill-in-the-oval system. But voters don't get a chance to correct errors because the ballots from its 20 precincts are read at a central location, not precincts.

In Bradford's Precinct 7, where two-thirds of voters are black, 88 ballots out of 464 cast were not counted. That is 19 percent of the total, a figure that Elections Supervisor Terry Vaughan said worries him.

``I don't want anyone to think there was any systematic way that any group was targeted. There is nothing sinister going on. But we need to figure out why this happened and come up with a solution," he said.

ERROR NOTIFICATION

Some counties have already hit on one.

In Brevard County's Precinct 98, where 95 percent of voters are black and two-thirds of school-age children are poor enough to qualify for free school lunches, the discard rate was only about two votes out of every 100. Scanners at all Brevard precincts return double-punched ballots to voters.

Brevard replaced its old punch-card system with the optical-scan machines about 18 months ago, said Gayle Graham, assistant supervisor of elections.

``Absolutely it's better. The voter isn't being disenfranchised if he makes a mistake," Graham said.

Some experts and many elections officials believe counties have an ethical obligation to make voting as simple as possible for voters, which may mean using systems like the scanners that alert voters to mistakes and lending extra assistance to those who need it.

``The fundamental problem is we have a history of discouraging people from voting and that history is very clear," said Henry Thomas, chair of the political science department at the University of North Florida in Jacksonville. ``Casting a vote ought not be rocket science. Ordinary folks should be able to do it."

Yet only 1,720 of Florida's more than 5,885 precincts are equipped with the optical scanners that alert voters to mistakes, in part because they are relatively expensive.

``We don't have that luxury. We could not afford to go to that system," said Bradford County's Vaughan. Its optical system cost about \$35,000, but equipping all 20 precincts would have quadrupled the price, he said.

ERROR IS AN ERROR

In some cases, counties that have the mistake-proof equipment nonetheless don't believe in using it to help voters.

Okaloosa County, in the Panhandle, programs its precinct scanners to spit back fill-in-the-oval ballots only if they are completely blank.

On Election Day, Okaloosa's Precinct 12, where almost two-thirds of voters are black, had 35 uncounted ballots out of 364 cast. That's a discard rate of nearly 10 percent.

Elections Supervisor Pat Hollarn contends that giving voters a chance to redo an erroneous ballot would slow down voting too much. While acknowledging that the precinct has ``probably the lowest educational levels" of the county, Hollarn said that voters, not elections officials, are responsible if they fail to follow directions.

``As simple as our system is, if people are functionally illiterate . . . Look, if the directions say fill in the oval, then you fill in the oval. What's so hard about that?

If you screw it up, you screw it up. When you pander, low expectations make for low results."

Some critics contend that more than economics has influenced county decisions on what kind of equipment and services to offer voters.

'DISENFRANCHISEMENT'

Echoing others, Adora Obi Nweze, state president of the NAACP, alleged that on Election Day many minority precincts were understaffed, run by poorly trained workers and unprepared for the deluge of black voters, who did not get the assistance that may have helped prevent voting errors.

"It's consistent with the overall plan and the overall actions in this state and in this country to treat blacks as though we don't count," Nweze said. "All of it falls under one banner, the disenfranchisement of the black and minority voter."

To be sure, other factors besides voting systems played into whether voters' choices were recorded and tallied.

In Duval County, where so many problems occurred, elections officials distributed inaccurate sample ballots just before Election Day.

The sample listed all presidential candidates on one page and instructed voters to "Vote all pages." But at the polls, the official Election Day ballot instead listed presidential candidates on two pages and instructed voters to "Vote appropriate pages."

Critics say the conflicting directions led many voters to pick two presidential candidates. "A lot of people thought that if you didn't vote on every page that your ballot won't be counted," said Rodney Gregory, an attorney working with the Democratic Party in Duval.

In Gadsden County, the state's only majority-black county, the list of presidential candidates was broken into two columns on the optical-scan ballot -- and 1,900 voters, or 12 percent of the total, marked more than one choice for president. The county lacks the voter-alert system.

When the canvassing board did a manual recount, officials found many voters had marked all 10 candidates and then scrawled Gore's name in the box for write-ins.

DESIGN FLAW

Some majority-white precincts also experienced problems. In heavily agricultural Hendry County, where the presidential ballot also featured a broken-column design, nearly one of every five ballots went uncounted in Precinct 6, where 82 percent of voters are white non-Hispanics. The county has optical scanners but not the error-alert system.

The blue-collar precinct, on the outskirts of Clewiston, is home to many sugar-industry workers and also is poor enough that more than half the children in the local elementary school qualify for free lunches.

County Commissioner Bo Pelham, whose district includes the precinct, said that although 96 presidential ballots were invalidated for overvotes, there were far fewer or no overvotes in his race and several others. That led him to conclude that the crowded ballot was the source of the problem.

"They weren't expecting to see 10 candidates for president," Pelham said.

Exit polls suggest that many of those stumbling over their ballots in majority-black precincts may have been inexperienced voters. Thanks in part to an NAACP get-out-the-vote drive, black voters' share of the state vote rose from an estimated 10 percent in 1996 to about 15 percent this year.

NEW VOTERS

In Okaloosa County's mostly black Precinct 12, Election Day brought out many

new faces from the black community, said poll clerk Aljonia Porter, who lives in the neighborhood. And while she noted that the precinct is home to some elderly white voters who also may have made errors on their ballots, she said, "most of our problem was first-time voters or those who had not voted in a long time."

Some ballots registered as completely blank because voters had made their marks outside the borders of the ovals, Porter said. Those errors were caught. But the readers were not programmed to prevent other invalidating mistakes.

"I had one woman tell me on the way out that she colored in one oval and then wrote in the name of the candidate," Porter said. "That's an overvote. She was just making sure. But it didn't count."

Herald staff writer Brad Bennett contributed to this report.



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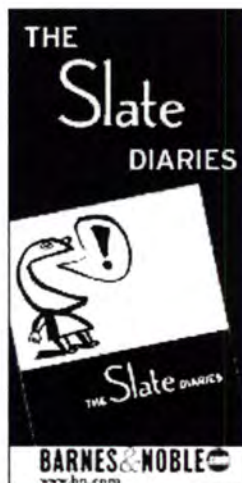
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John Ashcroft's Rebel Yell

By Joshua Micah Marshall

Posted Tuesday, Dec. 26, 2000, at 10:13 a.m. PT



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Attorney General nominee John Ashcroft looks to be the latest GOP pol to catch grief for an ill-conceived visit to Bob Jones University. But shouldn't we cut the next top-cop some slack? After all it's not like he's off giving interviews to crypto-racist, pro-Confederate magazines, right?

Well ... ummm ... OK, maybe he is.

In October 1998 Ashcroft gave an interview to the *Southern Partisan* magazine in which he lashed out at "revisionists" who make malicious attacks on America's founders, such as charging that George Washington was a racist. (The Q & A's introduction praises Ashcroft as a "jealous defender of national sovereignty against the New World Order.") "Your magazine helps set the record straight," said Ashcroft. "You've got a heritage of doing that, of defending Southern patriots like [Robert E.] Lee, [Stonewall] Jackson and [Jefferson] Davis. Traditionalists must do more. I've got to do more. We've all got to stand up and speak in this respect or else we'll be taught that these people were giving their lives, subscribing their sacred fortunes and their honor to some perverted agenda."

Setting the record straight? Is Ashcroft talking about the 1984 *Southern Partisan* article that argued that "Negroes, Asians, and Orientals (is Japan the exception?); Hispanics, Latinos, and Eastern Europeans; have no temperament for democracy, never had, and probably never will"? Or did he mean that 1996 *Southern Partisan* article that cleared up that whole mix-up about slave owners not doing well by slave families? "Slave owners ... did not have a practice of breaking up slave families," the article noted. "If anything they encouraged strong slave families to further the slaves' peace and happiness."

If you're not familiar with the finer points of Southern-fried, right-wing, Confederate-flag-waving political culture, the *Southern Partisan* is the leading publication of the Neo-Confederate movement, a movement which extols the Confederacy, Southern culture, and at least toys with the idea of the South again seceding from the union. Yes, they did once call David Duke "a candidate concerned about 'affirmative' discrimination, welfare proligacy [sic], the taxation holocaust ... a Populist spokesperson for a recapturing of the American ideal." But, hey, they go in for more than just politics. They publish articles on everything from the latest tips on how to re-enact Pickett's Charge to some of the sharper commentary on why Jews "agitate for the radical secularization of our society."

Of course, hob-knobbing with Neo-Confederate wing-nuts won't automatically sink Ashcroft's nomination. Trent Lott praised the white-man-*Uber-alles* organization Council of Conservative Citizens a few years back and he's still Senate Majority Leader. (Lott gave his own interview to the *Southern Partisan* back in 1984.) But before Ashcroft goes before the confirmation committee and starts quoting the *Southern Partisan* about how Negroes and Orientals have no temperament for democracy, someone in the Bush brain trust should intervene and tell him, "John, John, we don't talk that way anymore! It's disgraceful! We now say African-Americans and Asians!"

*Photograph of John Ashcroft on the **Slate** Table of Contents by Larry Downing/Reuters.*

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Prediction: If this issue develops any traction, Ashcroft and the Southern Partisan's defenders will simply play the multiculturalism card. "Out" groups, they will point out, are entitled to "construct" their own "narratives" that are different from mainstream history. As the losers in the Civil War, and as continued butts of jokes in the mainstream media even when they're big-deal politicians (see Maureen Dowd's "pig trail, Arkansas" column in today's NYT), Southerners are an out group, and anyone not part of their group is not in a position to criticize their narrative. (And, of course, anyone *in* the group who criticizes the narrative is a traitor....)

This will be amusing for most ironists out there--to the extent that irony still has a meaning. Given the contributions of a whole generation of historians to the liberation of history from, say, talking about what actually happened, it's not clear that the irony will even register.

--A.G.Android

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Herald INTERNATIONAL Tribune

THE PRESIDENT
12-28-00

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

The World's Daily Newspaper

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No. 36,633



CLINTON IN DUBLIN — President Bill Clinton with Gerry Adams, left, the president of Sinn Fein, and Prime Minister Bertie Ahern of Ireland, right, at the Guinness Storehouse on Tuesday. Mr. Clinton said that the peace process in Northern Ireland must continue. Page 13.

Pressure Grows For Clear Ruling

Americans Want End to Impasse

By Brian Knowlton
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — Americans waited anxiously Tuesday for a U.S. Supreme Court ruling that could end five weeks of political trauma and exhausting legal uncertainty by making it clear who will be the next president of the United States.

There was no guarantee, however, of such clarity.

The justices, as is customary, gave no indication of when they might rule in the

Black voters rebuffed Mr. Bush's overtures. Page 3. • Florida judges insist they followed the law. Page 5.

case of Bush v. Gore. But the widespread assumption was that with Electoral College deadlines looming, the court would not tarry.

Even while keeping an eye on the high court, the Republican-controlled Florida House of Representatives voted, 79 to 41, with two Democrats crossing party lines, to endorse a slate of presidential electors committed to Mr. Bush. The state Senate was to take up the matter Wednesday.

But on Tuesday, after weeks in which events had unfurled in dizzying fashion, the hours seemed to pass Tuesday with excruciating reserve. The men for whom the historic case is entitled went about their business, Governor George W. Bush in Austin, Texas, and Vice President Al Gore in Washington.

Mr. Bush received a national security briefing at his residence, then headed to

President Bill Clinton said Monday, shortly before leaving for Ireland, that, "one way or the other, it will be a historic decision that we will live with forever."

The high court on Monday held its second hearing in the extraordinary presidential dispute, examining the Bush claim that the Florida Supreme Court had violated the U.S. Constitution and federal law by ordering the recounts sought by Mr. Gore.

Speculation rose Tuesday, as the hours passed without a decision, that those justices favoring some compromise might be searching for language, possibly involving well-structured vote recounts, that the others might accept.

The court was caught between possibly conflicting imperatives: seeking a quick resolution to the electoral battle, shoring up the legitimacy of the next president, and striving to maintain the court's own generally high repute, which could be tarnished by a split vote if it appeared to follow political lines.

The U.S. Supreme Court appeared to

See **ELECTION**, Page 5

U.S. Confidence In Judges Falls As Outcome of Vote Drags On

GM Will Drop Oldsmobile and Cut Jobs by 10%

By Tom Buerkle
International Herald Tribune

this year, is expected to revive concerns that Britain's failure to join the euro could hurt the

million in February. "The economy's slowing down, and

The company will take a pretax charge

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

EUROPE

President Bill Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton basking in a warm welcome at a pub in Dublin, where he was nostalgic about his visits and activities to promote peace. He said the chance to try to end the Northern Ireland was "one of the things I will most cherish" about his eight years as president.



Ian Waldie/Routledge

BRIEFLY

EU's New Treaty Is Widely Attacked

STRASBOURG — Members of the European Parliament on Tuesday attacked the treaty hammered out by European Union leaders in Nice for being unambitious and shaped by narrow national interests.

Without having seen the detailed text, European Parliament deputies of all political stripes criticized the agreement reached Monday that is intended to reform Union institutions and expand its membership.

In Nice, Union leaders agreed to reform the European Commission — though only when the bloc grows to 27 members — and to increase the number of areas where members will abandon veto rights and adopt a weighted voting system. But no agreement was reached to extend majority voting to areas such as taxation. (Reuters)

Romania Confirms Iliescu's Landslide

BUCHAREST — Ion Iliescu, the

Turkey Bans Network Over Cartoon

By Molly Moore
Washington Post Service

ISTANBUL — Four-year-old Ferhat Altinbas said he was imitating his favorite flying Pokemon character when he leaped off the balcony of his family's seventh-floor apartment in October in the southern Turkish city of Mersin. Two weeks ago, when 7-year-old Seda Aykanat stepped off her fifth-story balcony in Istanbul, she was convinced she had the same superhuman powers as a cartoon Pokemon.

The two incidents — in which both children miraculously suffered only broken legs — prompted broadcasting authorities to make Turkey the first government in the world to order the temporary shutdown of a television network for showing the popular children's cartoon series.

The decision, in which officials criticized the cartoon for making no distinction between good and evil, has fueled a rancorous debate in Turkey over the government's right to control programming based on the messages it sends youngsters. The government attack on the most popular children's cartoon in Turkey has stunned broadcasters accustomed to the arbitrary decisions of a government that evaluates everything from ra-

Sezer, general coordinator of ATV, the network that the High Board of Radio and Television ordered taken off the air for each day it broadcasts a Pokemon show. "Pokemon toys are on sale everywhere in Turkey. Will they ban them also?"

"It is vitally important for the media to give correct, healthy and educational messages to our children," said a report prepared for the Health Ministry after the

'Pokemon cards are like gambling. We decided this is not good for children's health.'

first jumping incident. The report recommended that "cartoons, before they are shown on television, should be evaluated by a commission of psychologists."

The radio and television board cannot ban programming outright, but instead penalizes broadcasters by shutting down stations for days, or in some cases, weeks at a time.

Over the last six years, nearly three-fourths of the board's penalties have been levied against stations for broadcasts involving the country's Kurdish minority under policies prohibiting separatist activities.

Pokemon show, it also took stations off the air for perceived insults by news anchormen, for comments deemed "too sexual" on a youth talk show and for showing an actor in the nude.

Mr. Sezer of ATV said his network was appealing the Pokemon decision in court and as of Monday was continuing to show the cartoon. He said he had not received notification from the government board of when the network would be taken off the air.

The chairman of the radio and television board, Nuri Kayis, said Monday that after the two jumping incidents his oversight panel had received numerous calls on its telephone hot line from parents worried about the effects of the cartoon.

After reviewing some of the shows, Mr. Kayis said, "we saw it has a lot of violence with no distinction between good and bad. The good character turns out to be bad the next day. Children associate themselves with these characters and end up harming themselves trying to do what the characters can do."

The board went beyond such moral questions in its critique. "It causes consumption mania," Mr. Kayis said. "This is not only a cartoon. The children want T-shirts and all sorts of toys. The Pokemon

Irish Acclaim Clinton For Peacemaker Role

On a Visit, He Offers to Help Once Again

By T.R. Reid
Washington Post Service

DUBLIN — The people of Ireland staged a daylong lovefest for President Bill Clinton on Tuesday as Mr. Clinton started his third visit to a country that gives him much of the credit for the 1998 peace agreement that ended three decades of civil war in Northern Ireland.

On a dismal December day, onlookers lined the streets of Dublin in the rain to shout greetings to the president, his wife, Hillary, and their daughter, Chelsea.

At his public appearances, people cheered and cheered and kept on cheering. The president clasped his hands, closed his eyes and smiled to himself as the noise washed over him.

The Irish press has dubbed this two-day tour Mr. Clinton's lap of honor, the local equivalent of a victory lap. But the president was also hoping for some substantive results.

He was scheduled to meet with leaders of each of the major political parties in Northern Ireland during his trip, and he said he would urge them to resolve lingering disputes over disarmament of the sectarian paramilitary groups and the structure of the police force in the six northern counties that are still part of Britain.

The journey is likely to be the last foreign trip Mr. Clinton makes during his presidency.

He will almost certainly come again to this green and misty island, but the next time it will not be at the head of a massive entourage like the one Tuesday — with three jet planes, scores of buses, dozens of limousines, thousands of police and 12 members of Congress trailing along in the presidential wake.

Mr. Clinton was nostalgic about his personal relations with Ireland when he addressed political and business leaders Tuesday after a lunch of venison steamed in black beer at the Guinness brewery in Dublin.

The chance to work on the Northern Ireland issue, he said, was "one of the things I will most cherish about the eight years the American people were good enough to let me serve." He offered to try again to resolve that issue.

■ Emphasis on the Peace Issues

With Prime Minister Bertie Ahern of Ireland at his side, Mr. Clinton said the stakes were too great in Northern Ireland

back," he said. At the brewery in Dublin, Mr. Clinton greeted Irish lawmakers and business leaders, shaking hands with Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness of the Sinn Fein party, which is linked to the Irish Republican Army.

"Nobody wants to go back to the troubles," Mr. Clinton said, using the local term for the years of violence and bloodshed.

"There are still a few hills we have to climb. If you're contributing to the present vitality of this great nation, you are helping to make the peace whole. For that I am grateful."

In advance of the trip, the White House played down the prospect that Mr. Clinton would be able to broker steps that would lead to a lasting peace.

Nevertheless, Mr. Ahern said Mr. Clinton's trip, which also includes stops in Northern Ireland and England, had helped the two sides "focus on what still are the difficulties and try to narrow them and look at the possibilities of what we can do."

Mr. Clinton carefully avoided direct reference to the disputes that remain, opting instead to encourage the parties to continue pursuing compromise because that is what their people want.

"My message is to those parties which aren't involved in the process, they ought to join."

Mindful that he will be leaving office in a few weeks, Mr. Clinton pledged to continue offering his assistance in Northern Ireland if the next U.S. president wanted it. "If I can be a resource, I will," he said.

In remarks to about 40 Irish politicians at a women-only reception, Hillary Rodham Clinton pledged to raise the profile of women worldwide when she takes office as a U.S. senator Jan. 3.

In his first official stop, Mr. Clinton conferred with Ireland's president, Mary McAleese.

Later, the Clintons went shopping, drawing onlookers into the rain.

The president's next stop is Dundalk, the last town on the Irish coast before Northern Ireland's border and a traditional power base for the Irish Republican Army. In Belfast, Mr. Clinton is to meet with David Trimble, Protestant first minister in the new Northern Ireland government, and Seamus Mallon, the senior Roman Catholic in that government.

Mr. Clinton also will stay at the country mansion of Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain, giving a final public

Romania Confirms Iliescu's Landslide

BUCHAREST — Ion Iliescu, the former Romanian president, was returned to power in a landslide, final results of Sunday's runoff vote showed Tuesday, as his leftist party said it would present a new minority cabinet this month.

"We are now in full progress with organizing the new Parliament," said Dan Matei Agathon, a senior member of Mr. Iliescu's Party of Social Democracy, which won parliamentary elections in November.

The Central Electoral Bureau confirmed that Mr. Iliescu had won 66.8 percent of the vote, and his nationalist rival, Corneliu Vadim Tudor, 33.2 percent. (Reuters)

Laws on Holocaust Extend to Internet

BERLIN — German laws against denying the Holocaust and spreading Nazi propaganda apply to the Internet, even if the content originates in another country and is placed there by a non-German, Germany's supreme court ruled Tuesday.

In a precedent-setting ruling touching on issues of free speech and the reach of national courts in cyberspace, the Federal Court of Justice in effect gave prosecutors the power to seek the arrest of neo-Nazis and Holocaust deniers wherever they are as long as their Internet site is accessible in Germany.

At issue was the case of an Australian Holocaust revisionist, Frederick Toben, who had appealed his conviction by a German court that found him guilty last year of denying the killing of millions of Jews by the Nazis during World War II in pamphlets and on the Internet.

Mr. Toben was convicted of "denying the memory of the dead."

under the temporary shutdown of a television network for showing the popular children's cartoon series.

The decision, in which officials criticized the cartoon for making no "distinction between good and evil," has fueled a rancorous debate in Turkey over the government's right to control programming based on the messages it sends youngsters. The government attack in the most popular children's cartoon in Turkey has stunned broadcasters accustomed to the arbitrary decisions of a government board that evaluates everything from radio music programs to television movies, talk shows and newscasts.

"How far will this go?" asked Zuhdi

first jumping in from parents worried about the effects of the cartoon. After reviewing some of the shows, Mr. Kayis said, "we saw it has a lot of violence with no distinction between good and bad. The good character turns out to be bad the next day. Children associate themselves with these characters and end up harming themselves trying to do what the characters can do."

The board went beyond such moral questions in its critique. "It causes consumption mania," Mr. Kayis said. "This is not only a cartoon. The children want T-shirts and all sorts of toys. The Pokemon cards they play with are like gambling. When you look at all this together, we decided this is not good for the children's psychological and physical health."

But in the same series of meetings last week in which the board ordered ATV shut down for a day for having aired the

phone hot line from parents worried about the effects of the cartoon.

addressed political and business leaders Tuesday after a lunch of venison steamed in black beer at the Guinness brewery in Dublin.

The chance to work on the Northern Ireland issue, he said, was "one of the things I will most cherish about the eight years the American people were good enough to let me serve." He offered to try again to resolve that issue.

■ **Emphasis on the Peace Issues**

With Prime Minister Bertie Ahern of Ireland at his side, Mr. Clinton said the stakes were too great in Northern Ireland to let the peace process sputter to a halt. The Associated Press reported.

"The people have embraced the peace, and I don't think they want to go

conferred with Ireland's president, Mary McAleese.

Later, the Clintons went shopping, drawing onlookers into the rain.

The president's next stop is Dundalk, the last town on the Irish coast before Northern Ireland's border and a traditional power base for the Irish Republican Army. In Belfast, Mr. Clinton is to meet with David Trimble, Protestant first minister in the new Northern Ireland government, and Seamus Mallon, the senior Roman Catholic in that government.

Mr. Clinton also will stay at the country mansion of Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain, give a foreign policy speech at the University of Warwick in England and have morning tea with Queen Elizabeth II while in London.

Teresa Sterne, 73, Dies; Classical Music Producer

NEW YORK — Teresa Sterne, 73, a pioneering producer of classical recordings, died on Sunday in Manhattan.

Ms. Sterne had been suffering from amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, or Lou Gehrig's disease, said a friend, Norma Hurlbut, executive director of the Chamber Music Society of Lincoln Center.

As the director of Nonesuch Records from 1965 to 1979, Ms. Sterne, who was a piano prodigy, turned a small-budget label into one of the most adventurous companies in the recording business.

At Nonesuch she brought attention to areas of music neglected by the major labels, particularly contemporary music and American vernacular music.

Ms. Sterne championed American composers like George Crumb, Elliott Carter, Morton Sobotnick, Charles Wuorinen and Donall Martino, not just recording their work but also commissioning them. She also issued important recordings of lesser-known works by Schoenberg, Busoni, Stravinsky and other major figures.

Ms. Sterne, called Tracey by her friends and colleagues, nurtured relationships with several excellent performers not widely known at the time, like the pianist Paul Jacobs, the mezzo-soprano Jan DeGaetani and the pianist Gilbert Kalish. Many of the artists she discovered were first recognized for

Mr. Friedrich early on won a reputation as a multifaceted, stylish but precise director of both classical and contemporary light opera, and was highly prolific in his productions, both around Germany and abroad, largely in other Northern European countries.

Marvin Leath, 69, Congressman From Central Texas for 6 Terms

NEW YORK TIMES SERVICE

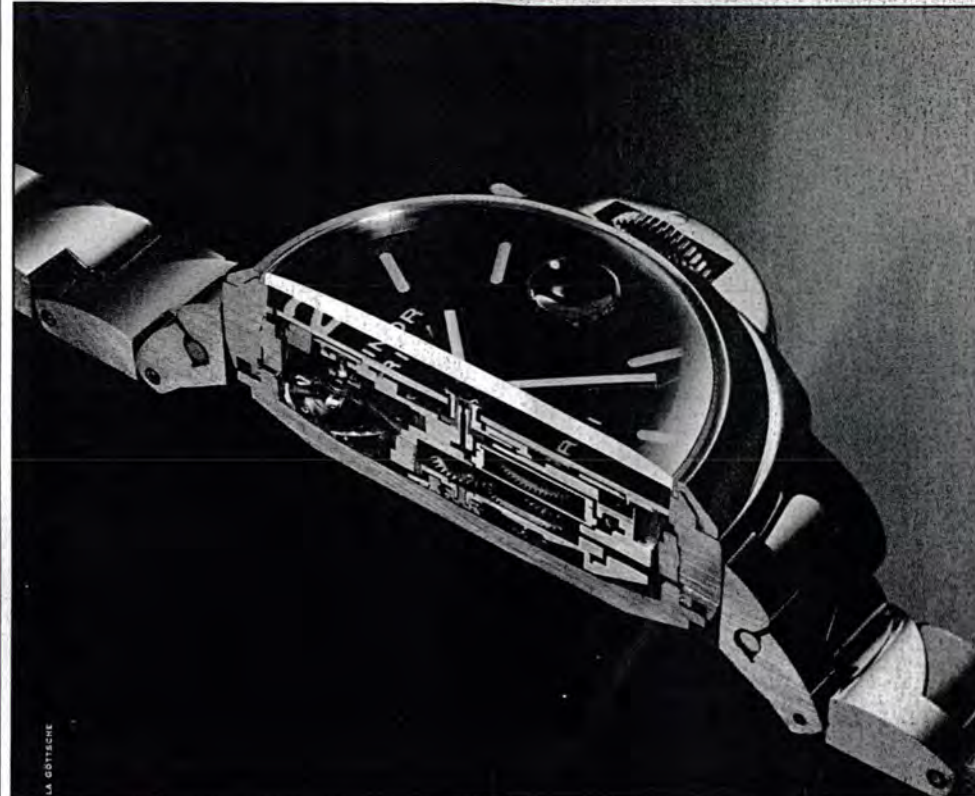
Marvin Leath, 69, a conservative Democrat with an interest in military affairs who served six terms as a congressman from Central Texas, died Friday in Arlington, Virginia. He had suffered a heart attack, said his son, Thomas.

Marvin Leath, a former small-town banker, was first elected to Congress in 1978 and retired in 1991. He served on the House Budget Committee and led its Subcommittee on Foreign Affairs and Defense. He was also on the House Armed Services Committee. Mr. Leath was a founder of the Boll Weevils, a group of Southern Democrats who were closely allied with House Republicans on budget and fiscal issues.

Julian Dixon, 66, Congressman Who Led Black Caucus in '80s

NEW YORK TIMES SERVICE

Representative Julian Dixon, 66, a senior member of the Congressional Black Caucus from Los Angeles and the



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Gun Conundrum: More on Streets, Fewer Incidents

By GARY FIELDS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—More guns lead to more gun-related incidents, right? Not necessarily.

In a little-noticed report, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the research arm of the Justice Department, said that gun-related deaths and woundings dropped 33% from 1993 to 1997. During the same time, the number of firearms in circulation in the U.S. rose nearly 10%, according to statistics from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.

Combined, the reports appear to raise questions about a core argument for people who want more gun control: that there is a direct correlation between the proliferation of firearms in the U.S. and its gun problems.

"We have more guns than we've ever had, and the crime rate and gun-crime rate are dropping. That tells me that what is going on can't just be the prevalence of guns," says James Pasco, executive director of the Fraternal Order of Police, the nation's largest law-enforcement organization. The challenge, he says, is "to figure out what the anomaly was."

Gun-control organizations take a different view of the statistics. Kristin Rand, an analyst for the Violence Policy Center, says the BJS study doesn't put the issue of gun violence in context. The nation's firearms incidents, both on a per-capita basis and in total, are still higher than in most, if not all, other nations, she says. "Mt. Ranier is not really very tall if you compare it to Mt. Everest, but it's still a mountain," she says.

The BJS, in its report released in October, estimates that U.S. gun deaths and woundings fell to 96,636 in 1997 from 143,795 in 1993. And the decline continued in 1998, the latest year for which figures are available, newer federal statistics show. Separately, based on annual production and export and import figures, the ATF says there were 236.5 million guns in the U.S. in 1997, the final year of the survey, up from 216.3 million in 1993. The bureau estimates there are 250 million firearms in the country now.

The new statistics come amid a gun debate that has intensified since April 1999, when two Columbine High School students in Colorado

killed 12 schoolmates, a teacher and themselves. Gun-control groups say the tragedy could have been prevented had it been more difficult for the students to get firearms. Gun-rights groups say the killings could have been stopped had a teacher or other bystander been legally armed.

Criminologists say the issue of guns and how they correlate to crime is more complex than either side has depicted it. There is little statistical evidence to back claims that the presence of legal guns deters crime, they say. At the same time, the results of gun-control laws have been mixed.

"I'm not a gun-control zealot or a gun-rights fanatic, and I think we've underestimated the potential for self-responsibility on the part of Americans who don't want to see another Columbine," says Jack Levin, director of the Brudnick Center on Violence at Northeastern University in Boston. "As I see it, we need laws when people can't con-

trol themselves, and, right now, it seems people are controlling themselves."

Several factors may be behind the drop in gun crimes. First, there is the economy. The median household income was \$40,800 in 1999, up from \$31,241 in 1993. Unemployment now is 3.9%, down considerably from 6.9% in 1993. Those two factors may mean less stressful lives and a greater stake in

"There are social forces more significant than the gun that explain why gunshot wounds are down," says Mike Rustigan, a criminologist at San Francisco State University. "The fact is, the majority of people who buy firearms are not criminals or drug dealers or gangsters."

For gun-rights groups such as the National Rifle Association, the ATF figures and the BJS statistics are a confirmation of what they have maintained for years: Most gun owners obey the law and more legal hurdles aren't needed. John Snyder, spokesman for the Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, says the numbers aren't widely discussed because "they don't conform to the politically correct philosophy of the government that more guns mean more crime."

Others say gun-control laws have undoubtedly had some impact on holding down shootings. But how much is debatable, since it is hard to prove what didn't happen because a particular law was enacted.

For example, the 1994 Brady Law and its latest incarnation, the "instant check" system, are credited with keeping guns out of the hands of 600,000 people prohibited from having them due to a criminal record or other reasons. But there is no way to tell how many of those people tion plans and coordinators who focus attention on the problem of guns.

Still, law-enforcement authorities and new laws are not a panacea. According to the survey released last month, gun-related incidents already had begun to drop when the Brady law went into effect in 1994. And its forerunner, the Gun Control Law of 1968, did not lower the crime rate. In fact, gun incidents increased in the aftermath of the law, the first to limit who could buy or possess firearms in the U.S.

Advocates say the evidence that gun-control laws work is the fact that the percentage of the population that owns firearms isn't growing even though more are in circulation. Jennifer Palmieri, a spokeswoman for Americans for Gun Safety, says the surveys she has seen from the National Opinion Research Center at the Uni-

versity of Chicago show that gun ownership has declined to about 22% of the U.S. population in 1999 from almost 27% in 1989. She says that having guns in fewer hands means less potential for gun incidents.

If it is true that the percentage of Americans who possess guns has been falling, that means there are more multiple gun owners in the U.S. But that fact alone can't explain the drop in gun-related incidents in the BJS study.

"If the same people who have always had guns are the only ones who are buying the new ones, but there are fewer woundings and killings, then the behavior of those people has changed" says Northeastern's Mr. Levin. "Having a gun and using a gun are two different things."

—Jennifer Davit
contributed to this story

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Washington Final

Washington and Baltimore: Showers late, high near 50. Tonight, showers, low near 40. Tomorrow, partly cloudy and breezy. Highs in the mid-40's. Weather map appears on Page C20.

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WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 2000

ONE DOLLAR

Often, Parole Is One Stop On the Way Back to Prison

By FOX BUTTERFIELD

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 22 — It seemed like the perfect solution. Build more prisons and America would be a safer place. In fact, as the nation's incarceration rate has quadrupled over the last two decades, the crime rate has fallen for eight straight years.

But only now are politicians and criminologists beginning to confront an unexpected consequence of the get-tough-on-crime philosophy that created the prison-building boom. More prisoners in prison means that, eventually, more prisoners will be let out. This year, a record 600,000 inmates will be released from state and federal prisons nationwide, up from 170,000 in 1980.

As the former prisoners return, largely to the poor neighborhoods of large cities, there is mounting evidence that they represent what some criminologists and prison officials now call the collateral damage of the prison-building boom.

Because states sharply curtailed education, job training and other rehabilitation programs inside prisons, the newly released inmates are far less likely than their counterparts two decades ago to find jobs, maintain stable family lives or stay out of the kind of trouble that leads to more prison. Many states have unintentionally contributed to these problems by abolishing early release for good behavior, removing the incentive for inmates to improve their conduct, the experts say.

In addition, parole officers are quicker to revoke a newly released inmate's parole for minor violations, like failing a drug test, meaning more inmates are returned to prison time and again, creating what some experts say is a self-perpetuating prison class. In California, for example, 68 percent of the people admitted to prison last year were on parole at the time they were sent back

partment of Corrections.

Evidence of the troubles posed by the large number of returning prisoners is beginning to show up across the nation.

In Boston, which has had one of the largest declines in crime of any major city, the police superintendent, Paul Joyce, said that newly released inmates were a major reason for a 13 percent increase in firearms-related crimes in the first half of the year. Mr. Joyce said part of the reason was that the former inmates brought prison grudges or gang affiliations back to the streets.

In Tallahassee, Fla., Todd Clear and Dina Rose, a husband and wife team of criminologists, have found that the crime rate in

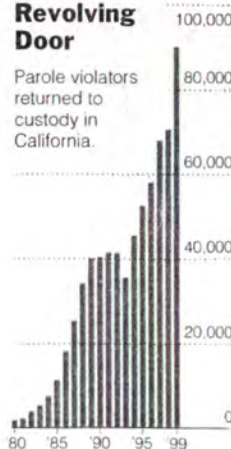
Continued on Page A28

A TIDE OF PAROLEES

A special report.

Revolving Door

Parole violators returned to custody in California.



Source: California Department of

BARAK DECLARES EARLY ELECTIONS, IN SURPRISE MOVE

VOTE POSSIBLE BY SPRING

He Acts Before the Parliament
Can Oust Him on Its Own
— Says 'I'm Prepared'

By DEBORAH SONTAG

JERUSALEM, Nov. 28 — Preempting his opponents' initiative, Prime Minister Ehud Barak told the Israeli Parliament tonight that he was ready to face new elections and to let his first term in office collapse prematurely after 17 months.

Since July, Mr. Barak has staved off the fall of his spindly minority government, first as he conducted intensive peace negotiations with the Palestinians and then as he presided over the disintegration of the peace effort into a two-month-long violent conflict.

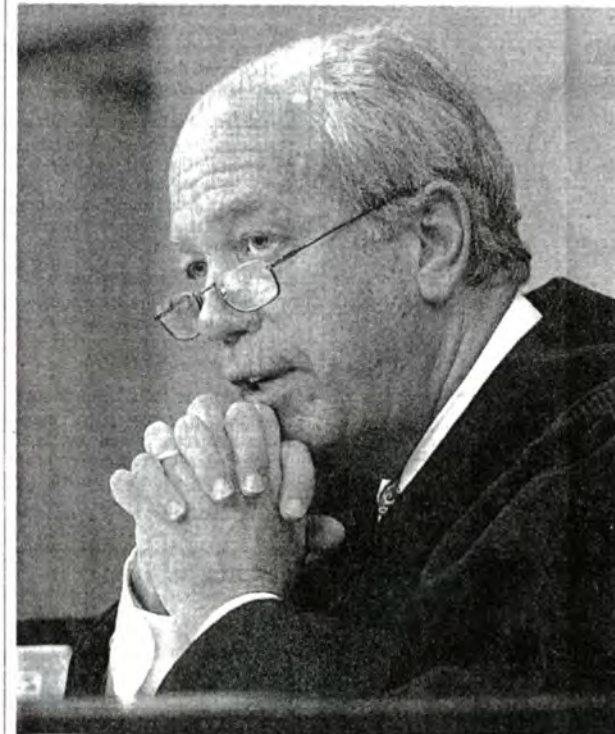
Tonight Mr. Barak gave up. After a failed day of intense politicking, with a devastating majority of the Parliament lined up to bring him down, Mr. Barak did not even wait for the lawmakers to vote him and themselves out of office.

He rose to the podium in the middle of a raucous debate, filled with blistering attacks on his supposed failures as a statesman, and informed Parliament that he was "not blind."

"I say to you: 'You want elections? I'm prepared,'" Mr. Barak said, as the lawmakers quieted to a hush, surprised by his move. He continued brashly, "I've won every election I've ever run in to date."

Mr. Barak, a former general and the head of the Labor Party, was elected to a four-year term a year and a half ago. He said he would meet with the opposition Likud Party in the next few days to coordinate an

FLORIDA LAWMAKERS MOVING TO BYPASS COURTS FOR BUSH; JUDGE BARS A QUICK RECOUNT



Chang W. Lee/The New York Times

Judge N. Sanders Sauls listening to arguments yesterday in Vice President Al Gore's lawsuit contesting Florida's presidential vote.

Hearing Is Scheduled for Saturday Despite Demands of Gore Lawyers

By DAVID FIRESTONE

G.O.P. IN CONTROL

Lawyers for Republicans
Urge Special Session
to Choose Electors

By DAVID BARSTOW

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., Nov. 28 — Three lawyers hired by the Republican leaders of the Florida Legislature told a select committee today that the Republican-dominated body was duty-bound under the United States Constitution to promptly call a special session to name Florida's 25 electors.

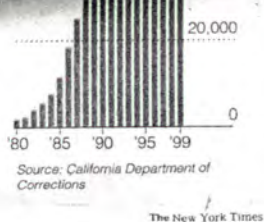
Several Democratic and Republican legislators agreed that today's carefully orchestrated testimony set in motion a process that virtually assures that the Legislature will meet in a special session to name its electors for George W. Bush. The Republicans hope to use the Legislature to take the decision out of the hands of Florida's courts, where Vice President Al Gore's lawyers are challenging the decision by the state canvassing commission that Mr. Bush won the state and thus its 25 electoral votes.

Each of the lawyers argued today that such a step, unprecedented in Florida's modern political history, was required to guarantee that Florida's six million voters were represented on Dec. 18, when the Electoral College meets to select the next president. What is more, they said, the Legislature, not the Florida Supreme

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WJC HANDWRITING

...parole for minor offenses, like failing a drug test, meaning more inmates are returned to prison time and again, creating what some experts say is a self-perpetuating prison class. In California, for example, 68 percent of the people admitted to prison last year were on parole at the time they were sent back, up from only 21 percent in 1980, according to the California De-



Supreme Court Bars Roadblocks That Are Intended as Drug Checks

By LINDA GREENHOUSE

WASHINGTON, Nov. 28 — Police roadblocks aimed at discovering drugs violate the Constitution, the Supreme Court ruled today in an important decision reaffirming the Fourth Amendment prohibition against searches and seizures that are not based on a suspicion of individual wrongdoing.

"Without drawing the line at roadblocks designed primarily to serve the general interest in crime control, the Fourth Amendment would do little to prevent such intrusions from becoming a routine part of American life," Justice Sandra Day O'Connor wrote for the 6-to-3 majority.

The dissenters were Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist along with Jus-

tices Antonin Scalia and Clarence Thomas.

The majority agreed with a ruling last year by the federal appeals court in Chicago, holding that the City of Indianapolis had violated the Fourth Amendment rights of motorists whom the police stopped at drug-interdiction checkpoints that were set up on city streets six times in 1998.

Pulling over cars in sequence, the police would check a driver's license and registration and then walk a specially trained dog around the car to sniff for drugs. The police stopped more than 1,100 cars and made more than 100 arrests. More than half were for drug-related crimes, and the rest were for license problems or other offenses.

The Indianapolis case was closely watched by cities and law enforcement agencies around the country. The National League of Cities told the Supreme Court in a brief that other cities were ready to adopt the Indianapolis program if the court upheld it.

In a case from Michigan 10 years ago, the Supreme Court upheld sobriety checkpoints as a means of protecting public safety by getting drunken drivers off the road. The court had also ruled in the past that a sniff by a drug-detecting dog, which is commonly used at airports, is so minimally intrusive as not to constitute a search.

Taking those precedents together, Indianapolis argued that adding a drug-sniffing dog to a checkpoint could not convert a lawful police practice into one that was unconstitutional.

But Justice O'Connor said the purpose of the checkpoint made all the

Continued on Page A18

U.S. Wrote Outline For Race Profiling, New Jersey Argues

By DAVID KOCINIENSKI

TRENTON, Nov. 28 — Weaving its way through the 91,000 pages of documents on racial profiling released by New Jersey officials is a largely overlooked thread in the national debate on race and crime — though states like New Jersey have been the most egregious offenders, the textbook on singling out minority drivers was written by the federal government.

New Jersey officials argue that the reason racial profiling is a national problem is that it was initiated, and in many ways encouraged, by the federal government's war on drugs. In 1986, the Drug Enforcement Administration's Operation Pipeline enlisted police departments across the country to search for narcotics traffickers on major highways and instructed officers, to cite one example, that Latinos and West Indians dominated the drug trade and therefore warranted extra scrutiny.

Since then, the D.E.A. and the Department of Transportation have fi-

...said, as the lawmakers quieted to a hush, surprised by his move. He continued brashly, "I've won every election I've ever run in to date."

Mr. Barak, a former general and the head of the Labor Party, was elected to a four-year term a year and a half ago. He said he would meet with the opposition Likud Party in the next few days to coordinate an election date. Political experts said elections would take place by mid-spring at the earliest; the two major parties are expected to hold primaries to choose their candidates, and neither side wants to rush to the polls.

"In the peculiar Israeli system, the concept of early elections is never too early," said Shlomo Ben-Ami, Israel's foreign minister.

That would mean that Mr. Barak, if he is chosen as his party's candidate, would make a bid for re-election two years after he won a landslide victory over Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

Although Mr. Netanyahu has not yet announced his plans, many anticipate that he will return to the political fray, vie for the Likud leadership and face off against Mr. Barak once

Continued on Page A16

Hearing Is Scheduled for Saturday Despite Demands of Gore Lawyers

By DAVID FIRESTONE

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., Nov. 28 — A circuit judge this evening denied a plea from Vice President Al Gore's lawyers to accelerate his lawsuit that seeks to overturn Gov. George W. Bush's victory in Florida, refusing to recount thousands of disputed ballots at least until he holds a hearing on Saturday.

Though the judge, N. Sanders Sauls, agreed to Mr. Gore's request that nearly 14,000 such ballots be sent up from South Florida, the judge's decision to call a hearing on whether to count them was a blow to Mr. Gore's lawyers' efforts to establish an accelerated timetable for contesting the election.

Mr. Gore's lawyers are aware that they must wage a full-blown trial and several rounds of appeals in the two weeks before Florida officially sends its electors to the Electoral College,

and they demanded that Judge Sauls set an extraordinarily fast schedule for the case.

Under their proposal, officials would have begun counting 14,000 ballots from Miami-Dade and Palm Beach Counties on Wednesday morning, continuing through the weekend for seven days, with a ruling from Judge Sauls next Wednesday and any appeals to the Florida Supreme Court over the next few days.

Mr. Bush's lawyers, on the other hand, proposed a more leisurely schedule, that would have ended the trial stage of the case on Dec. 11, the day before the designation of electors, leaving no time for any appeals.

Mr. Gore appeared before television cameras in Washington today to discuss the details of his motions, which he said was essential in ensuring a "full and accurate count of the ballots," and to accuse the Republicans of deliberately stalling the process. [Page A23.]

"They have proposed two weeks of additional court proceedings and additional hearings, right up to the Dec. 12 deadline for seating electors," Mr. Gore said. "And under their plan, none of the thousands of votes that remain to be counted would be counted at all. I believe this is a time to count every vote and not to run out the clock. This is not a time for delay, obstruction and procedural roadblocks."

Judge Sauls, wielding folksy aphorisms to fend off the enormous pressure of the elite legal teams arrayed before him, tried to steer a middle course. He called for a hearing on Saturday to determine whether to count the ballots — three days after the Gore team wanted the counting to begin — and said the hearing

Continued on Page A20

CONTESTING THE VOTE

The Transition

The White House has started treating both Gov. George W. Bush and Vice President Al Gore as unofficial presidents-elect, offering to meet with both candidates' transition directors. PAGE A21

Rallying Around Gore

In a striking turn that has surprised the Gore campaign, Democratic lawmakers have hurried to rally around the vice president, even more than they did during the actual presidential campaign. PAGE A23



Prime Minister Ehud Barak of Israel, right, and the opposition leader, Ariel Sharon, left, after Mr. Barak said he would face new elections.

INSIDE

Drug Ordered Off Shelves

The maker of Lotronex, a treatment for irritable bowel syndrome, agreed to a Food and Drug Administration

King Puts Off Web Book

The horror writer Stephen King has decided to abandon his Internet-only novel "The Plant" at least for a

News Summary

Arts	B1-10
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Bush won the state and thus the 29 electoral votes.

Each of the lawyers argued today that such a step, unprecedented in Florida's modern political history, was required to guarantee that Florida's six million voters were represented on Dec. 18, when the Electoral College meets to select the next president. What is more, they said, the Legislature, not the Florida Supreme Court, has exclusive authority to appoint Florida's electors when the outcome of an election is in doubt because of legal challenges, including the briefs filed today by the Bush and Gore campaigns with the United States Supreme Court. [Page A25.]

Einer Elhauge, a Harvard law professor, told the panel, "It's like the Boy Scouts — be prepared." The Legislature, he added, should call a special session "on whatever date is early enough to allow it to take decisive action in a timely fashion."

But if the Legislature proceeds to choose its own slate of electors and if the courts ultimately rule that Mr. Gore won the state, Congress would be faced with having to choose between two slates of electors.

The Democratic and Republican legislators said the testimony would almost certainly prompt the select committee to formally recommend a special session, perhaps as early as Wednesday. This in turn would clear the way for Tom Feeney, the Republican House speaker, and John McKay, the Republican Senate president, to sign a joint proclamation calling for the session. Two senior

Continued on Page A21

After Election Risk, Premier of Canada Reaps Big Rewards

By JAMES BROOKE

OTTAWA, Nov. 28 — For Jean Chrétien, the victory in the national election on Monday provided a critical political respite, and a resounding personal vindication.

From the time the 66-year-old prime minister called the election five weeks ago — against the virtually unanimous opposition from leaders of his Liberal party — the campaign focused on him. Opposition advertisements featured black and white photographs of him looking slack-jawed, and in televised debates, opposition leaders attacked him so intensely that the normally combative prime minister was sometimes left speechless.

But in the end, Mr. Chrétien won big — he increased the Liberal party's seats in Parliament from the 155 he won in 1997 to 173. That is a substantial majority in the 300-seat Parliament.

And after seven years in power, his party increased its share of the

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

Often, Parole Is One Stop On Way Back to Prison, And Then Back to Parole

Continued From Page A1

poor neighborhoods rises as the number of newly released inmates increases. Family and financial pressures often are the cause, they say — including the pressure to pay the \$50 to \$150 the state charges them for their own supervision.

California Led the Way

Although law enforcement experts say that the large number of inmates being returned to prisons is a nationwide phenomenon, nowhere is it more striking than in California, the state with the largest prison population and the first state to abolish flexible sentences, which historically led to early release for good behavior.

In California, four out of five former inmates returned to prison were sent back not for committing new crimes but for technical violations of the terms of their parole; for example, failing a drug test or missing appointments with parole agents.

The state retains the authority to supervise released offenders even though they serve their full sentences. The parole supervision normally lasts three years, barring other infractions. Some of these returning inmates have been to prison 10 times. (The so-called three-strike law, which puts a habitual offender in prison for 25 years to life, does not apply to parole violations.)

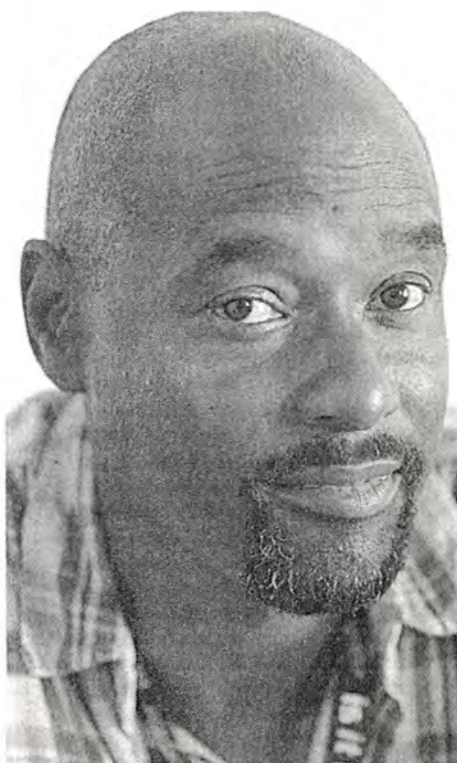
Without such a high rate of return of parolees, studies have shown, California's prison population would have declined, not grown, as crime dropped in the 1990's.

The difficulties that inmates face on release showed up in a report last year by the California State Legislative Analyst's Office: 85 percent of released prisoners in California are drug or alcohol abusers, 70 percent to 80 percent are still jobless after a year, 50 percent are illiterate and 10 percent are homeless. Nationwide, the figures are similar. Allen J. Beck of the Bureau of Justice Statistics, a branch of the Justice Department, said 82 percent of people on parole who are returned to prison are drug or alcohol abusers, 40 percent are unemployed, about 75 percent have not completed high school and 19 percent are homeless.

Other reports have found that 20 percent of inmates nationwide suffer from severe mental illness, like schizophrenia or depression. In addition, almost one-quarter of all people infected with the AIDS virus and more than one-third of those with tuberculosis were released from prison or jail in the past year, according to a new study by Theodore Hammett, of Abt Associates, a consulting firm in Cambridge, Mass.

"When most Americans think of the surge in the prison population, they think it has reduced crime and that makes them more secure," said Joan Petersilia, a professor of criminology at the University of California at Irvine, a leading authority on parole. "What they forget is that 97 percent of prisoners will be released, and the more times a person has been to prison before, the more likely they are to be rearrested, because things like finding housing and jobs and re-establishing family ties become harder and harder for them."

The problem is not that individual criminals are committing more crime, Mr. Beck said, but that the pool of potential criminals has grown. "What's worrisome," he said, "is that because we've got more and more



Steven Butler, homeless when he was arrested, returned to homelessness.

people coming out of prison, more and more people are failing, so the risk to the community has increased dramatically."

Take three recent California cases, drawn from official records and interviews with the former inmates:

Antoine Mahan, 33, was released from prison after serving four years for burglary, the last two in solitary confinement. After releasing him directly from solitary confinement, the prison gave him the customary \$200 in "gate money," which was supposed to help him start a new life, then drove him to the train station for the trip home to San Francisco.

But Mr. Mahan described himself as a crack addict with the AIDS virus and a diagnosis of manic depression, though he received no drug or psychiatric treatment while in prison, he said. By the time the train reached San Francisco, it was evening, too late, he recalled in an interview, for the required check-in with his parole agent, so, he said, he broke into a McDonald's to sleep and resumed selling and taking drugs. So far, he remains out on parole.

And there is Steven Butler, 44, who was released from prison after serving a one-year sentence for possession of cocaine. Records show he was given his \$200 and a bus ticket back to Los Angeles, where he had been arrested.

But Mr. Butler was homeless at the time of his arrest, with no family here, so the first night after getting off the bus, he said, he went back to sleeping on the same skid-row street just east of downtown where he had lived before. With no education, job skills or hope, he said, he used some of his money to buy dope to make himself feel better.

There is also Sam Watland, a 33-year-old from coastal San Luis Obispo who looks like the surfer he once was. He has been released on parole nine times in the last decade: three times after serving sentences for embezzlement, auto theft and assault, and six times after parole revocations. He has had his parole revoked so many times, and so quickly — once he lasted only 14 days on the outside — that the day before his most recent release from prison, he had nightmares he would get picked up again.

California parole agents have become quicker since the early 1980's to revoke paroles, sending people back to prison for violations of the conditions of their release, said C. A. Terhune, who recently retired as the director of the Department of Corrections. Mr. Terhune said that was a response to "the current public climate" to get tougher on criminals, tightening the conditions for parole. With improved urine tests, for example, it is easier for parole officers to catch drug use.

A growing number of prison officials and criminologists say they question whether this drive to revoke parole so quickly is good public policy or whether it simply drives up costs and diverts money from more effective treatment programs.

"I'd have fewer inmates if there weren't parole officers whacking so many guys back," said Martin F. Horn, Pennsylvania's secretary of corrections.

3-Time Parole Violator

Jason Peterson had lost 60 pounds when he was released after spending almost two years in solitary confinement at Pelican Bay, California's super maximum-security prison, while serving a sentence for possession of a pipe bomb.

When he returned to his mother's house in San Francisco, after months without human contact, he refused to leave his bedroom, his mother, Jeannine Peterson, said in a lengthy interview recently. Her account was supported by her son's lawyer and a psychiatrist hired by the family.

Concerned about his mental state, Mrs. Peterson, an elementary school special education teacher, called his parole officer, who offered to take him to the hospital. Instead, she said, the parole officer arrived with police officers, who handcuffed her son and took him into custody.

The next morning, the parole agent called to say that Mr. Peterson's parole had been revoked for psychiatric reasons and he had been given an additional year in prison at San Quentin, his mother said.

Mrs. Peterson hired a lawyer, Graham Noyes, who demanded a parole revocation hearing, and a psychiatrist, Terry Kupers, to examine her son. Mr. Noyes and Dr. Kupers said they were excluded from participating in the revocation hearing.

The issue of providing lawyers for inmates in parole revocation hearings is the subject of a class-action suit pending against the California Department of Corrections in Federal District Court in Sacramento. The inmates contend that under rulings by the United States Supreme Court in the 1970's, they are entitled to such representation. The corrections department generally allows lawyers in parole revocation hearings only if the inmate is deemed mentally impaired. Inmates may not call witnesses or exclude hearsay evidence.

Hearings are presided over by a deputy commissioner of the Board of Prison Terms, a branch of the Department of Corrections, who serves as both judge and jury.

The deputy commissioner in Mr. Peterson's case found him to be psychotic and a danger to others, and sentenced him to the "add" al year in prison, according to de-

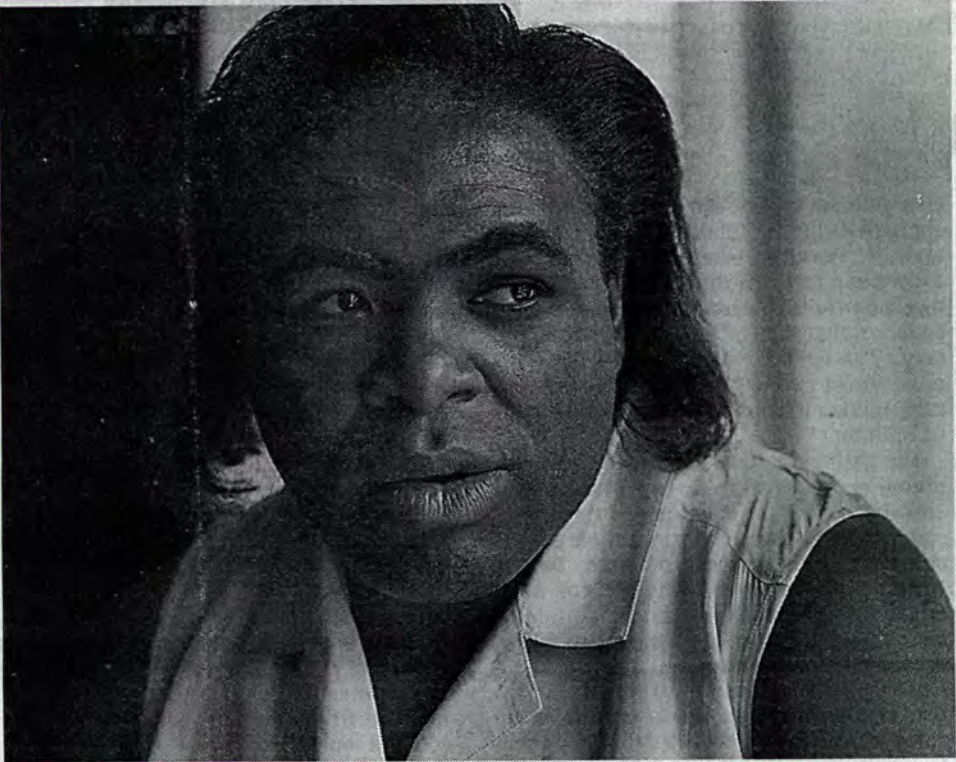
Since then, Mr. Peterson has become an apprentice plumber, but he has had his parole revoked three more times, department records show. Once it was revoked for possession of a dangerous weapon — a serious issue to the department, given his original conviction — though his mother and lawyer say it was only a plumber's knife his parole agent found in his toolbox when the agent searched Mr. Peterson's truck.

The next time it was again for possession of a dangerous weapon, what the parole agent described as a hand grenade in Mr. Peterson's bedroom. Mr. Peterson's sister said it was actually a toy grenade she had bought for her Halloween costume.

Then last spring Mr. Peterson was charged with assault and making a terrorist threat when he got into an argument with a former girlfriend, who he said had been harassing his current girlfriend. A department spokesman said the former girlfriend's mother testified against him, but Mr. Peterson's boss in the plumber's union, who tried to testify for him, was excluded from the hearing.

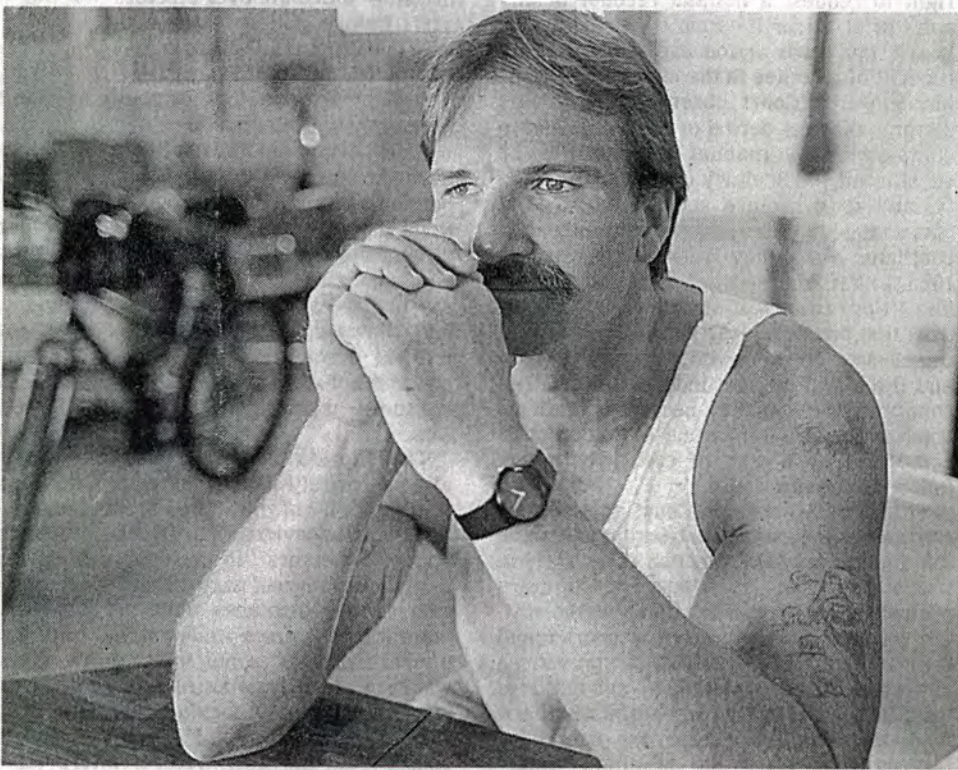
So far, Mr. Peterson has spent a year and 11 months in prison on parole revocations, almost as long as he did on his original two-year sentence. And the total could go on almost indefinitely, because under California law, each time Mr. Peterson has his parole revoked, he stops earning credit toward his original three-year parole term. The parole revocations themselves, in California, can last from a few weeks to a year.

In support of the quick parole-revocation policy, Jerome Marsh, the assistant regional director of parole for southern California, said, "Our No. 1 priority now is public safety," not the more historical goal of

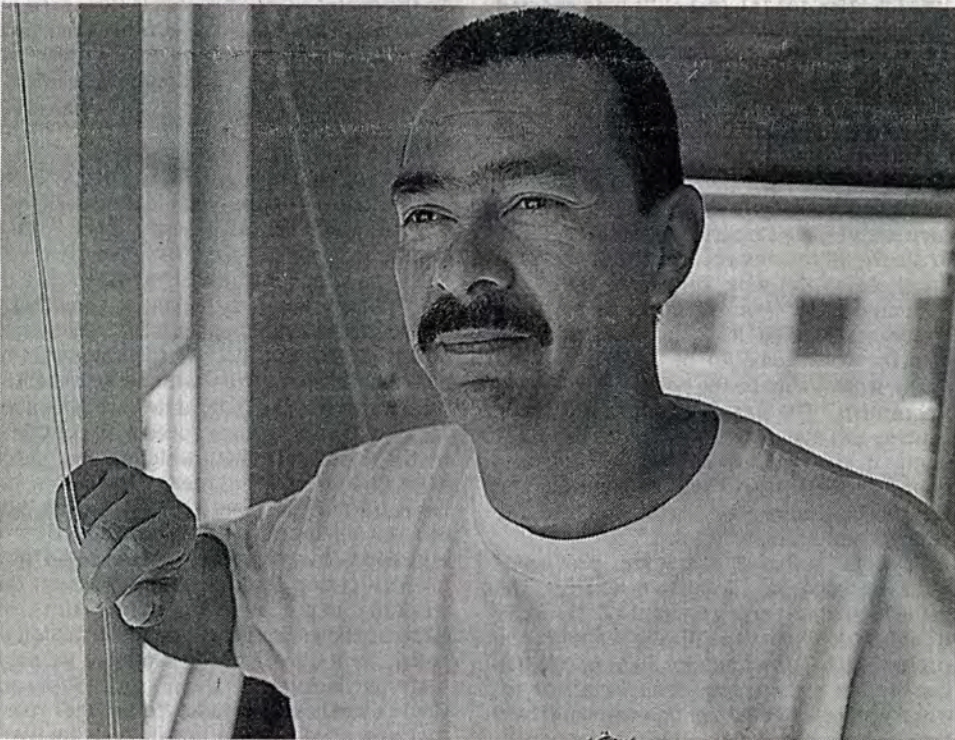


Photographs by Monica Almeida/The New York Times

Antoine Mahan served four years for burglary, the last two in solitary confinement. From solitary, he was given \$200 in "gate money" and a drive to the train station.



Sam Watland has been released on parole nine times in the last decade. The night before his last release, he said, he had a nightmare about being quickly rearrested.



"It says Department of Corrections, but there was no corrections," said Raul Morales, who has been sent to prison five times for convictions and eight for parole violations.

trying to help keep offenders from going back to prison.

Parole Disappears

It was not always this way.

In 1977, only 788 inmates who had been released on parole were returned to prison in California, compared with 90,000 in 1999.

At that time, most inmates across the nation served flexible sentences, say 5 to 10 years, and parole boards appointed by governors had discretion in determining when prisoners were ready for release, usually when they could show they had rehabilitated themselves or had a job or family waiting for them. Prison officials approved of parole, because it encouraged inmates to improve and helped maintain order.

But California led a sweeping national change in 1977 when it became the first state to take away the power of the parole board and eliminated flexible sentences, replacing them with fixed terms determined in advance by a judge. Under the new system, inmates were automatically released at the end of their term without review by a parole board, though after their release they were still on parole.

The switch came in reaction to the explosion of violent crime in the late 1960's and early 1970's and an unusual agreement by liberals and conservatives that discretionary release on parole was a failure. Liberals complained that parole boards were too influenced by an inmate's race, leading to longer time served for blacks. Conservatives attacked parole boards for letting criminals out too early.

Unfortunately, Professor Petersilia said, "When we adopted fixed sentences, there is no longer any incentive for prisoners to reform, just as there is no way to judge whether their behavior has improved."

Moreover, although in California newly released inmates are still monitored by parole agents, in many states inmates who "max out," in prison slang, are simply allowed to walk out without any further monitoring, sometimes directly from solitary confinement. Nationwide, of the 600,000 inmates to be released this year, 100,000 will be unsupervised, according to Mr. Beck of

the Justice Department.

At the same time, the public was calling for a get-tough approach to crime, and many prison rehabilitation programs were eliminated. They included classes, vocational training and halfway houses, where inmates could adjust to the outside world by working regular jobs in the day and staying in supervised housing at night. The money saved went to building more prisons.

According to a report by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the number of state prison inmates participating in drug treatment programs dropped to 1 in 10 in 1997 from 1 in 4 in 1991. At the same time, many states, including New York, have stopped allowing inmates to take college extension courses, which were once very popular, and Congress prohibited inmates from receiving Pell grants to pay for college class tuition, said Jeremy Travis, a senior fellow at the Urban Institute in Washington.

Now, only 9 percent of prisoners are in full-time job training or education programs, while 24 percent are completely idle, said James Austin, director of the Institute on Crime, Justice and Corrections at George Washington University.

Bruce Western, a professor of sociology at Princeton University, has found that even when paroled inmates are able to find jobs, they earn only half as much as people of the same social and economic background who have not been incarcerated.

William Sabol, a senior researcher at Case Western Reserve University, said, "That makes parolees less capable of forming stable relationships and supporting families, and therefore more likely to engage in illegal activities."

Similarly, men who have been imprisoned and paroled will have a harder time supervising their children, Mr. Sabol said, making their offspring more likely to get into trouble. Several other studies have found that half of all teenagers in juvenile prisons have parents who have been incarcerated.

In Tallahassee, Professors Clear and Rose found neighborhoods where everyone had at least one friend or relative who had been in prison.

Florida is one of 13 states that now permanently take away the right to vote from

anyone convicted of a felony. This is another factor that tends to alienate former prisoners from being a part of society, the experts say.

Another pitfall for former inmates is that even when they do try to succeed, the get-tough movement has made it hard for them to find jobs, with recent laws barring them from certain occupations. In California, parolees are legally banned from working in law, real estate, medicine, nursing, physical therapy and education. Harriet Davis of Berkeley got out of prison in 1986, after serving three years for shooting a man who beat her, and then earned a college nursing degree and passed the registered-nurse licensing test. But the new California law barring ex-felons from nursing has left her to scrape by as a stock room clerk or home-care aid, or sometimes on welfare.

The growing number of inmates returned to prison carries a cost to taxpayers as well. Nationwide, in the 1990's, the number of criminals sent to state prisons rose 22.7 percent, to 565,291 in 1998, up from 460,739 in 1990, according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics. But the number of new criminals sent to state prisons rose only 7.5 percent, while the number of inmates returned to prison, either for parole violations or for committing new crimes while on parole, jumped 54.4 percent, to account for the bulk of the growth in prison inmates.

Problems, Solutions

The cases of Ruth Ann Clements and Raul Morales, drawn from interviews and court papers, illustrate the perils of release and a hope for the future.

Ms. Clements had no family or friends in Stockton, the agricultural city where her parole officer took her last spring, putting her in a rundown residential hotel after she had served 10 years in Valley State Prison in Chowchilla, the last four years in solitary confinement, for stabbing her boyfriend to death.

Her parents are dead. Her four children were scattered around the country — one was in a juvenile prison in Louisiana for being a runaway. Her years in solitary left Ms. Clements, 43, depressed, anxious and disconnected from the world, she and her lawyer, Casandra Shaylor, said.

A prison doctor had prescribed Prozac and Buspar for her depression and anxiety, but when she was released she was not given a supply of the drugs, as required by state law.

Prison officials declined to comment on why she was denied the drugs, citing privacy concerns.

"I get overwhelmed easily now," Ms. Clements said recently, sitting in her small room in the residential hotel, filled with other drug addicts and parolees, put there by the authorities.

Even cooking a meal was hard, she said, since she had not cooked in 10 years. She did not have a car or a driver's license — it expired long ago — and she did not know how to get a new one or to find her way around Stockton. Discouraged, she made no effort to find work.

In September, Ms. Clements was charged with drinking and battery, violations of the conditions of her parole, according to the Department of Corrections, after she and a man in the residence got into an argument. She is now back in prison, her parole revoked, with an additional term of 10 months.

Her daughter Amber, 16, who had been released from juvenile prison in Louisiana and put on a bus to Stockton, has been placed in foster care.

"So much for the belief that families should be put back together," her mother wrote in a letter from prison.

Raul Morales has a better chance, thanks to a new official awareness that the prison and parole systems are leading to failure.

A 34-year-old heroin addict from East Los Angeles, Mr. Morales has been sent to prison five times for convictions for drug possession and burglary, and eight times for parole violations. (His early convictions were before enactment of the three-strike law.)

Heroin was all he knew, Mr. Morales said, explaining, "My dad and grandfather did heroin, and so I did heroin with them."

Prison did not change his drug habit. "It says Department of Corrections, but there was no corrections," Mr. Morales said. "You do your time, then you get out, and then you go back to drugs."

But in his most recent incarceration, he found himself in Corcoran State Prison in a new drug treatment program run by Phoenix House, which has a contract with the California Department of Corrections. As he was about to be released, he agreed to enroll in a continuing program administered by Phoenix House in an old apartment building on the boardwalk in Venice, an ocean-front section of Los Angeles. To make sure he did not slip, a Phoenix House van picked him up at the gate outside Corcoran and drove him there.

The Venice building contained 50 beds, with a view of the Pacific, and group therapy, a 12-step self-help program, anger-management classes, vocational training and free medical care. After six months, the former inmates are supposed to be ready to go out on their own.

"It's not easy," said Howard Friend, the director. "When you go for a job application, you have to tell them you've been in prison, and then you often don't get called back."

The Phoenix House program in Corcoran is too new to have been evaluated. But a study of a similar program at the R. J. Donovan Prison in San Diego found that of inmates who completed treatment in prison and then went through an after-care program in the community, like Phoenix House, only 27 percent were returned to prison after three years. By comparison, in a control group of inmates who did not participate in treatment, or refused after-care, 75 percent ended up back in prison.

That is a surprising result, California officials say. The drug treatment program reversed almost exactly the state's overall recidivism rate of nearly 70 percent of inmates ending up back in prison.

It could be such success stories that led California voters to approve, over the strong opposition of virtually all law enforcement officials, a referendum that will change the state's approach to drug violations. The ballot measure calls for first-time drug offenders and parolees found using drugs to be provided treatment instead of being sent to prison.

MIETRO

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 23, 2000

PHOTOGRAPHY
WJC HANDWRITING

MARC FISHER

Voting Rights, Clinton Joins D.C. Little Too Late

the president is putting
"Taxation Without
Representation" plates on his
license for him. Why, he's a regular
voting rights activist, he wants us

the president's spokesman now has
the authority to state that Clinton favors
voting rights (which is not even the
issue which the license plates seek
to address, but never mind that). So in his
first 100 days in office, what did this
man do to promote democracy in
the District?

See: He sat by while Congress
debated all over this city's partial
voting rights. He let his Justice
Department lawyers attack a moderate
proposal of some of the city's most
influential advocates to persuade the
Congress to pass voting rights for the District
which is only constitutional, but essential.
Clinton is hinting that he would reverse
the decision of Pennsylvania Avenue NW
of the White House—a great
symbol of the city's commitment to
voting rights—but never got around to
it. And he repeatedly appointed
owners to run the colonial boards
to control local planning.

On his way out the door, the
president is spinning madly, desperate
to leave, ramrod confident that we
are the obvious contradictions of

however, one of the most savvy
politicians of all time. He's put the next
president in a pretty pickle. To stay true
to his anti-democratic views about his
home town, George W. will now
have to take an active step of dissing the
District. He'll have to remove the new
license plates before they've even collected their
first dollar of soot.

the new D.C. plates, for their



PHOTOS BY LOIS RAIMONDO—THE WASHINGTON POST

During a teleconference with inmate Irm Williams, Jonathan Gross, 13, center, holds his sister Jasmine Gross, 3, while his mother, Linda Gross, right, and her grandson Elijah Williams, 8, left, look on. Program director Carol Fennelly controls the computer mouse.

A Love Line to Dad in Prison

Program Helps D.C. Families Reconnect With Inmates Sent Cross-Country

By DAVID MONTGOMERY
Washington Post Staff Writer

Blue letters appear slowly on the computer screen, drawn by an unseen hand: H-A...

A shy, smiling 11-year-old named Kiara is sitting at the computer in the basement of a church in the Shaw neighborhood of Northwest Washington, mesmerized by the letters. She has so much to tell the man composing the message in Youngstown, Ohio. They have been separated for a long time, by miles and circumstance.

P-P-Y...

The best thing that happened today is she was voted most popular in her class. The best thing that could happen ever? Well, in her mind she can picture the man holding her hand in front of a house on a

sunny day.

H-O-L-I...

Oh, she knows what he's spelling! Her lips silently form the words, while she admires a digital snapshot of the man on the screen. He's wearing a white cap and smiling back at her.



Inmate Irm Williams, left, is pictured live from Youngstown, Ohio, while his family members are shown in the District.

D-A-Y...
"Happy Holiday," Kiara says.

S.
"Happy Holidays," she corrects herself.

"I put an S on it because there are so many of them," says John Settles, referring to the ones they will miss sharing. His voice reaches Kiara through the computer's speaker. He is her father, convicted of second-degree murder and sent to prison for 15 years to life when she was 4 months old.

A red heart appears on the computer screen.

Settles, in his late thirties, is sitting at a terminal in the Northeast Ohio Correctional Center, where he can hear Kiara

See PRISON, B4, Col. 1

Copied
Edmond's
Johnson (Ben)
Podesta

THE REGION

Hope House Reconnects D.C. Inmates, Their Children

PRISON, From B1

through a speaker and see the words and pictures she draws on the screen, along with a fresh digital snapshot of the girl.

"I can see your pretty eyes and everything in this shot," he says.

Sitting beside Kiara at Shiloh Baptist Church, but out of range of the camera on top of the computer, is Carol Fennelly. She arranges these twice-a-month free computer teleconferences through Hope House, her latest crusade. After a career advocating for homeless and poor people through the Community for Creative Non-Violence with the late Mitch Snyder, Fennelly, 51, wanted to do something for the families of inmates shipped away as the prison complex in Lorton is shut down.

"I woke up one morning in one of my epiphany moments and knew I was moving to Youngstown," she says. After an epiphany moment, her will is formidable. Once at CCONV, she fasted for 48 days to advocate for housing.

She decided to focus on helping children maintain relationships with their imprisoned fathers because most such programs nationwide deal only with mothers. Last June, Hope House held a "summer camp" at the prison, where 11 children from the District spent each day for a week with their fathers. It ended with the dads grilling hot dogs and hamburgers, and then there was a birthday party, to cover years of missed birthdays for everyone present.

Fennelly also visits the prison with children's books and a tape recorder. The fathers read stories aloud, and Fennelly brings the tapes back to the children in the District. Only prisoners enrolled in a parenting class can take part. "I want to work with dads who are serious about being dads," she says.

She knows Hope House might appear to critics as a benefit for criminals that offers nothing to crime victims. In response, she cites research suggesting that children with fathers behind bars are more likely to break the law themselves. They need their fathers. "If you don't care about the kids," she says, "care about the kids."

Church and prison are connected via a balky modem. Hope House can't afford a high-speed connection. The children speak into a small plastic microphone. There is a slight pause before the fathers respond, as though it took a while for the words to reach them, and their voices occasionally break with static, like a cell phone in the Metro. Sometimes there is so much laughter and picture-drawing bouncing back and forth between Youngstown and the District that the line overloads and goes dead. Emotion overwhelms technology. Abort, redial.

Now Kiara wants to play Hangman, the word game. She makes eight blanks for a three-word mystery phrase. Pretty soon Settles guesses it: *I Love You*.

Then, using the art software, Kiara draws the picture she has in her mind: the little girl and the man holding hands in front of the house with a big yellow sun.

"Tell me the story behind this picture," her father says.

"I don't have a story," says Kiara.

"Create one for me."

"It's just a picture. That's the story."

Silence.

Then Kiara starts writing. Red letters appear slowly on the screen in the prison.

This picture is about you and me spending time together on a sunny day.

The prisoner reads the words out loud and his daughter smiles.

This kind of bonding is what officials had in mind a little more than a year ago when they let Fennelly into the prison, which is operated by Corrections Corporation of America and has 1,000 former Lorton inmates. Program manager Mark Fellows says Hope House prepares the men for release by helping them develop parenting skills and secure their family ties.

The company just agreed to let Fennelly begin teleconferences with D.C. inmates transferred to a prison in Estancia, N.M. For families, distance is only one obstacle. Collect calls from the prison are expensive for many families. The teleconferences are free.



BY LOIS RAIMONDO—THE WASHINGTON POST

Jonathan Gross, 13, waits for the family to be linked to his father at a prison in Youngstown, Ohio. Jonathan's sister Jasmine, 3, sits anxiously at the computer.

LaTosha Williams resisted letting her son Derek, 11, visit his father, Derrick Ballard-Bey, 31, serving three to nine years for assault with a deadly weapon. She didn't want the boy to experience what she considers the dehumanizing atmosphere of prison, even as a visitor. Derek's first teleconference takes place late one afternoon at Union Temple Baptist Church in Anacostia.

"This is as close as he's got to his father in seven years," his mother says.

Derek was so nervous and excited beforehand that he carefully selected dark blue pants and a matching shirt, and then kept asking his mom if he looked sharp enough for dad to see him after all these years.

Ballard-Bey's face appears on the screen, with less hair than Derek and his mom remember from pictures, but the same smile and dimples.

"Hey, D," says the father.

"Hey, dad," says the boy.

"Man, I miss you."

"I miss you, too."

The boy's mother looks back and forth from her son to the picture of the father and shakes her head. "You all look like the Bobbsey Twins," she says.

Pretty soon they're playing Tic-Tac-Toe on the computer. Ballard-Bey is as anxious as his son about this virtual meeting. "I'm still so nervous right now even as I'm speaking," he says.

"It's been so long since I've seen him. It's like looking at a miniature of me."

More teleconferences will follow for Derek and his father. Fennelly insists on it. She doesn't want to provide a service for casual hellos. She wants to build relationships.

On another afternoon at Union Temple, Irn Williams, 39, imparts a little firm guidance for his son, Jonathan, 13.

"They tell me that report card wasn't too good this time," says Williams, who started a 15-year sentence for voluntary manslaughter in 1997.

"Yeah," says Jonathan, a tall eighth-grader.

"You're going to work on that, right?"

"Yeah."

"Don't give up on me."

"I'm not going to give up."

"Okay. That's what counts."

Then they slip into their regular kidding back and forth. The rest of the family—Jonathan's mother, sisters, brother—crowd around the computer in the church, the cathode rays lighting up their faces. Williams asks a series of brain teasers, such as, "Do they have a Fourth of July in England?" The battle of wits fills nearly an hour with unselfconscious hilarity.

"I try to follow what he says," Jonathan says afterward. "When he comes back, he's going to be a better person than what he was before. That's going to be good for me."

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