

As one of his last official acts, Clinton should go to Cuba

12-29-00

I HAVE ASKED President Clinton to travel to Cuba before he leaves office on Jan. 20.

Our current policy toward Cuba is a throwback to the Cold War and does nothing to promote freedom, democracy, or human rights. Instead, it is used by hardliners in Cuba to justify the failures and inadequacies of their system.

I realize that such a trip would be controversial. But a majority of Americans — indeed, a majority in Congress — favor improved relations between the United States and Cuba. Sadly, after a recent bipartisan vote in Congress to relax travel and certain trade restrictions, a small group of members in the current House leadership who have a Castro fixation used their power to undermine the will of their colleagues. The irony, of course, is that the very same members of Congress who demand democracy in Cuba apparently do not believe we should practice democracy on the floor of the United States House of Representatives.

Both President-elect George W. Bush and Vice President Al Gore pandered to the Cuban-American community in South Florida in an attempt to win votes. It was a sad and frustrating display. Clearly, Bush will do nothing to change a policy that has not only failed but has also helped keep Fidel Castro in power for more than four decades.

President Clinton, if he makes such a trip before the end of his term, can save his successor the embarrassing job of defending America's indefensible policy and at the same time can take a major step in promoting human rights and democratic values.

In January 1998 I was in Cuba as Pope John Paul II visited the island. He spoke freely and critically about the denials of basic freedoms in Cuba and about the importance of religion in people's lives. His remarks were carried live and uncensored on Cuban radio and television. It was a true

and inspiring moment in history.

I've since returned to Cuba, and I believe that at least two important developments emerged from the pope's trip. First, the Catholic Church is a much stronger and more relevant institution in Cuba, and it's getting stronger every day. Second, the pope helped open and widen pockets of political space. To be sure, Cuba has a long way to go, but the realities are slowly changing.

No one works a crowd or promotes the democratic values that we Americans hold near and dear to our hearts better than Bill Clinton. He could further create political space; he could expand academic, cultural, and political exchanges; he could increase high-level cooperation on issues like immigration and drug trafficking; he could breathe some new life into the cause of Cuban dissidents; and he could make clear that the United States wants to engage Cuba in much the same way it has engaged China and Vietnam.

And, yes, the president should meet with Fidel Castro. Like it or not, he's the man. Such a meeting is important not so much for what is communicated to Castro; rather, it's important for what will be communicated indirectly to those around him: that a new day is coming.

US presidents have long grappled with the "Cuba question," believing that the right policy is engagement but fearing the political costs of taking such action. The political costs to Clinton no longer exist; he now has the luxury of evaluating this issue solely on the merits. He has the opportunity to do the right thing.

President Clinton can once and for all put our outdated Cuban policy where it belongs — in the history books.

James P. McGovern is the Democratic congressman from Worcester.

The Boston Globe

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 26, 2000

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

JAMES P. McGOVERN
3RD DISTRICT, MASSACHUSETTS

COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION
AND INFRASTRUCTURE

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<http://www.house.gov/mcgovern/>

Dec. 26, 2000

(2 pages)

To: President Clinton
FR: Congressman Jim McTomen

Mr. President -

I thought you might be
interested in this op-ed which
appeared in today's Boston Globe. I
still think this is a good idea.

Happy Holidays —

Jim McTomen

JAMES P. MCGOVERN

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-25-00

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The Boston Globe

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 26, 2000

Mr. President -
I still think
this is a
good idea.
Jim McGovern

From Oval

1-10-0~~1~~

—



John Schneider is on vacation. His column returns Tuesday.

Lansing State Journal

Executive City Editor Chaz Osburn 377-1286

LOCAL & STATE

Communities

Police see fewer problems at popular gravel pit.

Page 4B

B

Saturday

August 14, 1999

Area lawmakers square off over GOP tax-cut proposal

Legislators use break to persuade voters along party lines

By Chris Andrews
Lansing State Journal

Mid-Michigan members of Congress clashed Friday over the \$792 billion tax cut passed by Congress and heading toward a veto by President Clinton.

With Congress in recess until September, members are back in their districts offering sharp-

ly different assessments of the Republican tax-cut plan.

Expected to be a key issue in the 2000 elections, the plan passed the House and Senate last week along largely partisan lines.

U.S. Rep. Dave Camp, R-Midland, said voters were generally supportive of the tax-cut measure at a town-hall meeting he held this week in Isabella County.

"This bill touches every taxpayer with marginal rate reductions" in the income tax, said Camp, whose district includes Clinton County.

The plan cuts a variety of other taxes. Among other things, it reduces "the marriage penalty" — in which working couples pay more than two single taxpayers earning the same amount of money — and eliminates estate taxes.

U.S. Rep. Debbie Stabenow, D-Lansing, said a disproportionate share of the tax relief goes to businesses and the wealthy.

"They take these little things and wrap them up with all these cuts for corporate welfare," said Stabenow, who will run for the U.S. Senate against Repub-

lican Sen. Spencer Abraham next year. "I believe a part of this is paybacks to special interests. There's just a lot of special-interest subsidies and loopholes."

The Democratic alternative uses the anticipated surplus to reduce the \$3.7 trillion federal debt and strengthen and expand Medicare. Stabenow said it would be of greater benefit to the public.

Paying down the debt will reduce government borrowing and lead to lower interest rates for homeowners on mortgages, students on school loans and



Camp



Stabenow

others, she said.

U.S. Rep. Nick Smith, a Republican from Addison whose district includes Eaton County, played a lead role in ensuring that the tax cut was tied to debt

reduction, spokesman Jason Roe said. If the debt isn't reduced, income tax cuts will be delayed.

"He is among a group that is very concerned in making sure we reduce the national debt," Roe said.

Annelise Walker, an East Lansing resident who has a disability and receives Social Security, said she'd like to see a compromise.

She said she believes Congress should be able to make some cuts, such as reducing the marriage penalty, while still adding prescription-drug cov-

erage to Medicare.

"We need to consider not forgetting our senior citizens or those of us who are disabled," she said. "It's about time we took it beyond party lines and considered the welfare of the people."

Polls generally show moderate support for tax cuts, said Ed Sarpolus of the polling firm EPIC/MRA.

"The public wouldn't mind getting one, but they prefer protecting Medicaid and Medicare and planning for the future," he said.

Perseverance pays as couple struggles to gain citizenship

Special ceremony brings happy ending to two-year ordeal

By Sheila Schimpf
Lansing State Journal

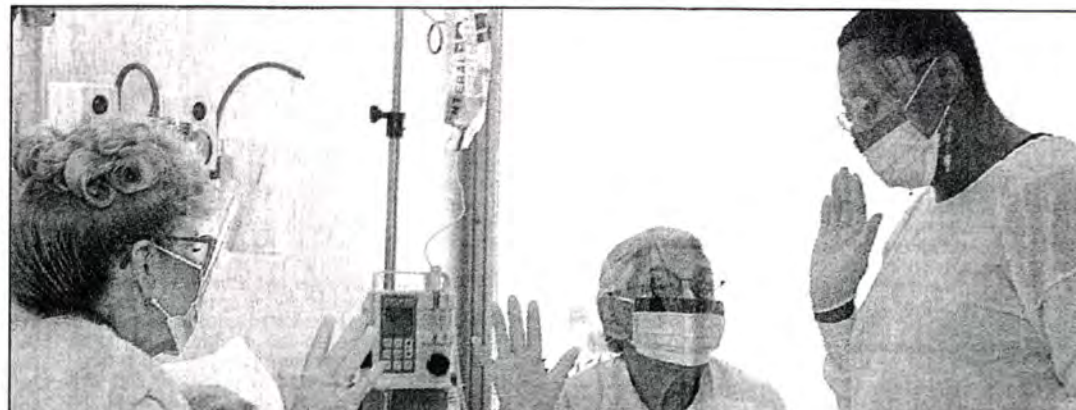
Tangled red tape turned into a red, white and blue flag Friday for Eliel and Celia Gomez.

The Lansing-area couple were sworn in as U.S. citizens in an unusual bedside ceremony at Sparrow Hospital.

The ceremony departed from the norm, but it was the least the Immigration and Naturalization Service could do after a messy and lengthy citizenship process, said Carol Jenifer, the



Congratulations: Teresa Gomez hugs her mother, Celia, after Celia and husband Eliel were sworn in as U.S. citizens on Friday at Sparrow Hospital in Lansing.



Ronald McDonald House is delayed

Building boom slows project; officials look for spring opening

By Vincent Delgado
Lansing State Journal

Blame it on the nationwide building boom. A shortage of construction

How to help

Ronald McDonald House of Mid-Michigan still needs tax-deductible donations.

To contribute:

■ Call 432-2875

■ Send checks to Ronald McDonald House of Mid-Michigan, Michigan State

the Immigration and Naturalization Service could do after a messy and lengthy citizenship process, said Carol Jenifer, the INS Detroit district director who did the swearing-in.

Eliel Gomez, 77, who is hospitalized with a respiratory infection, is not able to talk about the matter. Because of the seriousness of his illness, INS officials did not want to wait on granting him citizenship.

Celia Gomez, 70, said she is happy to be able to vote after years of people telling her she couldn't. "Muy contenta," she said.

Very content, indeed. The swearing-in ended a journey that began in 1945, when the Gomez family left Mexico for Texas. They came to Michigan in the 1960s as migrant crop workers, picking and sorting potatoes in Greenville, their daughter, Juanita, said. After that, their father got a job in Lake Odessa in a milk factory.

"Their whole life had a lot of hardship," Juanita Gomez said.

Eliel and Celia Gomez had 12 children and seven grandchildren. He impressed on them the need to get a good education. All 12 graduated from high school, Juanita Gomez said, and some are teachers and others are state employees.

Those accomplishments aside, something was missing. So in 1997 they decided to become citizens.

Through a translator, Celia Gomez said they wanted to be more at ease in their adopted country, a country they chose and prefer.

About 15,000 Michigan residents become U.S. citizens every year, Jenifer said. The Gomez' effort was not one of the easier ones.

As soon as they filed the application, problems began. The fingerprint search threw up a false red flag. Their file was lost. The INS changed procedures, which stalled the application.

Amalia Gomez, their daughter, finally called Mary Lou Olivarez-Mason, executive director of the Michigan Commission on Spanish Speaking Affairs in Lansing, to take up her parents' fight.

Olivarez-Mason spoke to Hiwatha Greene, INS community relations officer, who attended Lansing community meetings. Greene, in turn, flagged the case for Jenifer.

That's when the application got back on track.



ROD SANFORD/Lansing State Journal

Sworn in: Eliel Gomez (in bed) and his wife Celia are sworn in as citizens Friday at Sparrow Hospital by Carol Jenifer

(right) of the Immigration and Naturalization Service with Mary Lou Olivarez-Mason (left) of the state assisting.



Grand day: Celia Gomez (second from right) holds a U.S. flag with daughters (from left) Debbie, Teresa and Maria.

Red tape was cut. Paperwork got done. The qualifications, which had long ago been met, were approved.

On Friday, in the hospital room instead of the typical courtroom, Jenifer presented Celia Gomez with an American flag.

"I don't want you to think we at the Immigration and Naturalization Service are not caring," Jenifer said. "Your perseverance paid off."

Teresa Gomez offered to buy her mother a flagpole to hang the new flag in front of their house, but Celia Gomez declined.

She's framing it to hang inside the house.

To become a citizen

■ Contact the Immigration and Naturalization Service at 1-800-375-5283.

■ Read its Web page www.ins.usdoj.gov.

■ You must be 18, a green card holder for at least five years (three if married to a U.S. citizen), be of good moral character, be able to speak and read English unless you are 50 and have lived in the U.S. 20 years, and know fundamentals of U.S. history and government.



Good medicine: Eliel Gomez is sworn in as a U.S. citizen Friday at Sparrow Hospital. Gomez and his wife, Celia, became U.S. citizens after a frustrating two-year process. Eliel is hospitalized with a respiratory infection.

Blame it on the nationwide

McDonald House of Mid-Michigan, Michigan State University, College of Osteopathic Medicine, 541 W. Fee Hall, East Lansing, 48824

Officials — who planned a fall opening — are hoping for spring 2000.

"All of your major commodities are tight," Jim Peace, a construction manager for Granger Construction, said Friday.

"Getting supplies is not a problem. It's just how long we wait for them."

Steel, which has taken more than 90 days to get to Lansing, is on its way and will start to go up in late September. And concrete will be poured Tuesday.

In addition, Peace said negotiations with local building trade unions will trim costs by as much as \$300,000 and get workers on the job.

The house, at 201 S. Holmes St., will be used by families of children receiving pediatric care at nearby Sparrow Hospital.

Despite the delay, residents who worried the project was in trouble are breathing easier.

"I had been wondering for some time where it stood in terms of even digging the hole," said Doug Schrems, a northeast Lansing resident

volunteering on the project. "This is good to hear."

Organizers also are moving to the project's next phase: how to operate and staff the 100,000-square-foot facility east of Sparrow Hospital's new professional building.

Local interior designers are donating expertise. Organizers are planning a move-in day parade and other fundraisers to get \$100,000 for the first year's operation and stock the house with everything from towels to toiletries.

"We're still fund-raising and probably will be forever more," said Gretchen Cochran, the project's development director.

They are also looking for volunteers to cook and clean at the house when it opens.

Perhaps word that the house is still on track will help, Cochran said.

"I've had people asking me about it," she said. "Isn't it great to be so important to the community that people are asking after it? This house belongs to Lansing."



KATHY KIELISZEWSKI/Lansing State Journal

Waiting: A fence surrounds the site of the planned Ronald McDonald House at 201 S. Holmes St. A shortage of materials has delayed the \$1.5 million project.

Couples not spooked by Friday the 13th

Associated Press

JACKSON — It's a good thing they're not superstitious.

Three couples celebrated

na Ambs, also were married Aug. 13, 1949. That day was a Saturday, not a Friday, as it would have been if they had married just a year earlier.

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Chippewas call for investigation of former council

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Couples not spooked by Friday the 13th

Associated Press

JACKSON — It's a good thing they're not superstitious.

Three couples celebrated their 50th wedding anniversaries on the last Friday the 13th of the year. But the couples said they had no misgivings about bad luck.

"It's just another day, I guess," said Theresa McGaugh, who's celebrating 50 years of marriage to her husband, Kenneth.

Roger and Marie VanderWeide, and Kenneth and Don-

na Ambs, also were married Aug. 13, 1949. That day was a Saturday, not a Friday, as it would have been if they had married just a year earlier.

"We've got a lot of 13s in our family," Donna Ambs said. "Some of our children were born on the 13th, my husband's birthday is the 13th."

Her husband Kenneth was born on a Jan. 13, and their daughter, Karen Brown, was born April 13.

Marie VanderWeide said the date of her 50th anniversary made no difference to her.

Chippewas call for investigation of former council

Associated Press

MOUNT PLEASANT — The new tribal council for the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe called Friday for a time of healing — and an investigation of their predecessors — hours after the former tribal council gave up a fight to return to power.

Early Friday in Washington,

lawyers for the ousted council asked a federal court to dismiss their lawsuit, lawyers and court officials said.

By afternoon, new Saginaw Chippewa Chief Phil Peters was introducing the tribe's new government, saying he believes the tribe can overcome the wounds that the recent power struggle has caused.

"We're a strong people," he

said. "I'm really proud of them, because we've been through a lot."

But the new council also indicated the dispute won't end with the dismissal of the suit.

Attorneys for the new council said they plan to ask the U.S. Attorney's office to investigate alleged actions of the old council, including investigating the backgrounds of tribal members

and hiring consultants to put "direct, critical pressure" on the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs to stop the BIA from interfering with the tribe's affairs.

The tribal leadership dispute began late Tuesday when the BIA recognized the new council. Federal officials say the ousted tribal leadership refused to step down after losing four elections, forcing the gov-

ernment to take the rare step of intervening to recognize the new tribal council.

The National Indian Gaming Commission, which regulates Indian gaming, also recognized the new tribal leadership. The dispute has not disrupted the daily operations of the tribe's Soaring Eagle Casino and Resort a quarter mile down the road.

Databank

Death notices

Lansing

Bart, Clara Ann, 59, died Aug. 5. Services 4 p.m. Monday at Gorsline-Runciman East Chapel, East Lansing.

Byrd, Priscilla Ann, 44, died Thursday. Services 11 a.m. Tuesday at New St. Paul Church of God in Christ. Arrangements by Gorsline-Runciman Lansing Chapel.

Lareau, Elsie E., 73, died Wednesday. Memorial services 7 p.m. Monday at Emanuel First Evangelical Lutheran Church. Arrangements by Gorsline-Runciman Lansing Chapel.

Randall, Corena, 88, died Tuesday. Services 1 p.m. today at Estes-Leadley Greater Lansing Chapel.

Reitenbach, F. Eileen, 81, died Friday. Arrangements by Estes-Leadley Greater Lansing Chapel.

DeWitt

Hahn, Dennis R., 61, died Friday. Arrangements by Gorsline-Runciman DeWitt Chapel.

Moore, Goldie W.J., 85, died Friday. Arrangements by Gorsline-Runciman DeWitt Chapel.

Dimondale

Ralston, Beatrice A., 77, retired seamstress, died Friday. Arrangements by Field & Leik Funeral Home, Dimondale.

East Lansing

Penlington, Norman, 90, retired Michigan State University humanities professor, died Thursday. Arrangements by Gorsline-Runciman East Chapel, East Lansing.

Holt

Nelson, Nikole Tiffany "Nikki," infant daughter of Paul and Patricia Nelson, died Wednesday. Services 2 p.m. today at Gorsline-Runciman Lansing Chapel.

Ithaca

Peska, Raymond Leroy, 67, Korean War veteran, former Lobdell's (Alma) welder and crane operator, died Thursday. Services 1 p.m. Monday at Barden Funeral Home, Ithaca.

Laingsburg

Giffels, Elmo, 86, died Friday. Arrangements by Nelson-House Funeral Home, Laingsburg.

Okemos

Raby, Helen M., 87, former Lan-

sing State Journal employee, died Thursday. Services 2 p.m. Monday at Gorsline-Runciman East Chapel, East Lansing.

Elsewhere

Campbell, Robert Dean, 81, of Tuscon, Ariz., formerly of Lansing, died April 24. Memorial services 1:30 p.m. Wednesday at Holmes Road Church of Christ. Arrangements by East Lawn Palms Mortuary, Tuscon, Ariz.

Enquist, Editha Kathleen, 79, of Lake, died Friday. Arrangements by Pray Funeral Home, Charlotte.

Sweet, Richard D., 68, of Zephyrhills, Fla., formerly of Ewart and Holt, died Friday. Arrangements by Estes-Leadley Holt/Delhi Chapel.

Births

Holt

Lyons: To Eric E. Lyons and Jessica R. Parrott, a son, Tyler Jay Lyons, at Ingham Regional Medical Center, July 29.

Lansing

Townsend: To Maurice Townsend and Latonia Lewis, a son, Maurice Dushuan Townsend Jr., at Sparrow Hospital, Aug. 4.

Courts

Ingham County

Sentences

Judge William E. Collette

Peter Rahkeem Warren, 24, no address given, pleaded guilty to probation violation, probation revoked, 300 days in jail with credit for 40 days.

Shannon Jo Smith, 28, 2700 block of Tammany, Lansing, larceny from a building, two years probation, one day in jail with credit for one day, \$762.50 restitution, \$60 to Crime Victims Rights Fund, \$10 per month supervisory fee, 100 hours community service.

Wendy Suzanne Giuliani, 24, 1400 block of Lafayette Avenue NE, Grand Rapids, embezzlement over \$100 by an agent or servant, 18 months probation, one day in jail with credit for one day, \$330 restitution, \$60 to Crime Victims Rights Fund, \$10 per month supervisory fee.

Willie James Moorner, 38, 1200

block of Shepard, Lansing, delivery of less than 50 grams of cocaine, 72-240 months in prison beginning upon completion of sentence now serving, \$60 to Crime Victims Rights Fund, \$150 lab fee.

Ricky William Freye, 31, 100 block of East Columbia Street, Mason, selling or furnishing alcohol to a minor, 90 days in jail with credit for one day, \$1,000 fine, \$50 to Crime Victims Rights Fund.

Judge Lawrence M. Glazer

Sam Jones III, 24, 1100 block of West Washtenaw, Lansing, pleaded guilty to probation violation, 90 days in jail, last 30 days suspended upon payment of \$285 costs, probation revoked.

Tisom Snkia Berry, 20, 1400 block of North Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, Lansing, pleaded guilty to probation violation, 10 days in jail with credit for nine days, to attend Foundations day program, probation continued.

Jamaal Shannon Hinton, 20, 1100 block of Chelsea, Lansing, probation violation, remanded to jail to await entrance into CPI program.

Joseph Allen Bates, 49, 6200 block of Gardenia, Lansing, probation violation, \$100 fine within 14 days, probation continued.

Paul Timothy Cowles, 23, 7400 block of Clarabella, Lake, indecency between males, 36 months probation, first year in jail with credit for two days, 120 hours community service, \$60 to Crime Victims Rights Fund, \$20 per month supervisory fee.

Mary Margaret Metz, 44, 4100 block of Diana Court, Howell, operating a motor vehicle under the influence of liquor causing death and operating a motor vehicle under the influence of liquor causing serious injury, five years probation, first year in jail with credit for one day, \$60 to Crime Victims Rights Fund, \$8,448 restitution, \$5 per month to Mothers Against Drunk Driving.

Marriages

Marriage licenses applied for:

Ingham County

Richard Lee Blost Jr., 28, and Laura Lee Klynstra, 25, both of Lansing.

David Keith Otis, 37, and Deborah Sue Evans, 47, both of Lansing.

Thomas Parker Hughes, 33, and Wendy Lynne Thomley, 31, both of

Lansing.

Joseph Oren Huse, 21, and Cathryn Jean Bender II, 19, both of East Lansing.

Victor Mauricio Rivera Pineda, 29, of Tustin, Calif., and Stephanie Hancock, 28, of Haslett.

Justin Darras Kulp, 23, and Amy Marie Bergquist, 23, both of Williamston.

Richard Gregory Mraz, and Christine Force Hill-Rowley, 50, both of East Lansing.

Michael Ray Goodall, 38, and Dori Lynn Fitzgerald, 39, both of Lansing.

Timothy Thomas Toler, 38, and Shirley Faye Heasty, 49, both of Mason.

Frederic Michael Wyble, 23, and Jennifer Leigh Besko, 24, both of Lansing.

Victor Ellis Davis, 43, and Debra Ann Neal, 37, both of Lansing.

Frank Dee Holmes, 28, and Shara Lyn Nelson, 26, both of Lansing.

William Christopher Dudley, 37, and Karen Jane Mooney, 37, both of East Lansing.

David Louis Quinn, 21, and Angela Carolina Houston, 20, both of Stockbridge.

Divorces

Ingham County

Lee: Frankie and Gloria. Webb: Daniel and Margaret. English: John and Sabine. Conklin: Jason and Lisa. Shaw: Donnell and Shirley.

Recycling

Ingham County

East Lansing: City Department of Public Works, curbside pickup on same days as regular refuse pickup, recyclable materials to be placed in containers available from DPW; clean glass (brown, green and clear), clean aluminum and steel (tin) cans with labels removed and lids placed inside, dry newspapers, clean HDPE #1 and #2 cloudy and colored plastic milk jugs and bottles with caps removed, glossy magazines, junk mail, office paper, corrugated cardboard (not accepted at curbside); 337-1731, ext. 380.

Lansing: Public Service Department, curbside pickup on same days as pickup of city refuse bags, recyclable materials to be placed in bins available from Public Service Department; clean glass (brown, green and clear), clean aluminum and steel (tin) cans with labels removed and lids placed inside, newspapers, clean natural

sion, 315 Weber, 9 a.m.-4 p.m. Monday through Friday; all scrap metals including aluminum, copper, brass, scrap steel and cast iron. (616) 527-3910.

Portland: Portland Iron & Metal Inc., 3130 Knoll Road (three miles east off State Road), 8 a.m.-4:30 p.m. Monday through Friday (except holidays); all scrap metals including aluminum, copper, brass, scrap steel and cast iron. 647-6476.

Livingston County

Howell: Recycle Livingston, 170 Catrell St., 3:30 p.m.-5:30 p.m. Wednesdays 8:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m. Saturday.

Shiawassee County

Laingsburg: Greater Laingsburg Recyclers, Laingsburg Middle School, 320 E. Grand River Ave., 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. Saturday; \$2 donation suggested; glass (clear, green and brown), tin, aluminum, newspapers, no. 1 plastics, no. 2 colored plastics, milk jugs, corrugated cardboard; 651-2005.

Clinton County

DeWitt: Allied Disposal, curbside pickup Wednesdays, glass (green, brown, clear), tin, aluminum, #2 milk and water jugs, newspapers and inserts; 641-6211 or 641-6833.

DeWitt Township: Granger Recycling, 3535 Wood St., dropoff center always open; clear, brown and green glass, plastic milk containers, #2 colored plastic containers, newspapers (with inserts), brown paper bags, glossy magazines and catalogs, aluminum, tin cans, corrugated cardboard and automobile batteries. Information: Clinton County Department of Waste Management, 224-5186 or 1-888-224-2450, Ext. 61.372-0555.

Elsie: Village of Elsie, between Village Hall and Fire Hall in 100 block of West Main St., dropoff center always open; newspapers, magazines and junk mail in brown paper bags; #1 and #2 HDPE plastic; glass bottles; metal cans (not those used for paint or hazardous materials). Information: Rachelle Winans, 862-4273.

St. Johns: St. Johns Lions Club, Swegles and Steel streets, dropoff center always open; glass containers separated by color with lids removed (no window glass), clean tin or steel cans flattened with labels removed, clean milk jugs with lids removed, clean HDPE2 plastic with lids removed, tin foil, alumi-

zines, corrugated cardboard brown paper bags, #2 HDPE natural and colored plastic, #1 PETE clear plastic bottles, tin/steel cans, aluminum, household batteries, glass (clear, brown and green).

Dimondale: First Presbyterian Church, 162 Bridge, 8 a.m.-8 p.m. every day, newsprint, bond and computer paper, office white and colored paper, junk mail, magazines, cardboard, glass bottles (green, brown and clear), steel cans, aluminum, plastic milk jugs, #2 plastic, #1 PETE plastic, automobile and household batteries.

Grand Ledge-Oneida Township: Whitney Street behind cemetery, 8 a.m. to 2 p.m. Saturday; newspaper, white and colored paper, computer paper, stapled magazines, brown and white paper bags, corrugated cardboard, #2 HDPE natural and colored plastic, tin/steel cans, aluminum, clear glass.

Mulliken: Mulliken Recycling Center, Main and Railroad streets, 4-7 p.m. Monday and Wednesday, 9 a.m.-4 p.m. Saturday, newspapers, magazines, phone books, #2 HDPE natural plastic, tin/steel cans, aluminum, clear glass, household alkaline dry cell batteries.

Springport: Springport Elevator, 206 Railroad St., 9 a.m.-noon Saturday, newspaper, corrugated cardboard, No. 2 HDPE plastic, tin cans, aluminum, clear glass.

Sunfield Township: Carl's Super Market, M-43 in Sunfield, 9 a.m.-noon Saturday; newspapers, magazines, #2 HDPE plastic (natural and colored), clear glass, tin, aluminum.

Road work

State of Michigan

Northwest Michigan

M-22: North of Cedar Creek or Cherry Bend Road to south of Lakeview Hills Road in Leelanau County, intermittent lane closures with flag control during daylight hours until November.

M-37: M-55 junction to M-115 junction in Wexford County, one lane with flag control during weekday daylight hours.

M-55: U.S. 131 to M-66 in Wexford County, daytime lane closures with flag control.

M-61: M-115 to east county line in Osceola County, daytime weekday lane closures with flag control until mid-August.

M-66: M-61 to 21 Mile Road in Marion in Osceola County, one-lane traffic with flag control.

M-66: U.S. 10 to M-115 in Osceola County, daytime lane closures with flag control weekday daytime hours until mid-

Deaths and Funerals

Deaths and Funerals

GARDNER, SYLVIA IRENE

Lansing



Age 93, passed away unexpectedly in her home on August 10, 1999. Miss Gardner was born June 14, 1906 to John and Eva Gardner from Saginaw County. She is pre-

ceded in death by her parents and nine siblings. A graduate of Olivet College, she retired from the Federal Aviation Agency in the 1960s as an Air-Traffic Controller, working in California, Kentucky and Hawaii. Sylvia Gardner is survived by great-great-nieces and nephews including Brenda Francis, Nola Wood, Treva Glazier, Helen Baird, and Robert Gardner. Sylvia's special friends are highly respected My Phan whom she met at age 91 when Miss Gardner tutored English for the Capital Area Literacy Program, long-loved Robert and Elaine Davis, the Ahart family and the dear congregation of First Christian Church of Lansing - Minister Michael Spitters, for their out-reached arms of love and friendship. Pets, Cha Cha and Key Key will miss her greatly. Miss Gardner enjoyed Elderhostel Trips, reading religious and physics literature, world traveling and tating. As a long-standing follower of Unity Church, Sylvia often found solace from Silent Unity's national prayer line. Those desiring to make a contribution please forward to Silent Unity, 1901 NW Blue Parkway, Unity Village, MO 64065-0001 or the American Red Cross. There will be no funeral home visitation, a celebration of her life will be held at First Christian Church (Disciples) 1001 Chester Rd., Lansing on Sunday, August 15, 1999 at 3 p.m. Arrangements by the Estes-Leadley Greater Lansing Chapel.

NELSON, NIKOLE TIFFANY

Holt

Infant daughter of Paul and Patricia Nelson III died August 11, 1999. Surviving along with her parents are her grandparents, Paul and Sandy Nelson II of Holt, Sue Auten of Luther, and Dennis Ricord of Grandville; great-grandparents, Paul Titus of Holt, Jane Nelson of Wyoming, Patricia Washburn of Luther, and Margie Barber of Rothbury; 3 aunts, Kathryn (Jesse) McKendry, Ranae (Tony) Ricord, and Denise Ricord; and 1 uncle, David Nelson. Funeral Services will be held **Sunday, August 14, 2 p.m. at the Gorsline**

HER, CHA

Lansing



Age 13, passed away Thursday, August 12, 1999 in Sparrow Hospital. He was born August 1, 1986 in Vinia, Thailand the son of Lor and Mee Vang Her. He was a member

of the Salvation Army Soccer Team and the Lansing Boys and Girls Club. He attended Pattengill Middle School where he would have been in the 8th grade this year. He is survived by his parents and brothers, Jack, Kevin and Tony, all of Lansing and maternal grandparents, Chia and Cxee Vang of Sheboygan, WI, several aunts, uncles and cousins. He was preceded in death by his paternal grandparents. Funeral service will be **Monday August 16, at 11 a.m. at Tiffany Funeral Home**. Interment will follow at Evergreen Cemetery. Visitation will be Saturday from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. and Sunday from 9 a.m. until the Monday funeral time at 11 a.m.

WELLMAN, STANLEY F.

East Lansing and Cape Coral, FL

Born March 20, 1925 in Lansing, the son of the late Stanley and Eva (Rodgers) Wellman; passed away Wednesday, August 11, 1999 at the age of 74. Mr. Wellman graduated from Resurrection High School, where he excelled in football, basketball and softball, and was also a graduate of Michigan State University. He retired from Sears after 30 years of service as their Appliance Manager, was a member of St. Thomas Aquinas Catholic Church and had been active with the St. Vincent DePaul Society for 15 years. Surviving are his beloved wife of 53 years, Janet; children, Kathleen (Jon) Miles of Lansing, Kitty of Las Vegas, NV, Stan (Pat) of Petaluma, CA and Charles of Bay City; 8 grandchildren; 1 brother, John (Lois) Wellman in Naples, FL and 1 sister, Madeline (Joe) Kremer of Springfield, OH. The Memorial Mass will be celebrated **Friday, August 27, 11 a.m. at St. Thomas Aquinas Catholic Church, 955 Alton Rd., East Lansing** with Msgr. David M. Stotenbur, Pastor, officiating. In lieu of flowers, those desiring may make contributions to the American Heart Association or the Michigan Chapter for Guillain-Barre in remembrance of Stanley F. Wellman. The family was served by the Palmer-Bush Lansing Chapel.

GILMORE, BRYAN C.

Lansing



Born October 7, 1973 in Lansing, died Wednesday, August 11, 1999 at the age of 25. A lifelong resident of Lansing, Bryan was a graduate of Everett High School and attended

Lansing Community College. Predeceased by his father Willie (May 25, 1999), he is survived by his mother, Beverly (Pullin) Gilmore; 1 son, Jaylen O'Neill Gilmore; 2 sisters, Paula (Jamie) Monroe and Debra Gilmore; 1 brother, Karlton Gilmore; 2 nieces, maternal grandparents, Marvin and Lorene Pullin; also numerous loving aunts, uncles and cousins. Funeral services will be held **Monday, August 16, 1 p.m. at the Lansing Church of God in Christ, 5304 Wise Rd., with Elder Samuel Duncan** officiating. Interment will follow in Chapel Hill Memorial Gardens. Visitation will be Sunday, 12 noon-8 p.m. at the Palmer-Bush Lansing Chapel, 520 E. Mt. Hope Avenue and Monday from 11 a.m.-1 p.m., at the church. Those desiring may make contributions to the Crime Victims Fund in remembrance of Bryan. Envelopes will be available at the chapel.

ROGERS, NANCY L. (WARSOP)

Lansing

Age 61, passed away on August 12, 1999. She was born on November 10, 1937 in Detroit, MI and had been a resident of Lansing most of her life. Ms. Rogers is survived by a daughter, Wendy D. Rogers of Lansing and several aunts, uncles and cousins. She was preceded in death by her parents, Donald and Ellen Warsop, and a brother, Donald Warsop, Jr. Funeral services will be conducted by the Rev. John A. Toth of First Presbyterian Church of Dimondale, on **Monday, August 16, 1999 at 10 a.m. at the Estes-Leadley Greater Lansing Chapel**, with interment in Deepdale Memorial Gardens. The family will receive friends at the funeral home on Sunday from 2-4 and 6-8 p.m. Memorial contributions may be made to the Hospice House of Mid-Michigan, in loving memory of Nancy Rogers.

tin of aluminum and steel (tin) cans with labels removed and lids placed inside, newspapers, clean natural and colored HDPE #1 and #2 bottles (no tubs) with lids removed, glossy magazines and catalogs in bundles; 483-4400.

Friedland Industries, 8 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. Monday through Friday, closed Saturday, corner Center and Maple. Will purchase all scrap metals including steel, iron, copper, brass, aluminum, tin cans and lead batteries, all paper stock. 482-3000.

Lansing Metal Exchange Inc., 3030 S. Martin Luther King Blvd. (old Lindell Drop Forge), 8 a.m.-4:30 p.m. Monday through Friday; all scrap metals and steel including aluminum, stainless, copper and brass. 394-1611.

Padnos Iron/Summit Division, 1900 W. Willow St., 8 a.m. to 4:45 p.m. Monday through Friday; all scrap metals including aluminum, tin cans, copper, brass, scrap steel and cast iron; 372-6600.

Mason: Waste Management of Michigan — Midwest, Ingham County Drain Commissioner's Office, 707 Buhl Ave., always open, newspapers, tin cans, glass (brown, green and clear), corrugated cardboard, brown paper bags, plastic milk jugs, aluminum; 886-1570.

Meridian Township: Transfer station, 5976 E. Lake Drive a mile east of Marsh Road near Lake Lansing; 11 a.m.-6 p.m. Tuesday through Friday, 8 a.m. to 3 p.m. Saturday; recycling drop-off free, fee for household refuse, construction materials and yard waste. 349-4640.

Webberville: Applegate Insulation Manufacturing Inc., 1000 High View Drive, Webberville Industrial Park, 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. Monday through Friday; newspaper; 1-800-627-7536.

Waste Management of Michigan — Midwest, Department of Public Works garage, always open; newspapers, tin cans, glass (brown, green and clear), corrugated cardboard, brown paper bags, plastic milk jugs, aluminum; 886-1570.

Williamston: Waste Management of Michigan — Midwest, Transfer Station, 2450 E. Grand River Ave., 8:30 a.m.-4 p.m. Monday-Friday; newspapers, tin cans, glass (brown, green and clear), corrugated cardboard, brown paper bags, plastic milk jugs, aluminum; 886-1570.

Williamstown Township: Williamstown Township Hall, Zimmer and Germany roads, noon-3 p.m. Saturday; glass food containers (rinsed with metal or plastic tops and rings removed), tin cans (crushed and flattened with paper removed), newspapers (bundled, bagged or boxed), milk jugs (rinsed and flattened with caps removed), #2 HDPE plastic (clear or colored), aluminum foil (rinsed and flattened), glossy magazines; 655-3193.

tin of steel cans flattened with lids removed, clean milk jugs with lids removed, clean HDPE2 plastic with lids removed, tin foil, aluminum doors with glass removed, bundled or bagged newspapers, telephone books, magazines, corrugated cardboard; 224-1361.

Waste Management Inc., curb-side pickup Fridays, glass (green, brown, clear), tin, milk and water jugs, #2 colored plastic jugs, #1 plastic containers, newspapers and inserts, corrugated cardboard, telephone books. Information: Clinton County Department of Waste Management, 224-5186 or 1-888-224-2450, Ext. 61.

Watertown Township: Granger Waste Management Facility, 8550 Grand River, clear, brown and green glass, newspapers and tin cans. Monday through Friday 7:30 a.m. to 4 p.m. and Saturdays 7:30 a.m. to 1 p.m. 372-0555.

Waste Management of Michigan: Watertown Township Hall, 12803 S. Wacousta Road, 8 a.m.-3 p.m. second and fourth Saturdays, township residents only; computer paper, white office paper, magazines, boxboard, plastic foam cups and plates. Information: township hall, 626-6593 or 669-9200 or Waste Management of Michigan, 886-1570.

Other areas: For information on recycling in other areas of Clinton County, including Eagle, Fowler, Maple Rapids, Olive Township and Pewamo-Westphalia, call the Clinton County Department of Waste Management in St. Johns, 224-5186 or 1-888-224-2450, Ext. 61.

Eaton County

Charlotte: Charlotte Area Recycling Authority, 201 Hall St., 10 a.m. to noon and 3:30 p.m. to 7 p.m. Tuesday and 8:30 a.m. to noon Saturday, closed during extreme weather conditions, if a major holiday falls on a scheduled work day and during Charlotte Frontier Days weekend. The following items will be accepted if prepared correctly: high grade white office and computer paper; corrugated cardboard; clear glass bottles and jars; metals; #1 clear and #2 natural and colored plastic; #6 foam; household alkaline dry cell batteries; mixed loose newsprint including boxboard, glossy and newsprint-type magazines, phone books and other types of papers. Also accepting non-recyclable trash at a cost of \$2.50 per bag. Instructional flyer available at the site. All recyclables subject to market specifications. For questions or to volunteer, call 543-3457 between 12:30 p.m. and 5 p.m.

Owens Brockway Glass Container Inc., 500 E. Packard Highway, always open, clear, brown and green glass.

Delta Township: Delta Township Recycling Site, 5717 Millett Highway, 2 p.m. to 8 p.m. Wednesdays and 9 a.m. to 2 p.m. Saturdays, closed holidays; newspapers

diagonal control. M-66: U.S. 10 to M-115 in Osceola County, daytime lane closures with flag control weekday daytime hours until mid-August.

M-115: Mesick to Cadillac in Wexford County, one-lane traffic with flag control and wide and overweight loads prohibited until mid-September.

M-116: Bryant Street to Golfwood Drive in Ludington in Mason County, resurfacing, daylight lane closures with flag control.

U.S. 10: Walhalla to east county line in Mason County, one lane with flag control during daylight hours with width and weight restrictions until early September.

U.S. 10: U.S. 131 to U.S. 10 Business Route in Reed City in Osceola County, one lane with flag control during daylight hours.

U.S. 10: Evert to Hersey Road in Osceola County, one lane with flag control during daylight hours and wide and overweight loads prohibited until early September.

U.S. 10: Chase city limits to Deer Lake Road in Lake County, one lane with flag control and overweight and overweight load prohibited.

U.S. 10/M-37: North Baldwin city limits south to U.S. 10/M-37 junction and east on U.S. 10 to Idlewild in Lake County, one lane with flag control and width and weight restrictions until end of August.

U.S. 31: Over Bear Creek in Petoskey, one lane each direction daylight hours, work suspended 3 p.m. Friday to 7 a.m. Monday.

U.S. 31: Grand Traverse County line to Elk River in Antrim County, intermittent daytime lane closures until late October.

U.S. 31: West of Honor and three miles east of Honor in Benzie County, bridge replacements, road closed and detour marked until mid-August.

State Lottery

Friday

■ Big Game:

02, 19, 30, 45, 46

Big Money Number: **31**

■ Midday Daily-3: **538**

■ Evening Daily-3: **520**

■ Midday Daily-4: **4049**

■ Evening Daily-4: **6327**

■ Cash 5:

05, 14, 16, 23, 34

■ Keno:

02, 04, 06, 15, 22, 24, 29

35, 48, 51, 53, 54, 55, 57

60, 63, 65, 66, 72, 74, 75, 77

Last Wednesday

■ Michigan Lotto:

04, 10, 23, 33, 38, 41

Six-number winners:

none

Tonight's jackpot:

\$18 million

Compiled by staff writers Hugh



14, 1906 to John and Eva Gardner from Saginaw County. She is preceded in death by her parents and nine siblings. A graduate of Olivet College, she retired from the Federal Aviation Agency in the 1960s as an Air-Traffic Controller, working in California, Kentucky and Hawaii. Sylvia Gardner is survived by great-great-nieces and nephews including Brenda Francis, Nola Wood, Treva Glazier, Helen Baird, and Robert Gardner. Sylvia's special friends are highly respected My Phan whom she met at age 91 when Miss Gardner tutored English for the Capital Area Literacy Program, long-loved Robert and Elaine Davis, the Ahart family and the dear congregation of First Christian Church of Lansing - Minister Michael Spitters, for their out-reached arms of love and friendship. Pets, Cha Cha and Key Key will miss her greatly. Miss Gardner enjoyed Elderhostel Trips, reading religious and physics literature, world traveling and tating. As a long-standing follower of Unity Church, Sylvia often found solace from Silent Unity's national prayer line. Those desiring to make a contribution please forward to Silent Unity, 1901 NW Blue Parkway, Unity Village, MO 64065-0001 or the American Red Cross. There will be no funeral home visitation, a celebration of her life will be held at First Christian Church (Disciples) 1001 Chester Rd., Lansing on Sunday, August 15, 1999 at 3 p.m. Arrangements by the Estes-Leadley Greater Lansing Chapel.

NELSON, NIKOLE TIFFANY "NIKKI"

Holt

Infant daughter of Paul and Patricia Nelson III died August 11, 1999. Surviving along with her parents are her grandparents, Paul and Sandy Nelson II of Holt, Sue Auten of Luther, and Dennis Ricord of Grandville; great-grandparents, Paul Titus of Holt, Jane Nelson of Wyoming, Patricia Washburn of Luther, and Margie Barber of Rothbury; 3 aunts, Kathryn (Jesse) McKendry, Ranae (Tony) Ricord, and Denise Ricord; and 1 uncle, David Nelson. Funeral Services will be held **Sunday, August 14, 2 p.m. at the Gorsline-Runciman Co. Lansing Chapel, 900 E. Michigan Ave., Lansing.** Interment will follow in Maple Ridge Cemetery, Holt. The family will receive friends at the Chapel on Friday from 6-9 p.m.



of the Salvation Army Soccer Team and the Lansing Boys and Girls Club. He attended Pattengill Middle School where he would have been in the 8th grade this year. He is survived by his parents and brothers, Jack, Kevin and Tony, all of Lansing and maternal grandparents, Chia and Cxee Vang of Sheboygan, WI, several aunts, uncles and cousins. He was preceded in death by his paternal grandparents. Funeral service will be **Monday August 16, at 11 a.m. at Tiffany Funeral Home.** Interment will follow at Evergreen Cemetery. Visitation will be Saturday from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. and Sunday from 9 a.m. until the Monday funeral time at 11 a.m.

WELLMAN, STANLEY F.

East Lansing and Cape Coral, FL

Born March 20, 1925 in Lansing, the son of the late Stanley and Eva (Rodgers) Wellman; passed away Wednesday, August 11, 1999 at the age of 74. Mr. Wellman graduated from Resurrection High School, where he excelled in football, basketball and softball, and was also a graduate of Michigan State University. He retired from Sears after 30 years of service as their Appliance Manager, was a member of St. Thomas Aquinas Catholic Church and had been active with the St. Vincent DePaul Society for 15 years. Surviving are his beloved wife of 53 years, Janet; children, Kathleen (Jon) Miles of Lansing, Kitty of Las Vegas, NV, Stan (Pat) of Petaluma, CA and Charles of Bay City; 8 grandchildren; 1 brother, John (Lois) Wellman of Naples, FL and 1 sister, Madeline (Joe) Kremer of Springfield, OH. The Memorial Mass will be celebrated **Friday, August 27, 11 a.m. at St. Thomas Aquinas Catholic Church, 955 Alton Rd., East Lansing** with Msgr. David M. Stotenbur, Pastor, officiating. In lieu of flowers, those desiring may make contributions to the American Heart Association or the Michigan Chapter for Guillain-Barre in remembrance of Stanley F. Wellman. The family was served by the Palmer-Bush Lansing Chapel.



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(old Lindell Drop Forge), 8 a.m.-4:30 p.m. Monday through Friday; all scrap metals and steel including aluminum, stainless, copper and brass. 394-1611.

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Mason: Waste Management of Michigan — Midwest, Ingham County Drain Commissioner's Office, 707 Buhl Ave., always open, newspapers, tin cans, glass (brown, green and clear), corrugated cardboard, brown paper bags, plastic milk jugs, aluminum; 886-1570.

Meridian Township: Transfer station, 5976 E. Lake Drive a mile east of Marsh Road near Lake Lansing; 11 a.m.-6 p.m. Tuesday through Friday, 8 a.m. to 3 p.m. Saturday; recycling drop-off free, fee for household refuse, construction materials and yard waste. 349-4640.

Webberville: Applegate Insulation Manufacturing Inc., 1000 High View Drive, Webberville Industrial Park, 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. Monday through Friday; newspaper; 1-800-627-7536.

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Williamstown Township: Williamstown Township Hall, Zimmer and Germany roads, noon-3 p.m. Saturday; glass food containers (rinsed with metal or plastic tops and rings removed), tin cans (crushed and flattened with paper removed), newspapers (bundled, bagged or boxed), milk jugs (rinsed and flattened with caps removed), #2 HDPE plastic (clear or colored), aluminum foil (rinsed and flattened), glossy magazines; 655-3193.

Ionia County

Ionia: Padnos Iron/Summit Divi-

Wastewater Township: Granger Waste Management Facility, 8550 Grand River, clear, brown and green glass, newspapers and tin cans. Monday through Friday 7:30 a.m. to 4 p.m. and Saturdays 7:30 a.m. to 1 p.m. 372-0555.

Waste Management of Michigan: Watertown Township Hall, 12803 S. Wacousta Road, 8 a.m.-3 p.m. second and fourth Saturdays, township residents only; computer paper, white office paper, magazines, boxboard, plastic foam cups and plates. Information: township hall, 626-6593 or 669-9200 or Waste Management of Michigan, 886-1570.

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Owens Brockway Glass Container Inc., 500 E. Packard Highway, always open, clear, brown and green glass.

Delta Township: Delta Township Recycling Site, 5717 Millett Highway, 2 p.m. to 8 p.m. Wednesdays and 9 a.m. to 2 p.m. Saturdays, closed holidays; newspapers, magazines, catalogs, office paper, junk mail, mixed paper, maga-

September.

U.S. 10: U.S. 131 to U.S. 10 Business Route in Reed City in Osceola County, one lane with flag control during daylight hours.

U.S. 10: Eart to Hersey Road in Osceola County, one lane with flag control during daylight hours and wide and overweight loads prohibited until early September.

U.S. 10: Chase city limits to Deer Lake Road in Lake County, one lane with flag control and overweight and overweight load prohibited.

U.S. 10/M-37: North Baldwin city limits south to U.S. 10/M-37 junction and east on U.S. 10 to Idlewild in Lake County, one lane with flag control and width and weight restrictions until end of August.

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02, 19, 30, 45, 46

Big Money Number: **31**

■ Midday Daily-3: **538**

■ Evening Daily-3: **520**

■ Midday Daily-4: **4049**

■ Evening Daily-4: **6327**

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■ Keno:

02, 04, 06, 15, 22, 24, 29

35, 48, 51, 53, 54, 55, 57

60, 63, 65, 66, 72, 74, 75, 77

Last Wednesday

■ Michigan Lotto:

04, 10, 23, 33, 38, 41

Six-number winners:

none

Tonight's jackpot:

\$18 million

Compiled by staff writers Hugh Leach and Sally Trout.
For lottery results 24 hours a day, call 485-5463 and press 9031.

**ESTES-
LEADLEY**
FUNERAL HOMES

There is a difference.
Serving Lansing Since 1914

Lance Lynch, Harry Holmes, Steven T. Morgan, Jeremy Gough, Jerold Potts, William DeWitt, Wayne Lawrence, Mgr.

For paid obituary notices, call 377-1104. Memoriams and Cards of Thanks appear in classification 067 in the Classified section.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING



THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20585

December 29, 2000

01 JAN 11 PM 4:47

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

BILL RICHARDSON

BR

I thought you might be interested in the attached article on the success of the SPR exchange.

The article appeared in the most recent issue of *Risk Magazine*, which is considering the exchange as "Deal of the Year."

Attachment

1/11/00

AI already saw copy-

Send to RM?

Yes ☒

No ☐

Cal



Brian Harmon de Clare,
ABN Amro Futures

24 OIL

HOW TIME SWAPS CALMED THE OIL MARKET

by Navroz Patel

The US Department of Energy has used a novel time swap formula to release oil from its strategic reserves. Credit for the success of the operation can partly be claimed by ABN Amro's Brian Harmon de Clare (right), who suggested a detailed structure for the time swaps.

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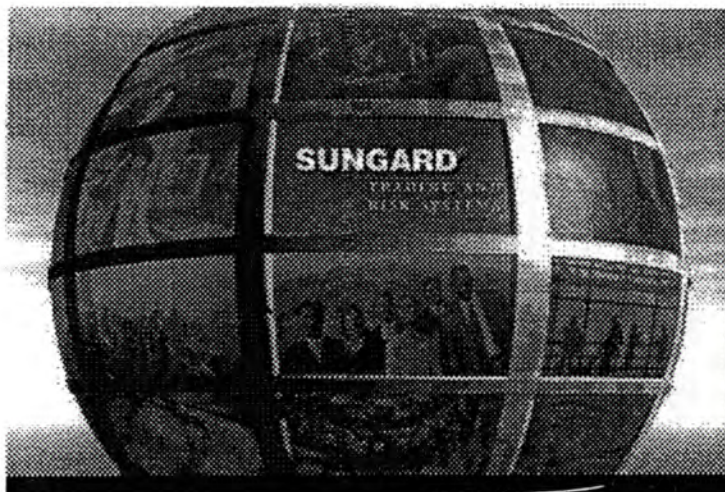
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How time swaps calmed the oil market

The full story of how the US Department of Energy used an ambitious swap transaction to release oil from its strategic reserves. By Navroz Patel

Across the northern US, the first heating bills of what is expected to be another cold winter have been arriving. After a decade of low oil prices, the average US citizen has been getting a shock. Oil prices are around 50% higher than they were a year ago, and heating oil costs around 10% more.

The surprises would have been nastier if President Clinton had not announced, on September 22, that he was authorising the US Department of Energy to release 30 million barrels of oil, worth around \$900 million, from its strategic reserves to calm the oil price. At the time, tensions were rising in the Middle East. On October 13 – just a week after the names of those companies provisionally awarded oil was announced – television pictures of Israeli helicopter gunships blazing away at Ramallah on the West Bank were flashed around the world.

The oil price moved higher again. However, by releasing oil from its strategic reserves – which were established after the 1973 Arab oil embargo and which are kept in vast caverns at various sites along the Gulf Coast of the US – the Department of Energy succeeded in keeping the price of West Texas Intermediate below \$40 a barrel.

But this was not a straightforward sale of reserves to oil companies, which is the procedure the department used in the past. Instead, it used a time swap. Under the terms of the time swap, the department lent oil to 11 refiners and traders, which pledged to return the original amount of oil plus an additional amount in 12 months' time. Oil companies – including BP Amoco and Eli, and even investment banks such as Morgan Stanley Dean Witter, tendered bids for the their loans, and loans were allocated on the basis of the most favourable exchange ratios.

The impact of the time swap on the market was significant. The crude oil price



'Time swaps allow the government to increase its strategic reserves when the additional oil is returned in a year's time at no cost'

Brian Mannon de Clare,
ABN Amco Futures

fell by 17% to around \$30 a barrel (see figure 1, page 26). Commodities traders found that arbitrage opportunities closed down. A common arbitrage with heating oil relied on the price differential between Europe and the US. After the time swap, the US Gulf Coast price – which had been around 10 cents a gallon cheaper than in Europe – moved much closer to the European price, and the heating oil arbitrage opportunity was effectively eliminated (see figure 2).

Time swaps may be a useful way of increasing liquidity and calming volatility in the oil market. Oil refiners, traders and even investment banks will have new, lucrative opportunities to hedge and make a profit in the oil market. As world oil production approaches capacity – and demand increases – they provide an effective mechanism for checking large price moves. Given the seemingly successful US time swap, it is likely that other governments with strategic reserves will structure similar deals. Some oil market observers believe a similar oil time swap may occur in South Korea in the near future.

The time swap idea was first discussed in the corridors of Washington five years ago but never used – partly because of political sensitivity over the issue of government intervention in the market, and partly because market conditions were never right. What made the time swap appropriate in September from a market perspective was the backwardation of oil prices. Forward prices on the New York Mercantile Exchange futures contracts were much lower than the spot price. It is only under this circumstance that a time swap will work, because this is the motivation for the refiners to enter into the deal, hedge their commitment by buying forward, and themselves make a profit.

Melanie Kenderdine, director, office of policy at the Department of Energy claims the time swap was a complete success. "The strategic reserve will get 1.35

Continued on page 26

million barrels of additional crude oil in a year's time. That's around \$40 million worth of oil for which the taxpayer doesn't have to pay a cent. We've also managed to help alleviate heating oil price spikes and shortages in the northeastern states." It is understood that an internal department policy paper has recommended using the idea regularly. This may happen soon: world oil production is approaching capacity and this means that oil prices are likely to remain volatile.

Some of the credit for the Department of Energy's decision to use time swaps goes to Brian Harmon de Clare – now director in charge of commodities at ABN Amro Futures in London, the futures arm of the Dutch bank. In December 1999, de Clare was a managing director in commodities at Deutsche Bank. At that time, crude oil prices were heavily backwardated – the West Texas Intermediate price was around \$30 a barrel, while the one-year forward price was nearer \$20. De Clare went to Washington to suggest how a structure for time swaps might work in fine detail.

He recalls: "In the fourth quarter of 1999 there was considerable pressure on the US government to sell oil from the strategic reserves. The time swap idea seemed an attractive alternative to an outright sale. Not only would there be more crude oil on the market, alleviating the short-term supply shortage, but it would also allow the government to increase its strategic reserves when the additional oil is returned in a year's time at no cost to the government." Holding more oil in reserve allows the US government more flexibility with respect to how they can manage energy risk.

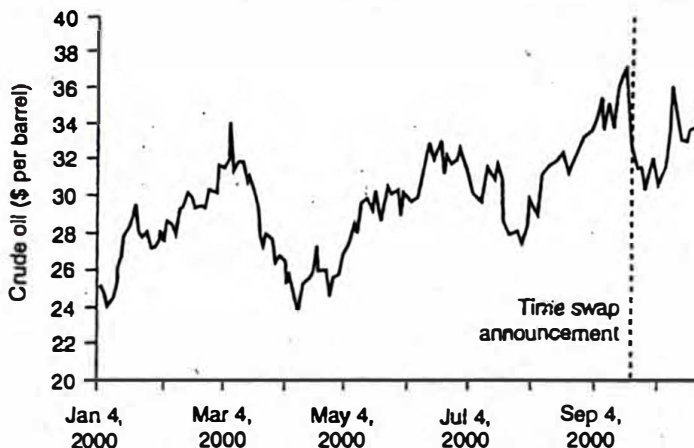
Timing

The department liked the idea, but the timing was not quite right. It takes around two months from the release of crude oil before there is any real impact on downstream prices for heating oil and other distillate products. It was too late in 1999 for a time swap to have the required impact on consumer prices.

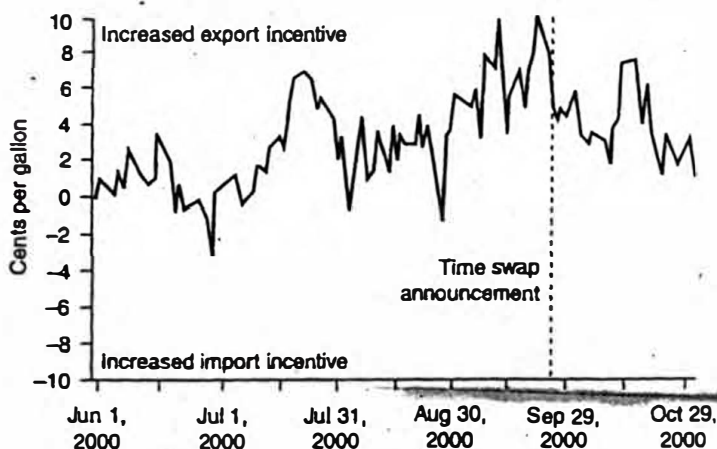
The timing was far better last September, but in practice this was always going to be a sensitive issue. Especially as the months went by and the US presidential election campaigns of Al Gore and George Bush got under way. Bush and his running mate, Dick Cheney, have repeatedly stated their opposition to any government intervention in the oil market. Cheney argued that the September release was politically motivated, that is, designed to boost the Democrat campaign.

There was also some friction between the Department of Energy and the US Treasury, which was, earlier this year, arguing that the government might be setting an unhealthy precedent by releasing reserves outside a national emergency.

1. Nymex crude oil prices



2. Transatlantic heating oil price differential (Europe v. US Gulf Coast no 2 heating oil)



The last occasion on which the US strategic oil reserve was tapped (except for practice drawdowns) had been during the 1991 Gulf War, when the Department of Energy released 17 million barrels. Since 1994, the department has not been granted any funds by government to acquire new oil stocks. As part of its mandate, the Department of Energy is legally required to maximise the amount of oil held in the reserves – up to the maximum capacity of around 700 million barrels.

In late March this year, Opec – the organisation of petroleum exporting countries – announced an increase in output to ease the world shortage of crude oil. The West Texas Intermediate price fell from just over \$30 a barrel to around \$24 by April. But that did not stop a sharp rise in US gasoline prices in June, and heating

oil stocks were at worryingly low levels. Compounding the problem, refiners were switching production from heating oil to gasoline to maximise their profits.

By September, crude oil and heating oil inventories were seriously depleted. Opec announced a further 800,000-barrel-a-day increase in production. The oil price increased to around \$38 a barrel because the market realised Opec was now approaching production capacity and the US government had not yet intervened directly. On September 21, vice-president Gore announced his support for a time swap and one day later, came the announcement the government was acting.

Interested buyers were invited to submit bids for the amount of oil they wanted.

Continued on page 28

at the prevailing spot price, along with offers for the amount of oil they would return in 12 months' time. It had been decided that 30 million barrels of high-grade sweet crude oil would be released. Even after the September time swap, the level of the reserves is only around 540 million barrels of oil.

By negotiating the additional oil payment from the oil companies, the Department of Energy is fulfilling its obligation to increase the overall reserve stock. A key issue in the deal was the release rate: releasing too much oil in one go might remove some of the deal-critical backwardation of the oil price. After taking advice from industry experts and some sophisticated in-house modelling, the Department of Energy estimated that the optimal release rate would be 1 million barrels a day over 30 business days.

Eleven successful bidders were announced on October 16. BP Oil Supply, a division of BP Amoco, was the biggest buyer, at 6 million barrels. The successful bidders were those deemed to be able to return oil – of a similar or higher grade – with the highest exchange ratio, that is, in the largest quantities. None of the individual exchange ratios struck with the buyers have been made public.

Shortly after the provisional list of successful bidders was announced, two of the bidders found that they were unable to obtain the letters of credit. The letters were required by the Department of Energy as insurance against any contractor defaulting on their obligation to return oil in a year's time.

One of the rejected bidders was a one-man operation working out of a New York apartment (which he shared with his mother) and the other was a Florida-based company that had only been incorporated two months previously. As a result of the rejections, only 23 out of the 30 million barrels were awarded – a second solicitation was required.

Modified

The process was modified. Offers had to be received by October 23, 2000. The successful bidders for the 7 million barrels – unawarded from the original 30 million release – were required to produce a modified letter of credit and a bid bond. The bid bond guaranteed that in the event of a successful bidder being unable to produce the required letter of credit, they must pay either \$3 million or 5% of the value of the bid – whichever is greater.

Also, the letter of credit was set at 110% of the value of the tender. In the first solicitation, the value was set at 100% of the spot price of the crude on the day of the contract award. A significant increase in oil price in 2001 could mean an increased likelihood that a contractor is unable to return

the required volume of oil. The modified letter of credit offers the Department of Energy additional protection against default risk. If default occurs, the money is deposited in the petroleum reserve account. This money is then used by the Department of Energy to purchase oil when market conditions permit more oil to be returned than was originally loaned.

On September 20, 2000, the crude oil price closed on Nymex at \$37.20 a barrel. There was growing concern that Opec was approaching production capacity and also a genuine fear that Iraq may reduce oil exports if they did not receive a favourable UN decision concerning reparations to Kuwait. The release from the strategic petroleum reserves resulted in an immediate fall in crude oil prices to around \$30–32 a barrel. No wonder many of the big oil companies were so opposed to the idea of a release from the reserve. On closer inspection, this pinning-back of prices is even more impressive – many energy sector analysts have commented that prices may have exceeded \$40 a bar-

represented a clear arbitrage opportunity. The differential decreased to around one cent a gallon after President Clinton's September 22 announcement – effectively removing the arbitrage opportunity. The small differential also removes the incentive for straight export of heating oil from the US to Europe.

The time-swap deal has been controversial. The official government line is that the release was motivated by a heating oil shortage. However, releasing a significant amount of crude oil on to the open market necessarily functions as a cushion against large price swings. The market intervention has been criticised by many people from the oil industry and beyond. But was the time swap really so different from using taxation to check activities that threaten economic prosperity, or using interest rates to manage the money supply?

Neal Wolkoff, the executive vice president at Nymex, was called before a US House of Representatives committee on 19 October to give an account of the ex-

Was the time swap really so different from using taxation to check activities that threaten economic prosperity, or using interest rates to manage the money supply?

rel had the US government not taken any action.

In the three weeks immediately preceding September 22, 2000, backwardation was manifest. Crude oil one-month forward prices were around \$1.30 a barrel higher than three-month forwards. As had been expected, the release significantly reduced this differential – down to around \$0.32 a barrel. The turmoil in the Middle East caused the crude oil backwardation to return. Again, it seems likely that the backwardation would have been even larger, but for the US government's actions.

Backwardation of heating oil prices was also reduced – to around a \$0.40 a barrel differential on one-month and three-month forwards. Problems in the Middle East did not, however, result in heating oil prices rebounding into a backwardated state.

There were immediate implications for arbitrageurs. In September 2000 – prior to the release – US Gulf Coast prices were about six cents a gallon lower than European heating oil prices. Even with transportation costs factored in, this differential

change's perspective on the release from the strategic reserves. Wolkoff said that the release "interferes with the normal marketplace incentives to be reliable and customer friendly." For example, a commercial supplier may hold a low inventory in the expectation that a release from the strategic reserves will occur. If the supplier were to hold a larger inventory, then a release of strategic reserves would lower the value of their oil stocks in the short term. Consumers could be subjected to shortages and price spikes simply because the commercial supplier had anticipated government intervention incorrectly. Perhaps if further releases are to occur, the market should be given more notice.

The mismatch between oil supply and demand is squeezing the market – crude oil prices will become increasingly volatile. The US government has benefited in two ways: the time-swap deal has eased heating oil shortages, while allowing them to improve their management of energy risk. It seems inevitable that the time swap will be a deal that the oil industry will use again and again. ■

Drug Firm Donations Favor GOP

By DAN MORGAN
Washington Post Staff Writer

Three major pharmaceutical companies contributed \$600,000 to Senate Republican campaign coffers in a 13-day period in August as Democrats in a number of tight Senate races stepped up their promotion of a prescription drug benefit opposed by the industry.

The three \$200,000 "soft money" contributions, from Eli Lilly & Co., Bristol-Myers Squibb Co. and Pharmacia & Upjohn Co., indicated growing concern by the companies and the GOP that the prescription drug issue is proving a potent one for Democrats in a number of close races, industry sources said.

Campaign reports for August filed with the Federal Election Commission also show contributions to the Republican National Committee of \$100,000 and \$107,200, respectively, from Bristol-Myers and another pharmaceutical giant, Schering-Plough Corp., makers of Claritin.

The preference of major drug-makers for the GOP this election cycle continues a trend that began after 1990, the last year when donations to the two parties were about equal. Since 1996, about \$2 out of every \$3 has gone to Republicans.

By midyear this year, the companies had given \$10.5 million to Republicans, already exceeding the total for all of 1996 by nearly \$2 million. Through July, Pfizer Inc.'s soft money contributions to GOP organizations totaled \$965,000, compared with \$160,000 to Democrats, according to FEC data. Included in that figure was a \$200,000 contribution in July to the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

Industry and party officials said the tilt was hardly surprising given the companies' antipathy to Vice President Gore's proposal to create a new prescription drug benefit under Medicare.

"It's no secret that we have serious reservations about government control programs and price controls that stifle innovation," said Jeff Trehwhitt, spokesman for the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers Association.

The association and much of the industry support a GOP version of a federally subsidized prescription drug benefit plan offered by private health insurance companies outside Medicare.

Prescription drugs are playing a major role in tight Senate races in Florida, Michigan, Missouri, Montana and Washington, industry sources said.

On Wednesday, a number of pharmaceutical companies will be represented at a major NRSC fundraising event, the Senate Majority Celebration.

Cheney Hits Gore on Oil

SPRINGFIELD, Ohio, Sept. 25—As part of his daily attack on Al Gore, Republican vice presidential nominee Richard B. Cheney today hit Gore where the GOP ticket has been feeling some heat lately: the oil industry.

Cheney summoned reporters after a tour of a factory here to accuse the Democratic presidential nominee of a "conflict of interest" for supporting an extension of a moratorium on royalties that U.S. oil companies would have to pay to drill for natural gas in the Gulf of Mexico when the Gore family trust has holdings in Occidental Petroleum Corp.

He called on the vice president to either recuse himself from administration energy policy or divest the family trust of the holdings, valued at about \$500,000. Cheney said it was "inappropriate for Gore to advocate a position that is clearly linked to Occidental Petroleum's financial health."

Given that Gore stated that posi-

tion in June, why was Cheney raising it today? Because, Cheney told reporters, he got tired of hearing Gore "castigating" oil companies, including this morning on NBC's "Today" show.

Asked whether he was striking back at Gore to deflect any conflict of interest of his own with the oil industry, the GOP vice presidential nominee said he had "severed his ties with Halliburton and I am not a public official. He is."

Gore spokeswoman Kym Spell responded that "Al Gore neither owns nor controls any stock in Occidental Petroleum." She added that he does not inherit any money until his mother passes away and that it is uncertain what the holdings will be at that time.

"When it comes to Big Oil and conflicts of interest," Spell said, "Dick Cheney and George Bush are living in America's largest glass house."

— Lois Romano

Plan to Aid Ill Nuclear Workers Is Rejected by House Leaders

By JOBY WARRICK
Washington Post Staff Writer

Hopes for quick relief for ailing nuclear weapons workers were crushed yesterday when House leaders rejected a Senate compensation package that sought to acknowledge the extreme hazards faced by Americans who built the nation's atomic arsenal.

A breakdown in talks over the aid plan provoked unusually harsh criticism of House Republican leaders by a bipartisan alliance of senators who had pressed for passage of an aid program this year. The Senate proposal would have provided medical and financial help for about 4,000 bomb plant workers who became ill after exposure to radiation and toxic chemicals.

"The House Republican leadership has turned its back on these deserving workers who sacrificed their health to protect our nation during the Cold War," said Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.).

Sen. Fred D. Thompson (R-Tenn.), who represents tens of thousands of former and current workers at the Energy Department's Oak Ridge weapons complex, said House leaders had "refused to consider this an issue."

"The last thing we need at this point is more studies," Thompson said. "We need a program that will compensate those the government has made sick."

House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.) had no im-

mediate comment on the collapse of the talks to accept the Senate's plan as part of the fiscal 2001 defense authorization bill. House leaders had earlier expressed concerns about the cost of the compensation program, estimated at just under \$1 billion over five years.

Previous Congresses have approved compensation for uranium mine workers and also for private citizens who were exposed to radiation during nuclear weapons testing. The relief package approved by the Senate in June was the first to offer aid to civilian workers who designed, built, assembled and tested nuclear bombs at dozens of secret sites across the nation.

The threats to nuclear workers from radiation and toxic metals such as beryllium were the focus of six congressional hearings and nine Energy Department field hearings since last August. Hundreds of workers testified at the hearings of hazardous conditions as well as faulty or missing equipment for measuring radiation exposure.

Under the Senate aid plan, workers who suffered from certain cancers and other occupational diseases would have been eligible for medical benefits as well as compensation for lost wages or a lump-sum payment of \$200,000. An alternative plan crafted by House Republican leadership last week would have allowed the nominal creation of a compensation program while withholding any funding pending further studies.

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**What
men need**

Bill Clinton: The Exit Interview

Interview by Michael Paterniti

Photograph by Platon

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An abridged version of this interview, along with Paterniti's profile of the president, "The Last Will and Testament of William Jefferson Clinton," will be published in the December issue of Esquire magazine, on sale November 14.

Q: How has the presidency changed you?

CLINTON: Well, I think doing the job has changed me for the better. I think it has made me more knowledgeable, more able, probably a little more wise. I will leave the office more idealistic about America and its possibilities than when I entered it. And because I labored from the first day I was in office, and even in the campaign, under a virtually unprecedented barrage of attack, both political and personal, it helped me to develop a certain discipline and a certain humility about--that it made me sort of get up and go to work every day no matter what else was going on. And it was hard, it didn't come easily. There were days when I was angry and days when I gave myself a pity party. But I worked through it, and it was, on occasion, almost surreal. But it also enabled me to learn all those old lessons--it's not what happens to you, it's how you react to it; no matter what people say to you, you can't define how you view the world--all those old lessons I really had to learn on a daily basis.

And so I think that it helped me personally to be a better person, to be constantly judged and condemned and torn apart, then to have to confess error and be publicly humiliated and all that--it really helped me a lot, because I think that one of the greatest sins of character almost everybody is vulnerable to is pride. And we all tend to look at other people who do things we don't agree with or think are



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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bad things and say, well, whatever is wrong with me, at least I'm not that. And I think sometimes we are too harsh on other people because it's like a crutch, we don't have to deal with whatever is going on in our lives. And I think it has really helped me to be less judgmental and less hypocritical. So I think in a funny way, even the bad parts of this, the experience, was quite good for me, and I think it will make me a better person for the rest of my life.

Q: How do you think you've changed the presidency?

CLINTON: Well, first of all, I think we'll have to wait and see. Whether I changed the presidency depends upon how other people conduct it. But I think that if you look at the campaigns that both Vice President Gore and Governor Bush are running, I think that we involved ordinary American citizens and ordinary American heroes to a degree that was unprecedented. President Reagan used to have them in the box at the State of the Union address, but I had real people making policy points.

And I think the connection of what we do in Washington to how people live is closer than it has ever been, because of the way we conducted the business of government.

The White House and, in a larger sense, the nation's government matter to the American people. I think that in breaking the back of the Gingrich revolution and cutting through a lot of the meanness and antipathy toward the government per se that existed--which I think also Oklahoma City had a lot to do with, breaking the back--I think that it's much harder to, at least overtly, practice the politics of division than it was. The president is supposed to be a unifying force, not just in rhetoric but in fact.

I think that there are a lot of practical things we changed. I believe that no future president will be able to have a White House that doesn't have a National Economic Council that coordinates all the various parts of the government to deal with economics. It's something that, unbelievably, had never really been done in a disciplined way before. We really had all of our economic players--Treasury, Commerce, Trade and Small Business--and we worked together in a disciplined way.

You know, when I became president and people were saying, Well, the government is not so important anymore because the private sector is really driving the global economy, and, therefore, government will become increasingly less relevant, what I thought was that the government, to matter to people, had to be different than it was in the industrial era. That it was less important, in terms of directly creating



jobs, hiring people, making sort of command-and-control decisions for the economy, but that it was even more important for the government to be--to create the conditions in which Americans can flourish in the global economy and give people the tools to make the most of their own lives.

I think that the presidency--our presidency I think was as activist as any since Roosevelt and maybe Johnson, over a broader range of areas. And so I think that people will see the presidency as a place of enormous potential.

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Bill Clinton: The Exit Interview

Interview by Michael Paterniti

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So I think we changed the nature of presidential activism, almost as a byproduct of trying to prepare America for the whole new way of living that the Information Age is bringing. It's not just the global economy, but the way people make a living, the way they relate to each other and the way we, as Americans, relate to the rest of the world.

And we proved, once again, that ideas have consequences and that it is possible, if you get a good team together and you don't worry too much about who gets the credit and everybody tries to work together, you can really get a lot done, even in an adverse political environment, even with the Congress of the other party. But you have to work at it every day in a very systematic way.

I did make a studied effort to change the way the American people felt about the government, to make it seem less distant, less alien, less tone-deaf. Depending on the issue and the year, I guess we succeeded in a greater or lesser degree. But I think on balance most folks thought I was pulling for them. And that's what I feel now when I go around and just work the crowds and speak.

The other thing that bothered me about presidential politics is that too much of it had become image, positioning, how you are in the media, what happens in the thirty seconds on the evening news four times a week. And this may sound kind of old-fashioned, but to a large extent it really is a job like other jobs. It matters whether you work smart; it matters whether you work hard; it matters what you work on; and it matters whether you've got a good team.



People ask me all the time, Well, how did you all keep going every day when all this stuff was going on; not just the impeachment but before that--Whitewater, the relentless other attacks, that kind of stuff. If you get up every day and you treat it like a job and you remember who you're working for, you can still get results. And I think that future presidents will be able to look back on that, and I hope take some heart and courage from it. And if they have a mission and they understand what they're doing and they understand that they're doing it for the American people, and all the intermediaries are just people that--they're doing their role, but you've still got to keep doing the fundamental job--I think and I hope that people will perceive the presidency as more effective and more impactful on their daily lives in a positive way for a long time to come.

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Bill Clinton: The Exit Interview

Interview by Michael Paterniti

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Q: In a way, is it fair to say that you took the presidency back from the two parties and gave it to the people?

CLINTON: Well, our party hasn't had it much for the last thirty years before I got it. But I did try to give it back to the people. I tried to give [it back to] people that weren't ideologically estranged from me, about whom I could do nothing, I couldn't help that, but the other two thirds, I tried to at least give them the feeling that whether they agreed or disagreed with any particular decision I made, that at least we were on their side, that we got up every day trying to do something that would help them to have a better life, and their kids to have a better future.

Q: Do you feel even now that you haven't finished, that there's more to be done?

CLINTON: There has been a lot of commentary, even from some of our critics, saying what a good last year we're having, how much is getting done, both in the Congress and by executive action, and the level of activism of the administration. But I never bought that idea that part of the inherent rhythm of the presidency was to wind down in your last two years. It seems to me that the times demand a level of activism if you're conscientious. I mean, this is a very dynamic time, and my goal is to leave this country in the best possible shape, with the largest number of options available to my successor, and to work until the last day to get that done.

And then what I have to figure out is how I can be an effective citizen, an effective force for the things I believe in when I get out of here, without getting in the way of the next president. I entered the



environment which was unprecedented, where the other party decided that from the moment I took my hand off the Bible, taking the oath of office, they would try to delegitimize me. And I don't want to do that because I don't think that's good for America. I don't think that's right.

I hope and I believe that Al Gore will win this election. But even if someone that you dearly want to succeed you wins, that person won't be you and there will be different things, different nuances, different priorities. And I think it's very important that a former president--I don't think you should check your convictions at the door or gag yourself for life, but I do think that the new president should have a real chance to get going, and then you should be at the service of your country if the president ever wants you to do anything.

But I also believe that there are things I can do when I leave here to continue to work for the causes that I have championed, to solve the problems that I've tried to reduce in the country and in the world that won't get in the way of the next president. I just have to work that through. I really haven't--I've thought about it quite a lot, but I haven't reached any final conclusions and I don't think I should until I leave.

Q: Some presidents, including LBJ, seemed to go through serious, real depressions when they left office. Are you worried?

CLINTON: Yes, I have this recurring nightmare that for the first four or five months after I leave office, I'll be lost every time I enter a room because nobody will be playing a song. *[Laughter.]* I won't know where I am.

I think the answer to that is to find--and it will be different for different presidents, who are at different points in their lives. But if I stay healthy, I should have quite a number of years left. I'll be, I think, the youngest president to leave office since Theodore Roosevelt. And he lived another ten years after he got out, because he had some health problems.

President Carter has now had twenty marvelously productive years. And I think that's a pretty good model. What you have to do is find out what you care about and try to apply yourself to it, and not live just with your memories. I think it's important that the president be kind of a source of living history and be willing to kind of revisit what happened in the term of his service--and maybe even write a book or two about that.

I think about today and tomorrow, and I expect I will until my last day on earth. And I'll leave history to others. I might--I'll probably write one book or maybe two.



But I'm basically, to the people and the commentators and people that write about me, I might be just as good as dead the day I leave office. But that's not the way I look at my life. I did this. I'm profoundly honored and grateful that I had a chance to do it. I did the best I could and I think the country is better off.

But I now have to get up in the morning of January 21st and make a different life, and I intend to do that. And I hope it will be a good and useful life for me and for my wife and for my daughter and for the things that I care about. I'm actually looking forward to it. It's an interesting challenge and I hope I'll be up to it.

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Q: Janet Reno told Tom Junod, another Esquire writer, that when she's done she's going to get in her pickup truck and drive across country. I was wondering if you still have your Mustang?

CLINTON: I do, actually. And I think they've fixed the steering on it. I parked it at the Winthrop Rockefeller Museum of Automobiles. Our former Arkansas governor, Winthrop Rockefeller, had a wonderful collection of old automobiles, and I put it there. And I've only driven it once, at the Charlotte Speedway, at a Mustang reunion in '94, since I've been up here.

Q: Is that the only time you've driven as president?

CLINTON: No, I drove one day at Camp David, when I was teaching my daughter to drive, inside a two-mile compound I drove a little bit. I'll probably have to get contacts if I want to drive again. I just use reading glasses now, but I'll probably have to improve my eyesight.

I loved to drive when I was a kid. I used to drive across the country all the time when I was young. I never tired of it. I love to get in the car and go by myself somewhere, just drive. So I identified with your road story. [Paterniti is the author of *Driving Mr. Albert*, the story of a drive across America with the actual brain of Albert Einstein in the back seat.] I always love that, just stop in strange places, talk to people.

And that's why--it was one of the ways that I was affected as a politician in Arkansas, because it was a rural state with a lot of roads and a lot of people out there on those roads, in small clumps. That's the



way I related to it. I even like it now sometimes when we drive, instead of fly, through little towns, and I can stop and do things. That's one of the things that prompted me to want to do those bus trips in '92 and in '96.

So I don't know. I wouldn't mind doing that if--I kind of wanted to take a trip with my wife and daughter around the world, just travel for thirty or forty days after I got out. But if Hillary wins the Senate race--and I think she will--then that's probably not a practical alternative. She needs to be getting ready to do her job.

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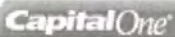
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Q: What was going through your mind before and during the 1999 State of the Union address, which you delivered in the very chamber where the House had voted for your impeachment just weeks earlier?

CLINTON: I thought in the beginning it would be sort of like the talking dog--you know, the guy can stand up and talk, and if he doesn't fall all over himself and collapse, he gets an A for effort. But I wanted to do more than that.

I felt two things. First of all, I realized that I had to just purge myself of any thought of anger at them and of any concern about what they were going to do and of any personal feelings whatever. Franklin Roosevelt once said that the president has to be America's greatest actor. That implies--that may have a pejorative implication; that's not what he meant and that's not what I mean in this case.

But there are times when you're not permitted to have feelings, because if people get you to have feelings, if your adversaries get you to have feelings about yourself and your circumstances, then you're beat before you start. And I basically sort of convinced myself, and I still believe, that most of what happened to me politically was the cost of doing business, at the end of a twenty-year period of very increasingly negative, vitriolic politics, propagated mostly, but not entirely, by the far Right and their alliance with the Republican Party--which is not to say we were blameless. But I think that--we, the Democrats, I mean. But mostly they generated it, beginning really in the late seventies, the basic attempt to delegitimize and de-Americanize your opponent.

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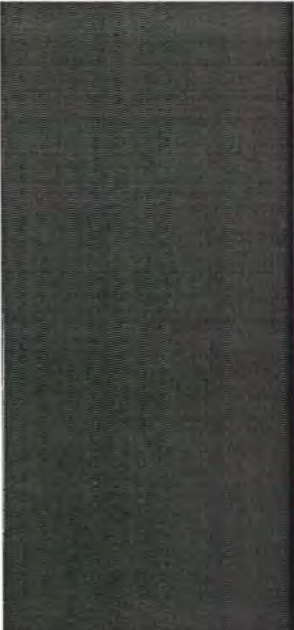
And so I just realized that the more I got caught up in all that stuff, even if I was right on the merits, the less able I would be to be president. And that if I gave every bit of physical and emotional, intellectual, spiritual energy I had to my job, that the American people would sense that and they would know that, at least for me, it was still about them.

The Republicans were trying to precipitate this great constitutional crisis for political advantage. And the American people knew things were rocking along pretty well in our country and they didn't want their government to go away. And they certainly didn't deserve to have their president disappear or become diverted.

So when I went in there, my whole mind-set was, I'm going to stand up there and talk to America and talk to them about their jobs, what they owe America. And to be fair, I had a little bit of boost because all the surveys showed that over two thirds of the people thought the impeachment was wrong. And we had just had a stunning election in 1998, the dimensions of which still have never been fully appreciated by the political writers. That is, in the election we lost no Senate seats and gained five House seats. Just by normal historical terms, they should have won. And by the people that were up in the Senate, they should have won between four and six Senate seats, and they should have won thirty House seats. And they out-spent us \$100 million in the election. And we won five House seats. Why? Not because the House attacked--the Democrats attacked the Republicans for impeachment, but because the Democrats said, Here's our program. We're for a patients' bill of rights and 100,000 teachers and a new school construction program and paying down the debt. We had four things we ran on.

And all they care about is going after the president. But the main thing was we have a positive message for Americans. So the Republicans made the election about me; we made the election about the American people. And it's the first time since 1822 that a president's party had won seats in the House of Representatives in the sixth year of a presidency--during the presidency of James Monroe, at which time there was virtually no opposition party.

So when I went up there--I don't want to take too much credit for being able to carry it off because I knew where the folks were. I knew where the American people were. And I knew that I had--I just kept telling myself every day, you have been given a precious responsibility; it is an opportunity; your country is in good shape, everything you're working for, everything you believe in--from the economy, the crime policy, the welfare policy, the social policy, the administration--they were working, they



were moving the country in the right direction. I felt very strongly of taking the right positions in the Balkans and Northern Ireland, which broke a lot of eggs when I started, and in the Middle East, and all these things I was trying to do around the world.

So I thought that I owed it to the American people to say, Here's where we are and here's where I think we need to go and here are the specific things I'm going to do this year. And I'm going to do your business and I'm going to give the Congress a chance to do your business. That was my whole objective. And I'm very gratified that there was a positive response to it.

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Q: Are you worried that you will lose your leverage over your opponents when you leave office? A little bit of that is playing out in the election, where the Republicans want to make the campaign about you.

CLINTON: Well, they can't--for two reasons. One is, unlike them, I have apologized to the American people for what I did wrong, and most Americans think I paid a pretty high price. Most people make a personal mistake, they're not bankrupt or publicly humiliated and strip-searched. But everybody pays a personal price, and most Americans know that the family price is the highest price. So most people are not like politicians and pundits who only keep score in terms of whether you got hurt politically. Most people got this, and they know that I didn't get out of this for free.

That's the first thing. The second thing is, most people know that what they did was not about morality or truth or the law, it was about politics and power and didn't have anything to do with them or their welfare; it had to do with the Republicans and *their* welfare. And the American people have a pretty good detector about that--except for the ones that were ideologically predisposed there in the first place. So they got that.

And it was never very complicated. The only way that I could have been defeated is if I had played their game. It's like I tell people when Joe Lieberman was picked by Al Gore and they say, Oh, it's a big slap in the face to Clinton. I say, I don't consider it that. I agreed with what Joe Lieberman said. And I also agreed with what Joe Lieberman did when he fought against impeachment.



They never apologized to the country for impeachment, they never apologized for all the--things they've done. So what they tried to do at their convention was to have it both ways. They tried to get the people to keep beating up on me for something that the American people had put behind them. But folks, I think, know that they haven't necessarily put their abuse of power behind them. And so they have to be very careful about how they handle this, because the American people, they say, Look, that's over--this is about him and his family, and that's behind us.

And they've spent, what, \$52 million on Whitewater, and what have they admitted--that there was nothing to Whitewater, nothing to the file controversy, nothing to the Travel Office controversy, nothing to my wife's file controversy. And not only that, some people are beginning to know that they knew all that in 1996 and they just kept it going because they couldn't let it go.

There was nothing to the Alexis Herman thing, nothing to the Bruce Babbitt thing. Henry Cisneros pleaded to a misdemeanor, having nothing to do with anything he ever did in office. It was never, ever a question that he did anything wrong in his office. Mike Espy was acquitted by a jury.

So after all this time, and they spent over \$100 million on all these special prosecutors and congressional investigations, trying to make [those] the whole story of the administration, and they have yet to come up with one example of official misconduct in office--not one. And there were billions of dollars in free media time spent trying to convince people of that. How in the world the American people ever saw through it--it's a real tribute to them, that they got it.

But I knew every time I gave a State of the Union address and every time I talked during those periods in a press conference that I couldn't win that argument; that the only way I could win was if the public knew that at least there was one person in Washington, D.C. that got up every day and thought about them and worked for them, and that I couldn't become an angry person or I couldn't become a vindictive person--as long as I remembered that I had this precious opportunity and I was showing up for work every day.

And to be fair, I had a lot of help in that. I had a lot of people, including a number of religious leaders who weren't as judgmental as the press. Very interesting. And a lot of the leaders around the world -- Mandela was an enormous help to me during this whole period.



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Q: How so?

CLINTON:

Well, because he thought it was a bum rap. I don't know if you saw the movie we showed at the convention, but that movie -- that was Mandela speaking the day before Congress gave him the Congressional Gold Medal. He insisted on coming a day ahead of time to bash the whole thing, in the White House. And he was talking about the U.N. giving me the standing ovation--that's when I went there, in the middle of the impeachment.

And Mandela just kept telling me, he said--I used to talk to him a lot about his wife and how he avoided being angry. And that's another thing. I thought about people like Mandela and what he'd suffered, or King Hussein surviving fifty assassination attempts. This stuff, what I went through, was peanuts compared with what a lot of people do to pursue what they think is right in public service.

And Mandela said, You know, they took a lot away from me in those twenty-seven years--my family life, seeing my children grow up, I was physically and mentally abused. He said, I realized that they could take it all except my mind and my heart; I decided not to give them away. He said, You shouldn't give them away, either. He said, You have total control over what you think about and what you feel every day. And it was like light bulbs going off.

And he was very good to me. And so were scores of other world leaders who would call and talk me through it. So I had a lot of help. And my wife and daughter made it possible, too. We just got through it. It was great. In a funny sense, when something like this happens to you, if you survive it, you're living [on] a whole



different plane than you ever would have had it never occurred in the first place. And you also have a whole different view toward other people. A lot of things that other people used to do to make me mad I just kind of blow by now, because I realize it's part of life.

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Q: Did your approach to the job change over the years?

CLINTON: I learned things as I went along. In the first two years, we made a slew of political errors. And then we made a huge number of decisions that were good for America over the long run. But in '94, I was sort of shackled with a lot of the ragged edges of how I responded to all this incoming fire and how I had to put together a staff, figure out how it was all going to work together with the Cabinet and with the Congress, and get all this stuff done. So there was all that kind of ragged stuff.

And then we passed the economic plan by one vote. We passed the Brady Bill. We passed the assault-weapons ban, we passed NAFTA--all of them wildly controversial. And the benefits, none of them were apparent at the time people were voting, because the economy was already improving rapidly, but people didn't feel it yet; the crime rate was dropping, but people didn't feel it yet; the Brady Bill was beginning to work, but nobody could be absolutely sure that they weren't going to be somehow disadvantaged in their hunting or sporting or whatever. So we lost probably a dozen members of Congress that the NRA took out.

Then we had people disappointed that health care didn't pass and ambivalent about NAFTA. So we had a low turnout of our voters and an inflamed turnout of theirs. And we got our brains beat out in the '94 election, which was a terrible experience for me because I felt that--I was really confident that the economy would pick up, and I was confident that this crime policy was the right policy, and I



was confident that we still had to do something about health care and we could go back to it and start chipping away at it, and by '96 people would feel it--but they didn't by '94. So that was a very discreet thing for me. And then I had to kind of rejigger my thinking and figure out how to deal with this Republican majority.

Q: Can you describe the night of the '94 election, how you went to bed that night?

CLINTON: Oh, I felt terrible because I thought all these people were taking bullets for me--not for me, they did it for America. They knew it was the right thing to do. But they wouldn't have done it if I hadn't asked them to do it--in some cases, did more than ask. *[Laughter.]* And they were paying a price, and I felt--I always felt that by '96, that what we were doing would become apparent if I handled the Gingrich revolution in a proper way, because I thought the country would be in good shape by then. So it was one of the darker nights of my presidency because I felt like all these really good people--and, see, a lot of the people that got beat were the people that were sort of my folks, they were philosophically in line with me and they got elected in districts that could have gone either way, Republican or Democrat, so they were more vulnerable. And it was an awful experience. And I thought about them in '96, too.

I felt much worse about the good people that wouldn't be serving in the Congress than I did the fact that people would be saying that I was finished and all that the next day, because I never really believed that. I thought if I handled the Gingrich majority all right, we'd be fine. I also felt they would overplay their hand, which they did, repeatedly. For three or four years they just kept on overplaying their hand.

But I still see some of those people from time to time that cast that vote on that economic plan, or that stood up and voted for the assault weapons ban or the Brady Bill. You'd be amazed how many--half a dozen or more of them said, I'm still glad I did it, if I had to do it again, I knew I was going to get beat and I'd do it all over again, just look what it did for America.

So it was really beautiful. But that was a very distinct phase of the presidency. And we had all these people who were great on policy and wanted to work together. But it takes a while to put a team together and get it working out.

I remember in '95 I had a couple of presidential scholars come down and talk to me. And one fellow from Harvard looked at me and he said -- and this is '95, when everybody still said we were dead and all that--he said, You're going to be reelected, don't worry about it. And I said, Why. And he said, Because you have the most loyal

Cabinet since Thomas Jefferson's second administration. And he said, You all work together, you don't have this back-biting, you don't have all the things that are so typical of Washington. He said, You've got a coherent policy, you've got a good economic program, and it's working, and I think you'll be reelected. He turned out to be a prophet--thank goodness. *[Laughter.]*

So there was '93 and '94 where we did a lot of the things that caused us to lose the Congress but basically ensured the success of America. I mean, the economic plan brought us back; the crime bill had a lot to do with bringing down the crime rate. And NAFTA I think was a big plus, and we had a lot of other great initiatives. We had the beginnings of the Middle East peace process with the signing of the Palestinian-Israeli accord, and then the signing of the peace treaty with Jordan. We also began to get involved in the Irish peace process, which was immensely controversial at that time, because no American administration had ever done that before. It was a tough time. It was a very eventful two years, very good for America, but it was contentious. But I look back on it as a very fruitful time for America because some of the most important things I did as president were done in those first two years.

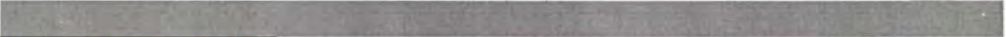
And then [in] '95 and the beginning of '96 was the question of beating back the Contract on America, vetoing the budget, going through the two government shutdowns, standing our ground. And the American people essentially decided that they would stick with us. It was a huge thing. And then later we got the welfare reform bill, which I signed only in its third incarnation, after--I agreed with the Republicans that able-bodied people should be required to work, and that we should let the states design the benefits and the work programs.

I didn't see a big problem in allowing the states to set the monthly benefits since, in effect, they'd been doing that since '74 anyway. A lot of people thought I got rid of the welfare guarantee to families, but in 1996, when I signed that bill, believe it or not, the monthly welfare benefit for a family of three went from a low of under \$200 a month in Texas and Mississippi and maybe one or two other states to a high of \$655 a month in Vermont.

So the way the law worked, the states were, in effect, setting their own benefit levels anyway. The big objections I had to welfare reform, per se, was--and the reason I vetoed the first two bills--was that they would have, in effect, block-granted Medicaid and food stamps for welfare families, and I didn't think that was right because that went to the welfare of the children. And my whole idea was we had to find a way to reward work and family.



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I wanted more money for child care, transportation, and education and training for the welfare recipients. So in the third go-round of the bill the Republican majority agreed to leave in the guarantee for nutrition and medical care and to put in adequate funds on child care and education and transportation.

Now, they did leave in something I really hated--they cut a lot of benefits to legal immigrants, which I didn't like. But I said I'd try to get them back in, and we have now restored virtually all of them. We were able to get that done in the budget fights because the Democrats hung in there with me. And so I think it was a major achievement.

And then, of course, the '96 election turned out very well. And the Democrats picked back up nine seats in the Congress. We lost a couple of Senate seats, but that had more to do with the rotation than anything else. We had three terrible years where--every two years, a third of the Senate comes up, and the first three Senate races in my tenure were all stacked against us, since we had more people up than they did and we had more people retiring than they did. It was just a nightmare. This year is the first time the tilt of the Senate seats is in our favor, where they have more incumbents up, and I think maybe more people retiring. So it's worked out pretty well for us. And I feel--I think we'll do well in the Senate races this time.

Then '97 and '98, we had the balanced-budget agreement and a whole slew of other legislative achievements that were bipartisan achievements. And we had, of course, burgeoning Bosnia in the '95-'96 period. And then we had to deal



with Kosovo. And continuing other efforts--we got the breakthrough in the Irish peace process and the Wye River accords, and a lot of other domestic things were happening. And I began to take more executive actions, like applying the patients' bill of rights to all the federal work force and everybody that was federally insured, and beginning to set aside a lot of national monument lands.

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Q: Was your philosophy changing over these years?

CLINTON: No. I was learning more about how to do it and exploring what the possibilities were. I didn't have a philosophical change, but I do think one of the things that I learned in the first two years, both with the success of the economic plan and the crime bill and NAFTA, and the failure of health care, is that you can get a lot of change out of the American system, but there's only so much change you can ram through at one time. There's only so much that it can absorb. And the system could not absorb some of the things that had to be done to have a universal system with access to health care for everybody, having gone through the strain of making the tough decisions necessary to get rid of the deficit, and deal with crime--because we dealt with gun safety -- passing all my education reform package, a lot of which passed in the first two years.

And one of the things I hope I've changed about the presidency is that before I ran, I decided what I wanted to do. I mean, really, in pretty excruciating detail. And Paul Tsongas and I were the only two candidates in '92 in the Democratic primary that put out these little booklets with detail, and people would make fun of us and talk about how wonky we were. But we had the biggest crowds in the New Hampshire town hall meetings because people knew that we'd actually talk to them about things.

And every year, [my administration] used the State of the Union as an organizing principle to force ourselves to decide what could we do in the best of all worlds, what do we think we've got a chance to achieve,

to survive
the modern
jungle



can we pay for it, do we know how we're going to do it. So that these State of the Union addresses, every one of them--I think that we got better and better at it as we went along. And I don't mean that in a self-serving way, I mean our whole operation--we used it in a very rigorous way to plan for the future.

And so it's wonderful, because you don't have to get up every day and wonder what you're supposed to do. You've got a plan and you execute. And we're still--here it is, 150 days from the end of my term, and we're executing a plan that we laid before the Congress and the country in January in the State of the Union address.

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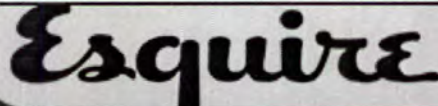
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THE ARCHIVE

Bill Clinton: The Exit Interview

Interview by Michael Paterniti

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Q: Do you agree with those who have say you used up a lot of your political capital to get through the impeachment period?

CLINTON: No. First of all, there's not a shred of evidence of it. I mean, we continued to do things to help--if there are liberal critics saying that, we continued to do things to help poor people, to help the disability community, to work for racial and ethnic reconciliation, to advance the cause of gay rights. So I just don't agree with that.

And if conservatives say that, we continued to pay the debt down, have a stronger economy, and have a very aggressive position overseas. So there's just no evidence of it. And the truth is, if anything, I gained political capital by enduring it. Our people fought it, all right. They did a terrific job making the counterargument and all that. But by not involving myself so personally in it, deeply, and not letting it dominate my mind and thoughts and time, the more the public supported me in what they were doing, we actually gained political capital.

I think if you look, for example, at what--in '98, at the end, the Congress supported virtually my entire education budget, and most of my other budget priorities. And the same thing happened again in '99, where we had a very, very good year.

There hasn't been nearly enough attention given, I think--and perhaps I'm somewhat to blame for that--on the substance of what we tried to do to change federal education policy, with the biggest increase in higher education access since the G.I. Bill, a huge increase in pre-school, virtually creating from nothing a massive program

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for after-school programs and mentoring and summer-school support from the federal government, requiring all the states to identify their failing schools and come up with strategies to deal with it. I mean, all these things have had a big impact in that area.

So we just continued to rock along. And, look, this year we've got -- unless some terrible unforeseen thing happens between now and the time you run this article, we will have gotten the China trade bill through, the Africa-Caribbean Basin Initiative through, and a major global AIDS initiative through. I believe my plan for global debt relief, which is a very important thing, will get through. I think that our education program will remain intact and be supported.

We put 100,000 police on the street; we've got another 50,000 police going out there. So I think that--and I think we'll get a minimum wage increase. We might get the patients' bill of rights. And depending on how worried the Republicans are, we might even get our Medicare drug initiative.

So I think this is going--people will look back and be amazed at all the things we've got done in this year, and yet, all we did was do what we always did. We tried to keep anchored in the basic themes and ideas that I laid out in '92 and refined in '96.

And I should tell you this. In '95, Thomas Patterson, who is a presidential scholar now at Harvard, but then at Syracuse?e studied the interaction of the president and the media?nd he said that in '95 I already had kept a higher percentage of my campaign promises than the previous five presidents, in spite of the fact that we'd made more.

And so if anybody asks me for advice on running for president, the first thing I would say is you have to decide why you want to do it, and it's got to be something bigger than yourself, and it's got to be something fundamentally rooted in the aspirations and the needs of the American people. Then you need to figure out exactly what you would do to achieve your objective, and then go out and run on it, and try to have as much clarity as you can. Because the more you think it through, the more likely you are to be able to succeed. And the more people can't say they're surprised because it's something you've run on, or something you say in your State of the Union address. I'm a big believer in that. I think that's why Al Gore's speech was so successful at the convention. It was like a State of the Union address. There was a lot of the stuff that you always have to have at conventions--here I am, here's what I believe in, here's the kind of person I am--but basically, it was, here's what I

want for you in the future.

This is a job. And the election should be viewed by candidates as a hiring decision. And if you're a candidate, you're going to a job interview. The grandest, most wonderful job interview in the whole wide world. And part of it is about dreams. And it's about how you communicate with the people that you work for. But also a lot of it's about just good old-fashioned--you get to define the job, and then what it takes to measure success, and then the public decides whether they want to hire you or not.

It's exhilarating, it's wonderful. There's never been anything like it, and probably never will be. But, for me, it's been just a joy. Even the bad days were good for me. Once I figured out that it was to some extent a cost of doing business, all the incoming fire, it sort of liberated me, and I realized I still have got to go to work. And if I hadn't been lucky, I could still be home doing real estate transactions in a law office in Arkansas.

So I have no complaints and I'm very grateful. I've had a wonderful, wonderful time. It's been good for--a fabulous experience for my family -- for my wife and for my daughter, and I'll always be glad I did it. And I'm still working at it. I loved it. I loved it.

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"The president is very interested in this campaign." —Hillary Clinton

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN

9-25-00

Hillary—On Her Own

In the final stretch of a tough race, the team that put the president in office is gearing up to do the same for Hillary.

By Joe Conason Photos by Bob McNeely

Interior design ordinarily ranks among the lowest priorities in a political campaign, where the physical environments tend toward the dingy, cramped, and cheap. By these low standards, the sprawling warren of rooms occupied by Hillary 2000, on the eighth floor of an old building in Manhattan's Garment District, seemed slightly above average. In the heat of the summer, however, an architectural makeover became a matter of sudden urgency for those who worked in Hillary Clinton's campaign headquarters.

The creation of a new floor plan was neither frivolous nor cosmetic. More staff had been brought on and more space annexed to accommodate it. Coming immediately after the most difficult episode of a difficult campaign year—an agonizing 10 days consumed by the accusation that Hillary had long ago uttered the epithet "Jew bastard"—the changes were intended to facilitate what political consultants call "rapid response."

To Clinton watchers, that phrase evokes the combative, counterpunching approach of Bill Clinton's first presidential campaign in 1992, the Little Rock office that later became famous as the "War Room," and the War Room's dominating spirit, James Carville. Busy elsewhere during the first year of the current campaign, the Cajun celebrity kept a friendly distance from the first lady and her New York race. In the wake of the "Jew bastard" incident, however, Carville quickly agreed to take on a greater role in the campaign, one he described as "unofficial, unpaid cheerleader." In this capacity he plans regular trips to New York to encourage the troops. "You know, rah-rah-ree, kick 'em in the knee, rah-rah-razz." He pauses and chortles, "Kick 'em in the other knee."

As the candidate looks ahead to the final stretch in a tough race, she has surrounded herself with a team that looks a lot like the group that helped elect her husband. Carville

will join a campaign full of original War Room veterans, including media consultant Mandy Grunwald and former White House deputy chief of staff Harold Ickes, as well as campaign manager Bill de Blasio, who ran the state's Clinton-Gore campaigns in 1992 and 1996, and Mark Penn, the pollster and strategist who won the president's trust during the 1996 campaign.

One of the central, poignant differences between the new Clinton campaign team and the Little Rock model is that Hillary doesn't have anyone to play the role she served in the president's campaigns. "She watched his back," says former White House press secretary Dee Dee Myers, who is sitting out the current campaign. "She made sure that no charge, no matter how ridiculous, went unanswered. Who is Hillary's Hillary?" The president still has his executive responsibilities and can't play this role, and in any case, as Carville says, "He's not a make-sure-the-trains-run-on-time kind of a guy." Ickes and Ann Lewis, who left the White House staff to join the Hillary campaign, both keep a close eye on the candidate and the campaign. But as former White House lawyer Lanny Davis says, "Nobody can be as good as Hillary at being somebody's Hillary."

Though the president's influence is detectable throughout her campaign, Hillary Clinton refuses to discuss his role. "I talk to the president very frequently, about everything," she says with a laugh, over lunch. "I have a policy, which serves me very well, of not talking about the conversations I have with the president. So let me say, without quoting him, that he is very interested in this campaign." Campaign insiders report that the president calls Hillary or her advisers as often as six or seven times a day to offer

"I've had to work at becoming a candidate." Hillary Clinton campaigning in upstate New York, July 2000.

NATIONAL DIALOGUE

political counsel. "You'd be a fool not to take Bill Clinton's advice about campaigns," says Myers, "and Mrs. Clinton is no fool."

If the president and his strategists have been an asset to her candidacy, they have also presented its central challenge. If she is to succeed, it is politically imperative that Hillary, who has played indispensable second to her husband for more than a quarter century, establish a political identity of her own. No one is more aware of this than the candidate herself: "I don't think anyone who voted for my husband should have to feel they should vote for me. I have to earn this, I have to merit it." The paradox of her position was evident at the Democratic Convention, when Hillary, in nec-

and hindered Hillary's political career.

Hillary calls the contradiction between her roles as first lady and Senate candidate "the biggest hurdle I have had to overcome." Like Al Gore, she explains, she has "always been a surrogate for political people, advocating somebody else's position. That transition from saying 'we, we, we' or 'the president, the president, the president' to 'I' has been hard psychologically, emotionally. You really have to make a conscious effort," Hillary says, neatly demonstrating how very difficult it is for her to say "I."

After nearly a year of marathon politicking around New York, Hillary is far better at speaking for herself in her own way than when she began. "I've

ished, confident speech at a women's luncheon in Buffalo—ambling around the room with microphone in hand, talking without notes or lectern, creating her own version of the president's style. She knows when to smile and how to maintain eye contact with an audience.

Her relationship with the press, however, remains fraught and sometimes tense. Although Hillary is opening up more to journalists, scheduling an interview requires considerable patience and persistence. When I arrive for a meeting with her one afternoon in a suburban Westchester County diner, she is picking casually at a plate of hamburger, cottage cheese, and vegetables. At first she chooses her words with great care, but then she relaxes and begins to speak more rapidly and fluently.

Hillary has a full-throated laugh and a habit of widening her large, expressive eyes when she wants to make a point. She presents herself as someone whose political and social commitments are not just a career or a crusade but an essential part of her personality: "I see myself primarily as someone who wants to make a difference."

Get the candidate speaking about what she calls the partisan attack on her and her husband, and audible passion returns to her voice. At one point Hillary goes so far as to suggest that partisan attackers unwittingly goaded her into the Senate race. "I have often thought to myself, If these folks had let us alone—the people on the other side, whoever they are—we might have just ridden off into the sunset." Is she saying the attacks actually motivated her to seek public office? "Absolutely. Absolutely," she says, explaining that she opted not to throw up her hands in disgust and "retreat into cynicism and give up" because of her strong feelings about public service.

Hillary says her decision to run was made far easier by the certainty that she could get her party's nomination without a costly or difficult primary. "I would never have done this if a lot of elected New York Democrats hadn't practically pushed me into it and closed ranks behind me and created a unified Democratic party to nominate me," she explains. Conservative critics dismiss such talk and slam Hillary's overweening righteousness and sense of entitlement.

At a recent congressional event in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the president tells me that when Hillary asked him what he thought about her decision to run, "I told her it depends if you're willing to lose." Harold Ickes had a similarly discouraging answer when asked the same question. "I told her this will be a very, very difficult race," says Ickes.



Hillary's warriors: clockwise from top, Mandy Grunwald; James Carville; Howard Wolfson, right, with Bill de Blasio; Harold Ickes.

had to work at becoming a candidate," she says. "It's hard for me to do some of the things that are really important in communicating effectively in our political system right now. It's very hard for me to do sound bites," she says. "I get all wound up in talking about issues and implications and policy. So to try to sort of narrow it down to five seconds is very hard." After a long season, Hillary, a famously tough self-critic, admits her sound bites are "better."

If Hillary doesn't take to the stump quite as naturally as her husband, she does share his prodigious energy and appears to be enjoying direct contact with voters more than anybody expected her to. On a campaign trip upstate I watch her deliver a pol-

essary deference to the needs of the party's presidential ticket, was obliged to serve as a warm-up act for her husband. Hillary's advisers even got her to tone down the aggressive speech she wanted to give, because they thought it wise to present a "nicer" image. Though enthusiastically received by delegates, Hillary's speech seemed flat compared with the one her husband gave immediately afterward. When he endorsed his wife during his convention valediction, the president called additional attention to the complicated partnership that has helped

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12-4-00

YALE Bulletin & Calendar

November 17, 2000 Volume 29, Number 11

12/1/00
J. H. C.

Strobe Talbott to head Center for Study of Globalization



Strobe Talbott, the deputy secretary of state and a key architect of U.S. foreign policy for the past eight years, will direct the new Yale Center for the Study of Globalization.

The University will also launch an innovative fellowship program for emerging leaders of other countries and establish the first of three new interdisciplinary professorships in international studies.

The announcements underscore the determination of Yale, which celebrates its 300th birthday in 2001, to become a thoroughly global institution of higher education as it enters its fourth century. (See related story.)

Talbott, a 1968 graduate of Yale College and a former trustee of the University, will begin work in July 2001 as director of the new center and professor in the field of international relations.

"Strobe Talbott's contributions to international relations have spanned the worlds of scholarship, journalism and diplomacy," President Richard C. Levin said. "He is superbly qualified to direct an effort that will draw on Yale's distinguished faculty to understand globalization, promote on-line dialogue about its implications, and facilitate the resolution of global and regional conflicts."

Talbott became deputy secretary of state in early 1994 after serving for a year as ambassador-at-large and special adviser to the secretary of state on the new independent states. He entered public service after 21 years as an award-winning journalist for Time magazine, where he was editor-at-large, foreign affairs columnist, Washington bureau chief, State Department correspondent and White House correspondent.

A Rhodes scholar, Talbott is the translator and editor of Nikita Khrushchev's memoirs and the author of six books on diplomacy and U.S.-Soviet relations. Since becoming deputy secretary, he has written articles for The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Economist, The Financial Times, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, The New York Review of Books, The Wall Street

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Journal, World Policy Journal and Slate.

Talbott has served as a director of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a trustee of the Trilateral Commission and a member of the Aspen Strategy Group.

Brooke Shearer

"In moving from government to Yale, I'm coming home to a community that has always upheld the highest intellectual standards while actively engaging in the affairs of the world," said Talbott. "That tradition makes Yale a natural leader in the quest to understand, explain and shape the forces that are changing our lives and defining our era. The mission of the center is to help the University meet that challenge."

The Center for the Study of Globalization and the fellowship program for emerging global leaders will be housed in the Davies Mansion, a recently restored Victorian mansion of nearly 20,000 square feet that sits on a hilltop at the north end of the Yale campus.

Details of each initiative follow.

The Yale Center for the Study of Globalization

The center will serve as a catalyst for research, writing, and teaching on globalization, utilizing Yale faculty and bringing to Yale distinguished scholars and practitioners of international affairs. Initial funding for the center has been provided by a generous grant from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation and a gift from an individual donor.

The center will also engage in "Track II diplomacy" -- privately sponsored efforts to promote dialogue between opposing sides in crises and disputes. The center will conduct Track II projects drawing on University faculty and the center's visitors for expertise on the ethnic, national, religious, cultural and economic issues that underlie regional conflicts.

Recognizing the Internet's status as an engine of globalization, the center will develop a premier website on all dimensions of the subject. The website will host an on-line journal of opinion for scholars and practitioners. Along with the center's teleconferencing facility, the website will carry the proceedings of the center's conferences and seminars; it will publish articles and papers produced by Yale scholars and visitors and establish links among institutions and individuals working on globalization worldwide.

Among leading scholars of globalization at Yale are historians John Gaddis and Paul Kennedy; political scientists Geoffrey Garrett, Bruce Russett and James Scott; economists William Nordhaus, T.N. Srinivasan, and Gustav Ranis, who is director of the Yale Center for International and Area Studies; Law School professors Paul Gewirtz and Harold Koh; James G. Speth and Daniel C. Esty, dean and deputy dean respectively of the School of Forestry and Environmental Studies; public health experts Ilona Kickbusch and Michael Merson; and Jeffrey Garten, dean of the Yale School of Management.

The World Fellows Program

To extend Yale's traditional mission of educating future leaders in all fields of human endeavor, the University will inaugurate a new program, sponsored by the Office of the President, to bring to campus promising young leaders from around the world for an intense one-semester period of study focused on global problems.

Candidates for the program will come from government, law, and business, as well as academe, religious bodies and non-governmental organizations on every continent. The fellows would be several years beyond the completion of their formal education and would have distinguished themselves in their fields.

The executive director of the Yale World Fellows Program will be Brooke Shearer, who currently conducts international programs for the U.S. National Park Service, and the faculty supervisor for the program will be Daniel C. Esty, deputy dean of the School of Forestry and Environmental Studies (F&ES), who heads Yale's Center for Environmental Law and Policy;

Shearer was director of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships from 1993 to 1997. She administered all aspects of the prestigious non-partisan program, implemented an outreach campaign that greatly diversified the applicant pool and expanded fundraising for the fellowships to its highest level ever. Shearer has worked at the Interior Department since 1997, initiating and conducting projects to help emerging nations develop cultural-heritage sites and national parks.

"I am excited at the prospect of helping Yale add a new dimension to its education of global leaders," Shearer said. "The program will sharpen the fellows' skills, broaden their perspectives, and enhance their abilities to shape their lives and the future of their countries."

Esty, an expert on the relationship between environmental issues and international trade policy, served in the Environmental Protection Agency as its deputy assistant and administrator for policy, deputy chief of staff, and special assistant to Administrator William Reilly. At the EPA, he negotiated the environmental provisions of the North American Free Trade Agreement, the 1990 amendments to the Montreal Protocol and 1992 Climate Change Convention.

Esty said, "I am so pleased to be part of Yale's expanding globalization efforts. The World Fellows Program positions Yale to play an important role in understanding the problems that arise at the global-scale and in building the personal relationships and networks needed to manage interdependence."

Interdisciplinary professorships in international studies

To support Yale's expanded commitment to international students and programs, Levin announced the creation of three new senior professorships in international studies. Yale already has established the first; Levin will seek donor support to endow the remaining two.

The University allocated the new positions to the Yale Center for International and Area Studies (YCIAS), which will seek to identify scholars whose interests span the work of at least two of Yale's academic departments or professional schools.

"The solutions to many of our most important global problems require knowledge that spans two or more disciplines, yet academic departments tend to favor specialists," Levin said. "The University's excellence in international studies will be enhanced by the addition of these special positions, designed to attract scholars and teachers who can make interdisciplinary contributions to our understanding."

YCIAS, directed by Gustav Ranis, oversees Yale's nine area studies councils, the master's program in international relations, undergraduate majors in international studies and ethnicity, race and migration, as well as numerous research and teaching programs including the Academic Council on the United Nations System, Genocide Studies, Agrarian Studies, the Leitner Program in International Political Economy, the European Union Studies Program, and the Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition.

Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Clinton's
Syria
Memo

Memo to: Bashar al-Assad,
president of Syria
From: Bill Clinton
Dear Bashar,

Since I will be leaving office soon, time is short, and I need to be blunt. I think you're playing with fire and are perilously close to making the biggest mistake of your short political life. I'm talking about Shabaa Farms. I told my National Security Council staff yesterday that whoever my successor is needs to know that the most dangerous spot in the world today, the most likely stage for a big war, is not the Taiwan Strait, not the DMZ between North and South Korea, not Kashmir. It's Shabaa Farms.

You know what I'm talking about. Israel unilaterally withdrew all its troops from Lebanon last spring in accordance with U.N. Resolution 425. The Lebanon-Israel boundary line Israel withdrew to was personally certified by U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan. And the U.N. stated clearly that Shabaa Farms — this little stretch of frontier at the intersection of the Israeli, Lebanese and Syrian borders — was part of the Syrian Golan Heights, now occupied by Israel. Therefore, it should not have been returned to Lebanon by Israel, but should be returned to Syria as part of any Israeli-Syrian Golan peace deal.

Despite that U.N. verdict, you have encouraged the Lebanese Shiite militia, Hezbollah, to keep launching raids against Israel at Shabaa Farms, claiming it's Lebanese territory, even though your official maps always showed it as part of Syria.

Bashar, I know you're taking advice from your dad's old adviser Farouk Sharaa, from your tutor from the General Intelligence Directorate, Bahajjat Suleiman, and from your brother-in-law, Gen. Asef Shawkat, who all believe that the only way to get the Israelis to do a deal on the Golan, on Syria's terms, is to keep bleeding them from Lebanon. And I also know that you think you're actu-

ally behaving in a very controlled fashion. You've told the Palestinians in Lebanon they're not allowed to operate in the border area, so they don't do something crazy. And you've told Hezbollah that all their attacks must be confined to Shabaa Farms.

And Hezbollah is very disciplined. I even noticed at the Cairo Arab summit you publicly used the word "Israel," which your father never liked to do, and you referred directly to Prime Minister Ehud Barak. I'm not deaf.

I know you think you're signaling Barak, in your brutal Syrian way, that you want to resume negotiations — but you are using totally unstable chemicals. And if one of these Hezbollah raiding parties somehow slips through Shabaa Farms and into northern Israel, Israel will not let you change the rules of the game and move the war from southern Lebanon into northern Israel. Here's what the Israelis told me they would do in response: Israel will attack every Syrian tank and missile battery inside Lebanon. But in order to do that Israeli jets will also have to destroy the Syrian radar and missile batteries just inside Syria that also cover Lebanese airspace. That means a Middle East war. Goodbye, Syria. Goodbye, Nasdaq. Hello, oil crisis.

Bashar, did your late father ever tell you what Barak did last year? One night, it was about 3 a.m., Israeli F-15 fighter jets, using Israeli-designed electronic countermeasures and laser-guided smart rockets, flew into Lebanon in the dark of night and blew up 10 tanks belonging to your Palestinian guerrilla pal Ahmed Jabril. Do you know how many rockets the Israeli jets fired in the dark to knock out those 10 tanks? Eleven. Do you know how accurate that is? You couldn't score that high in Nintendo.

I know you think the Israelis have gone soft, Bashar, but you could be dead wrong. Barak is in a tense political battle. Many Israeli generals believe Israel's deterrence capability has been badly eroded and they may need to put on a real sound and light show that will demonstrate to the whole region just how sophisticated its air force has become. You could suffer a huge blow. And with you now moving closer to Iraq — reopening the Iraqi oil pipeline through Syria, renewing trade with and flights to Baghdad and holding secret discussions with Saddam Hussein about Iraqi backing for Syria in the event of an Israeli attack — neither George W. Bush nor Al Gore will protect you.

Bashar, your dad was a master at manipulating people around him. Be careful that you don't become the puppet of your father's puppets. It will end badly for you, and even worse for Syria.

Gail Collins is on vacation.

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The New York Times

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 2000

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The New York Times

Puerto Rico Governor Seeks A Ban on Vieques Bombing

Cites Study Showing Link to Heart Problems

By ELIZABETH BECKER

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13 — The new governor of Puerto Rico said today that she was repudiating the agreement reached last year to allow the Navy to resume firing training on the island of Vieques and would ask President Clinton to issue an executive order for the immediate cessation of all bombing on the island range before he leaves office.

Pointing to a new study showing a high incidence of heart problems among the fishermen and children of Vieques, Gov. Sila M. Calderón said this was "dramatic evidence" that 50 years of bombing exercises on Vieques had harmed the health and lives of its 9,000 residents. This preliminary study showed that Vieques residents had a high rate of symptoms of an unusual disorder known as vibroacoustic disease, which is associated with exposure to loud noises like those from jet engines or deep explosions.

"Before he leaves office we would like the president to stop the bombing as soon as possible," Governor Calderón said in a telephone interview. "We can renegotiate a new agreement, but after a more decent quality of life has been restored to the people of Vieques."

Saying she was "neither anti-Navy nor anti-United States," the governor said she wanted to begin immediate discussions with the administration of President-elect George W. Bush "based on dialogue and consensus."

"This is a human problem and I believe we are on the same side of the fence, that the United States and Puerto Rico are concerned about the welfare and human rights of the people of Vieques," she said.

A spokeswoman for Mr. Bush's transition team said he would have no comment until he took office.

All training on Vieques, a small island off the eastern coast of Puerto Rico, was suspended in April 1999 when a civilian Puerto Rican security

accords until she publicly affirmed she would live by them. For the Navy, the range at Vieques is indispensable, the only training area in the Atlantic where the Navy can fire live ammunition in large joint amphibious, aerial and ship bombardment exercises. Those exercises, the Navy says, are essential to prepare for overseas deployments.

In a letter, Ms. Calderón told Mr. Danzig "this is not a time for threats."

A spokesman said today that the Navy remained committed to last year's accords.

"We believe we have a formula for working out the issue of Vieques and hopefully we can continue with that program," said Kenneth Bacon, the Pentagon spokesman.

That formula included \$90 million in aid for Vieques if the residents voted to allow exercises with live ammunition in the referendum the Navy recently scheduled for Nov. 6.

"We thought by declaring an early date for the referendum we were offering Governor Calderón an olive



Laura Magruder for The New York Times

Gov. Sila M. Calderón said she



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view. "We can renegotiate a new agreement, but after a more decent quality of life has been restored to the people of Vieques."

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"This is a human problem and I believe we are on the same side of the fence, that the United States and Puerto Rico are concerned about the welfare and human rights of the people of Vieques," she said.

A spokeswoman for Mr. Bush's transition team said he would have no comment until he took office.

All training on Vieques, a small island off the eastern coast of Puerto Rico, was suspended in April 1999 when a civilian Puerto Rican security guard was killed in a bombing accident, touching off widespread protests. Governor Calderón took part in a subsequent commission that found initial proof of health and environmental problems caused by repeated shelling from ships and aerial bombardments from fighter jets.

Ms. Calderón's predecessor, Pedro J. Rosselló, struck an agreement last year with the Clinton administration allowing the Navy to resume training using inert ammunition on the 900-acre range. It also called for a referendum for the people of Vieques to decide whether to close the site altogether. But the accord was unpopular and protesters staged sit-ins at the camp when the Navy resumed training this summer.

Ms. Calderón, the first woman to be governor of Puerto Rico, was elected in November on a platform that included a demand for the immediate cessation of the bombing.

That places her in direct conflict with the Navy. Last month Richard Danzig, the secretary of the Navy, told Ms. Calderón that he would not transfer land or initiate several community projects as promised in the



Laura Magruder for The New York Times

Gov. Sila M. Calderón said she would seek an executive order to end Navy exercises on Vieques.

branch, but it didn't work," a defense official said. "Now everything is on hold."

On Monday, Governor Calderón will release the findings of the study that presents preliminary evidence that the Navy training exercises may be causing vibroacoustic disease, a recently identified syndrome that can be detected by a thickening of the membrane that encloses the heart.

In the study, 49 of 50 Vieques residents examined had this symptom at a level rarely seen in a general population. A control study of 50 residents from Ponce, on the main island of Puerto Rico, showed no evidence of the ailment, which is associated with a number of heart, lung and other problems. In addition, the study found, several Vieques children showed an unusual number of heart abnormalities, possibly from jumping into the water during bombing exercises to experience what they called a Jacuzzi effect, to feel vibrations carried through the water.

at a Tribe and Its Sovereignty Claims



alcohol- or drug-related offenses, or to sentence them to jail.

In a 1998 case, Tammy Gwen Billie, a cousin of Max Billie, the tribal council member, drove off the reservation and smashed head-on into another car, instantly killing a woman. Ms. Billie was released from police custody and is awaiting trial on manslaughter charges. She has testified in court that the crash was an accident. She was later arrested on another driving-related offense.

Lawyers for the tribe, again raising the sovereignty issue, argue that tribe police documents should be evidence in the ma

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Announcements

News

Media's recount in Broward draws ire of Republicans

By Clay Lambert and Eliot Kleinberg, Palm Beach Post Staff Writers
Wednesday, December 20, 2000

FORT LAUDERDALE -- Two machine counts and a manual recount in Broward County failed to propel Democrat Al Gore to the White House, but Republicans worried Tuesday that an unofficial and ongoing media count could cast doubt on a George W. Bush presidency.

Little changed from Monday when counting began anew in the warehouse at 529 S.W. Second Ave. Representatives of seven news organizations -- including The Palm Beach Post -- and Judicial Watch leaned over a folding table as Broward County Supervisor of Elections officials held the cards aloft.

The count was suspended at 6 p.m. and will not resume until at least Jan. 3 so that elections staffers can enjoy a holiday break, said David Belrne, assistant supervisor of elections.

In two days, counters have looked at 871 ballots out of nearly 6,800 called into question during the manual recount of 588,007 ballots cast. An unscientific analysis by The Palm Beach Post found 203 potential new Gore votes and 39 potential new votes for President-elect Bush.

Republican U.S. Rep. Mark Foley, of West Palm Beach, traveled down from his district to provide the day's only fireworks. He challenged whether the ballots should be available under Florida's open records laws, and said the media's work would only serve to "undermine the legitimacy of the presidency."

"Mr. (Al) Gore conceded," Foley said. "That should have been the end of it. We could reopen the Warren Commission, too, but I don't think we would learn anything new about the assassination of John Kennedy."

Foley said the ballots are "not really a public record." In defense of his claim, he argued that the ballots are anonymous and therefore should be excluded from the state's open records laws. But a Leon County judge ruled otherwise last Friday in answer to open records requests from 11 news organizations.

Foley added that he was co-sponsoring a House bill, along with Arkansas Republican Asa Hutchinson, that would provide federal matching money for states willing to update older voting mechanisms such as the punch-card systems used in Broward and Palm Beach counties. He did not offer a price tag for such an upgrade but acknowledged that it could be hundreds of

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tag for such an upgrade but acknowledged that it could be hundreds of millions of dollars.

Foley was one of several Republicans who roamed the warehouse Monday and Tuesday. Democrat sightings were rare, however.

Chris Sautter is a Washington attorney who represented the Gore campaign during the November manual count in Broward County and author of a Democratic handbook called The Recount Primer. He stopped by briefly but said he was simply vacationing in Fort Lauderdale and not representing anyone on Tuesday.

"My client has conceded," he said.

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Democrats may lose agriculture post

A day after applying, Commissioner Bob Crawford is offered a job as the director of the Department of Citrus.

By JULIE HAUSERMAN

© St. Petersburg Times, published December 20, 2000

TALLAHASSEE -- Florida Agriculture Commissioner Bob Crawford is being offered one of the most lucrative jobs in state government, a move Democrats are calling a political payback.

Crawford, a Democrat, has been in his party's crosshairs for two years because he supported Republican Jeb Bush for governor in 1998 and George W. Bush for president this year.

Now, a commission dominated by Gov. Bush's appointees has unanimously asked Crawford to head the Department of Citrus, which paid its last executive director \$237,270 a year.

That's about twice as much as Crawford, the other Florida Cabinet members and Gov. Jeb Bush make. Crawford, one of Florida's longest-serving statewide politicians, has a net worth of nearly \$2-million.

The Citrus Department oversees citrus marketing and is financed by a tax that growers pay on each box harvested.

Crawford is a soft-spoken, telegenic politician who chooses his positions carefully. Most recently, he made news as Gov. Bush's stand-in on the state Elections Canvassing Commission, which certified vote totals that awarded Florida to George W. Bush during the state's post-election recount controversy.

Crawford, who is a few years away from a 30-year career in state government, appears likely to take the Citrus Department job. He would be forced out of his

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Citrus Department job. He would be forced out of his current post in two years by the state's term limits law.

Crawford's departure would leave Gov. Bush to appoint a new Agriculture Commissioner. Bush likely would appoint a Republican, leaving Florida's six-member Cabinet with just one Democrat: Attorney General Bob Butterworth.

When Bush took office two years ago, Florida's elected Cabinet had three Democrats and three Republicans. Besides Crawford's impending departure, Democrats lost Insurance Commissioner Bill Nelson, who is moving to the U.S. Senate.

Three Republicans have been mentioned as possible replacements for the 52-year-old Crawford: Secretary of State Katherine Harris and state Sens. Charles Bronson, R-Satellite Beach, and John Laurent, R-Bartow. All are millionaires with holdings in the cattle and citrus industries.

Both Laurent and Bronson said Tuesday they have met with Gov. Bush to say they are interested in the job. Harris "hasn't been asked yet," said her spokesman, Ben McKay.

"If somebody offers her that job or any other job, she would give it due consideration," McKay said.

Laurent, a legislator since 1990, has deep ties to Crawford. The two have been friends since high school and have been involved in joint business ventures over many years, including owning a private plane together.

In this year's special legislative session, it was Laurent who made the motion in a Senate committee to have the Legislature name a set of electors pledged to George W. Bush.

Bronson, a wealthy lawmaker who likes to call himself "just a cowboy from Kissimmee," planned to run for Agriculture Commissioner in 2002.

Crawford's move toward the Citrus Department job was swift: He applied Monday, and the state's Citrus Commission voted Tuesday to offer him the position. The official salary range for the post is \$90,000 to \$290,000. In a statement Tuesday, Crawford said he was "honored" to be offered the job, and looked forward to discussing it further.

Thirty-two others have applied as well, including one Tampa man, Ben Roberts Produce manager Thomas Howell.

At a meeting in Lakeland Tuesday, the 12-member

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citrus commission debated offering the job to Crawford.

Commissioner Christopher Gargano said Crawford's government experience will serve citrus growers well. But commissioner Rex McPherson complained: "Here we're getting ready to hire somebody and I haven't had the first word from him."

Crawford served 14 years in the Legislature. He was elected Agriculture Commissioner in 1990 and re-elected subsequently.

The outgoing Department of Citrus director, Daniel Santangelo, resigned Nov. 30 after an accounting investigation found improprieties in the department. Santangelo denied any wrongdoing.

One Democrat has been mentioned as a possible replacement for Crawford: Rick Dantzler, a former state lawmaker who ran as former Lt. Gov. Buddy MacKay's running mate against Bush in 1998.

But Dantzler said Tuesday he hasn't given the idea much thought because he thinks it is unlikely Bush would pick a Democrat for the Cabinet post.

"For Jeb to appoint a Democrat would be unconventional," Dantzler said. "I'm seriously considering running (for agriculture commissioner) in 2002."

Florida Democratic Party chairman Bob Poe said Bush -- who asked for bipartisan cooperation in an address to Floridians Monday night -- has the chance to show he means what he says by considering a Democrat to replace Crawford.

Poe said Crawford is "obviously qualified" for the Citrus Department job, but said the move is political.

"I think it just shows that political paybacks can be lucrative," Poe said.

-- Information from the Associated Press was used in this report.

The governor and the cabinet

If Gov. Bush names a Republican to replace Agriculture Commissioner Bob Crawford, the GOP would have 6-1 majority among the governor and Cabinet. In Florida, those seven people are elected statewide. As a group they help set policy in education and run a number of state agencies that do everything from licensing drivers to collecting taxes to buying land.

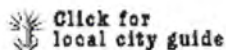
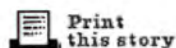
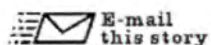
After the November elections, there were two

Democrats and five Republicans.

The Democrats: Crawford and Attorney General Bob Butterworth.

The Republicans: Secretary of State Katherine Harris; Comptroller Bob Milligan; Treasurer and Insurance Commissioner Tom Gallagher; Education Commissioner Charlie Crist; Gov. Jeb Bush.

Under a voter initiative passed in 1998, three of the six positions will be eliminated in 2002. The secretary of state's office will be abolished, the comptroller and treasurer will be combined into one job, and the education commissioner will be appointed by the governor.



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