

JUDY MANN

Bush on Bush: A Tall Tale From Texas

To hear Gov. George W. Bush tell it, he was the genius, architect and godfather, all rolled into one, of the Texas "10 percent plan," which provided "affirmative access" to the state's flagship universities.

Here's how he characterized his role during the last debate: "I've worked hard in the state of Texas to make sure institutions . . . reflect the state, with good, smart policy—policy that rejects quotas.

"For example, in our state of Texas, I worked with the legislature, both Republican and Democrats, to pass a law that said if you come in the top 10 percent of your high school class, you're automatically admitted to one of our higher institutions, higher institutions of learning—college. And as a result, our universities are now more diverse. It's a smart thing to do. It's what I called it—I labeled it affirmative access."

Got the picture? Can't you just see the governor working the phones round-the-clock, cajoling members of the state legislature into backing this wonderful bill? Making deals? Trading favors? Putting the mighty heft of his office behind this plan?

Here's what really happened.

The plan came into being after the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals outlawed affirmative action at the University of Texas School of Law. The 1996 decision, in *Hopwood v. Texas*, dealt a major setback to policies of racial inclusion in public colleges and universities. In the year following the decision, the number of African American freshmen admitted to the University of Texas dropped 34 percent, and the number of Latino freshmen dropped 4.3 percent. At Texas A&M University, the number of African American freshmen dropped 29 percent, and the number of Latino freshmen fell 13 percent.

After Hopwood, three Texas lawyers, including University of Texas law professor Gerald Torres, helped design the 10 percent plan. They formed the backbone of a coalition that shepherded it through the legislature. Torres, now a vice provost at the university, as well as a law professor, credits the leadership of the Mexican American and African American legislators with passing the plan.

"They worked very closely with some of the conservative Republican leadership, but it was a hard-fought struggle in the legislature," Torres said in an interview. "It passed by a single vote in the House. The governor indicated he would not veto the bill. That gave some people the courage to vote for it, but he did not actively work for the bill."

Bush's sole role was to not veto the bill.

Texas has a long and ignoble history of huge disparities in spending on public education. In the 1985-86 school years, the Edgewood Independent School District spent \$2,112 per student on its predominantly Mexican American children. It was the lowest per-pupil expenditure in a state where one district was spending more than \$19,000 per

student. In 1989, the Texas Supreme Court ordered the state to move to a system of more equitable funding, but the schools remain woefully unequal in quality.

Texas has about 1,500 public high schools. Before the 10 percent plan came into being, 75 percent of the freshman class at the University of Texas at Austin came from about 150 of the state's economically privileged public and private schools. After the 10 percent plan, students from poor, rural counties attended Texas's most prestigious state universities for the first time. In 1999, there were about 300 African American freshmen, a 50 percent increase from the number admitted the year before affirmative action at state schools was outlawed.

Schools themselves have taken steps to make sure admissions policies are more equitable, reducing, for example, the emphasis on SAT scores, which favor affluent students who can afford tutoring and coaching for the exams. The schools have established Longhorn Opportunity Scholarships that provide two full, four-year scholarships to students attending high schools that have not traditionally sent their students to the university. "It eliminated the economic disincentive to come to Austin," Torres said.

The university has 50,000 students. Torres credits Lucia Gilbert, also a vice provost, for taking steps to ensure that minority students who enter the university feel connected to other students and people in their majors.

"I think it would not have worked if the university had not made the commitment to make it work," Torres said.

Key players in getting the plan passed included a bloc of African American and Latino legislators made possible by the civil rights movement. Several had been there long enough to attain senior committee positions. They included Rep. Irma Rangel (D), the first female member of the Texas House, who chaired the House Higher Education Committee. Sen. Gonzalo Barrientos (D) was the point person on the bill in the Senate. Rangel had the clout to bring on board Teel Bivens (R), one of the state's most conservative senators, who chaired the Higher Education Committee.

The 10 percent plan has been a genuine success. It has brought students into flagship public institutions who would have otherwise gone to more marginal universities, if they attended at all. It rewards hard work and determination on the part of high school students. It is not a substitute for affirmative action. But it showed how a coalition of lawyers, legislators and advocates for racial and ethnic minorities can come up with a workable plan for achieving more equitable admissions policies to state-funded schools. The coalition's leadership included Democrats, Republicans, liberals, conservatives and members of ethnic and racial minority groups.

It did not include George W. Bush.

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Gore Faces Vote Lacking Same Support From Police Officers That Clinton Drew

By GARY FIELDS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The thin blue line of law-enforcement groups that backed President Clinton in 1996 is considerably thinner for Al Gore.

Four years ago, Fraternal Order of Police President Gilbert Gallegos championed Mr. Clinton by declaring rank-and-file police officers have never had a better friend in the White House. This year, the nation's largest police organization has endorsed George W. Bush.

The reason for the switch has more to do with President Clinton than either of the candidates to succeed him. Members of the Fraternal Order complain that he has failed to support police officers on issues ranging from labor bargaining to at least 18 different Justice Department investigations of alleged abuses by police departments during the past five years.

Mr. Gore still has the endorsement of

Fraternal Order of Police members could affect the presidential race in some states.

another major police group, the National Association of Police Organizations. And with crime down, law and order isn't a top issue in this year's election. But the Fraternal Order of Police endorsement of Mr. Bush could play an important role because a third of its nearly 300,000 members are in the swing states of Florida, Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

It wasn't going to be this way. In 1996, Mr. Clinton became the first Democratic presidential candidate to receive the support of the major police organizations. The FOP had never backed a Democrat for president since it was founded in 1915. Mr. Clinton lobbied so hard for the group's support that on Sept. 9, 1996, less than a week before he got the endorsement, he kept Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu waiting while he extended a meeting with FOP officials.

The FOP was a major part of a coalition that lobbied Congress for what has become Mr. Clinton's law-enforcement legacy. The legislation includes the Brady gun-control law and the 1994 crime bill that banned a series of assault-style firearms and created the COPS program that put more officers on the streets.

"The FOP's support for those bills was invaluable and might well have made the difference in passage or not," says David Yassky, former chief counsel for the House subcommittee on crime and now a professor at Brooklyn Law School. "They were on the phones and meeting with people, and in some cases, I know they changed people's minds."

But in endorsing Mr. Bush last month, FOP President Gallegos, a police officer in Albuquerque, N.M., held the Clinton administration responsible in part for a recent loss of prestige and respect for police. "We need the support of our political leaders in Washington, not politicians who lead witch hunts against law-enforcement agencies," he said.

Those "witch hunts" referred to Justice Department investigations of police departments around the country that have been accused of abuses ranging from excessive force to intentional racial or ethnic discrimination. Ironically, the law that authorizes the department to conduct such pattern or practice investigations is the 1994 crime bill that the FOP lobbied for extensively.

Three of the investigations—into charges of racial profiling in New Jersey and ignoring police misconduct in Pittsburgh and in Steubenville, Ohio—ended in settlements requiring such changes as diversity training and more detailed reporting on the use of force. A fourth case in

Los Angeles is near settlement. A fifth, in Columbus, Ohio, is in litigation. In addition, as of June 1, there were 13 active investigations, among them probes of police departments in Buffalo, N.Y.; Charleston, W.Va.; New Orleans; New York City; Prince George's County, Md.; and Washington, D.C.

A second issue was Mr. Clinton's offer last year of clemency to 16 members of FALN (the Spanish acronym for Armed Forces of National Liberation), a Puerto Rican group suspected in a series of bombings in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The bombings killed six people and injured dozens of others, including several law-enforcement officers.

Finally, FOP officials say Mr. Clinton reneged on a promise made at the Sept. 9, 1996, meeting to open up collective bargaining for federal law-enforcement officers.

"If Mr. Gore wants to know what happened, he need look no further than the White House," says James Pasco, the FOP's executive director.

Gore spokesman Douglas Hattaway says the vice president would like to have had the FOP endorsement. But, Mr. Hattaway adds, Mr. Gore will continue to support the hiring of more officers and prosecutors "to keep our communities safe, and he also will continue pushing for a crime victims' bill of rights."

Thomas Scotto, president of the National Association of Police Organizations, which represents 230,000 law-enforcement officers, says he disagreed with Mr. Clinton's offer of clemency but "that was one bad decision. The guy did 50 other things well by us. Do we take away our support for one thing?"

Mr. Scotto says his group has endorsed Mr. Gore because of his continued push for more officers on the streets and his support for legislation such as providing college tuition and benefits to the families of slain officers. "Tell me what George Bush has ever done for law enforcement nationally?" he asks.

What Mr. Bush has done is promise to create a commission to review the nation's justice system, something the FOP opposes and something that Mr. Gore has said he wouldn't do. Mr. Bush also won't commit to forcing collective bargaining for federal officers, and, as Texas governor, he supported the state's conceal and carry gun law despite opposition from law enforcement.

Despite that record, "the question for us was, do we dance with the devil who has given us pattern and practice investigations that fire police officers quicker than the COPS program can hire them?" says the FOP's Mr. Pasco.

Law-enforcement groups share concerns about how the next administration will handle such issues as police conduct, DNA evidence, the death penalty, computer privacy issues and racial profiling. Mr. Pasco says he expects his group to have a say in these matters even if Mr. Gore wins the White House. "They are not going to solve any of these problems by ramming it down our throats," Mr. Pasco says. "Take racial profiling, for instance. The [Congressional] Black Caucus can't solve the problem without us, and we can't solve it without them. Gore is going to need both of us."

But while there are some issues that the FOP would support, "generally speaking, we're going to think long and hard before we associate ourselves with the policies of holdovers from the Clinton administration," Mr. Pasco adds.

He expects FOP members and their families to have an impact on the presidential race in some states. In Ohio, where Mr. Clinton defeated former President Bush by 88,759 votes in 1992, there are 24,148 FOP members. Gov. Bush has held several public events with local FOP members, including campaign stops in Chicago and Philadelphia. But John Shanks, an official of Washington group Handgun Control and a past FOP ally, says "a national endorsement by the FOP, we don't feel, is necessarily the voice of all law enforcement."

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1. When they were
was about 10 years old
this is the first I've heard about
them being made about 1940
I believe during the war
from many munitions and
to me, no one called.

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Podesta

The Politics of Fuel

The sharp rise in oil prices over the last few months has given energy issues new and unexpected prominence in the presidential campaign. But what ought to be a serious debate has been marred by unedifying accusations about who deserves blame for allowing America to sink further into "dependence on foreign oil." Gov. George W. Bush says the Democrats have inhibited oil exploration with their environmental and tax policies. Vice President Al Gore says the Republicans have allowed "big oil" to put profits ahead of the American consumer. All this has diverted attention from two inconvenient truths about America's energy problem.

First, the notion that the United States can "free" itself from foreign oil is absurd. America consumes about one-quarter of the world's oil supply but possesses less than 4 percent of the world's reserves, and much of the economically recoverable domestic oil has been identified. About half of the oil consumed in America now comes from foreign sources and this figure is likely to rise rather than fall. The task, therefore, is not to engage in a futile debate over energy "independence" but to find new ways of managing dependence.

The second and related truth is that the demand side of the energy equation is as important, if not more so, than the supply side. If Americans want stable prices and greater protection from market manipulation, they and their elected representatives will have to pay far more attention to conservation, finding new ways to use energy more efficiently.

The supply side cannot, of course, be ignored. Domestic oil production is plainly not the answer to the country's energy needs, and for economic and environmental reasons, nuclear and hydroelectric power cannot be expected to take up the slack. But there is still plenty of oil available to American companies outside the United States — in Africa and the Caspian Sea, for example. In North America, especially the Gulf of Mexico and Canada, there are also substantial supplies of natural gas. Indeed, natural gas has become the fuel of choice for most American homeowners and the electric power industry, which plans to use it to run more than 90 percent of the power plants now on the drawing boards. Both candidates have recommended new incentives to encourage drilling for natural gas.

Inevitably, however, any sensible energy strat-

egy will also require conservation, a matter on which Congress and the public need serious educating, and on which presidential leadership will therefore be crucial. This Congress has been unable to pass legislation governing the restructuring of the electric power industry. It has been openly contemptuous of the Kyoto agreement aimed at reducing emissions from fossil fuels and thus reducing dependence on fossil fuels. It could not even agree on a modest tax incentive for more fuel-efficient buildings. Meanwhile, the astounding popularity of ever-larger S.U.V.'s and other light trucks has reversed a 20-year trend of improved fuel efficiency.

The differences between the two candidates on energy issues are pronounced. Mr. Bush sought to narrow these differences in a major address on Friday, calling for \$1.4 billion in tax credits over 10 years to encourage electricity generation from alternative fuels. He also said he would spend \$2 billion over 10 years for "clean coal" technologies, aimed at exploiting the country's huge supplies of cheap but polluting supplies of coal.

But his strategy still relies mainly on increasing supply, including uncontroversial ideas like streamlining regulatory restrictions on pipeline construction and hugely controversial ideas like opening the coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to drilling. According to the latest government estimates, the mean estimate of economically recoverable oil in the plain is 3.2 billion barrels. Environmentalists and Mr. Gore do not think it is worth defacing a pristine wilderness for what amounts to about six months' worth of oil.

For his part, Mr. Gore has offered a dizzying array of proposals aimed at increased energy efficiency. These include generous tax credits for more fuel-efficient buildings and factories, and for consumers who buy fuel-efficient vehicles and appliances. In addition, Mr. Gore proposes major federal investments in light rail systems and various public-private partnerships, including a Gore favorite, the Partnership for a New Generation of Vehicles, which is aimed at developing cars and trucks that run on batteries or fuel cells.

In dollar terms, Mr. Gore's energy proposals would cost about \$50 billion over 10 years, dwarfing Mr. Bush's \$7.1 billion. But dollars do not accurately define this debate. Mr. Gore believes that consumption is the main problem. Mr. Bush thinks that production is the main answer. This is as clear a difference as one can find in this campaign.



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Where Have All the Conservatives Gone?

PHILADELPHIA — If you want to feel warm and gentle check the Web sites of Rick Santorum, one-time firebrand of the political right.

On his Senate homepage there are nine issues mentioned, but not one reference to tax cuts. He's up for re-election this year, but his separate campaign site also includes only a brief mention of tax cuts.



Politics & People

By Albert R. Hunt

The Pennsylvania Republican says Americans are "overtaxed and deserve a tax cut." This takes 75 words. By contrast, the same site offers a 1,584-word chronicle of Rick Santorum and African-Americans, including his work with Carol Moseley-Braun on transportation for inner-city residents.

This is the new "moderate" Rick Santorum. He was a right-wing poster boy six years ago when he toppled incumbent Democrat Harris Wofford in industrial Pennsylvania, running as an avowed opponent of government. The tough, confrontational Mr. Santorum, who attacked Democrats while a House member, urged Keystone State voters to "join the fight" against Washington; he rarely trimmed his sails. It was a great Republican year and he won.

When he got to Washington, he left no doubt he was different from moderate Pennsylvania Republicans who had served in the Senate. Almost daily he attacked Bill Clinton, and when Senate Appropriations Chairman Mark Hatfield voted against a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget, Mr. Santorum led an unsuccessful effort to take away his committee chairmanship.

Sen. Santorum continues to carefully court conservative activists and pundits in the nation's capital and is one of Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott's kitchen cabinet of insiders. He has few Democratic friends or allies in the institution. Confident of victory in November—he's outspending his Democratic opponent Rep. Ron Klink by 10-to-1—he's already mapping plans to climb into the GOP leadership next Congress.

But Pennsylvanians are hearing little of these conservative connections, at least from Mr. Santorum. He boasts of his backing for the National Endowment of the Humanities and of his support for a higher minimum wage. This onetime foe of wasteful spending reminds voters of all the pork he's bringing home.

"About two years ago Santorum realized he should move to the center, better to become Mr. Moderate," says Terry Madonna, a political scientist at Millersville University in Pennsylvania. Mr. Madonna says that his conversion and new emphasis on Pennsylvania projects is in keeping with the state's political tradition: "He has retreated to what Pennsylvania politicians often do—go after pork. We're not a state that produces leaders on the great issues of the day. We identify with guys who bring home things for their constituents."

The one-time conservative paragon makes clear that he's no longer encumbered by ideology. "You take the far left ideas and the far right ideas," he told the Boston Globe's David Shribman last month, "and you see neither is right."

Rick Santorum may be more blatant than most, but Pennsylvania illustrates the changing political realities of today's dozen or so competitive Senate races. They are being fought on the Democrats' turf; Republicans are scurrying to the center.

In Florida, Bill McCollum, the

staunchly conservative impeachment advocate in the House, is a Senate candidate this year. There are days this straight-laced conservative looks like he's wearing love beads. After toeing the line for the gun lobby and social right in the House, he now backs some gun controls and embraces hate-crimes legislation in a news conference with gay activists.

In Nevada, former Rep. John Ensign lashes out at HMOs and demands patients have a right to sue these predators, never mind that as a House member he voted opposite. In Montana and Michigan, incumbent GOP Sens. Conrad Burns and Spence Abraham are spending millions attacking their opponents' support for prescription drugs for seniors, contending that they really would provide more affordable and accessible drug benefits for the elderly. Earlier this year, conservatives insisted this was a bogus issue.

The Republican response is more than just rhetoric. In Rhode Island, the Republican Senate Campaign Committee ran an ad in which Sen. Lincoln Chaffee brags that he "voted against his own party" in supporting a "real" patients' bill of rights and affordable prescription drug benefits under Medicare. Michigan's Sen. Abraham voted with Democrats to delay any tax cut before a prescription-drug benefit was enacted.

Or take the huge George W. Bush proposed tax cuts—\$1.3 trillion over 10 years, \$1.6 trillion counting interest. Most Republicans look like Marion Jones in dashing away from the Bush tax cuts. Several

weeks ago the Journal's Jerry Seib surveyed the eight most competitive Senate races and found that none of the GOP candidates embraced the Bush plan save one: Sen. Santorum. A few hours later, however, the Santorum campaign called back to correct the record: The senator felt the Bush tax reductions were "too big."

The next week, conservative columnist Robert Novak called Mr. Santorum to check out any heresy. The Pennsylvania Republican apparently had an epiphany: "I'm not familiar with every jot and tittle of his plan," he told the journalistic champion of tax cuts. "But I believe in across the board tax reductions—for all taxpayers, not just those who do what the government wants them to do."

Shortly after this column appeared, Mr. Santorum's press secretary reiterated to reporter Seib that the senator does not endorse the Bush tax-cut plan, and that he thinks it is "too big." The well-funded Santorum campaign-advertising effort apparently has yet to include any TV ads on tax cuts.

Mr. Santorum reflects a change in the national political environment. He's never been a captive of principles. He switched from passively pro-choice to passionately pro-life on abortion in the early 1990s to win important backing from conservative activists. He advocated a cap on punitive damages in medical malpractice cases, then his wife sued her chiropractor for double the ceiling he proposed for others.

The "new moderate" Mr. Santorum will, probably succeed in November. The pro-life, economically liberal Rep. Klink is having difficulty raising funds from cultural liberals that dominate Democratic Party givers. But if so, on Nov. 8, let's not hear about conservatives prevailing even in Pennsylvania. As far as the voters here know, there are none running this year.



Rick Santorum

READ OUR NUMBERS:

Exclusive poll shows approval of the prez and, particularly, his library.

BY

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Bruce
Lindsey
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LR to Bill:
WE LOVE YA'

Won't You Come Home, Bill Clinton?

EXCLUSIVE POLL:

LR voters like
the prez, his
library, too.

ALSO:
Rating the
City Board.

FAVORITE SON: President Clinton gets a positive rating from a majority of Little Rock voters.

Bring on the library

Poll shows strong LR voter support for Clinton facility.

BY MAX BRANTLEY

From radio talk shows, to newspaper opinion and letters columns, to the coffee shops, several things have seemed clear.

People in Little Rock are fed up with city government. They are unhappy with the way money was shuffled to finance the purchase of land for the Clinton Presidential Library.

And speaking of President Clinton ... Well, don't get us started.

Right?

Maybe not.

The conventional wisdom is not always wise. And the people who yell loudest some-

times yell alone, or at least in a noisy minority. Remember Kenneth Starr and impeachment?

That appears to be the case in Little Rock, on matters of city government, President Clinton and his library.

A poll of 402 registered Little Rock voters, conducted Sept. 25-27 by Opinion Research Associates of Little Rock for the *Arkansas Times*, finds:

- An overwhelming majority support the establishment of the presidential library in Little Rock.

- An overwhelming majority think the library

will have a positive impact on the city.

- A strong majority believes the Clinton presidency has been good for Arkansas.

- A huge majority likes the job Jim Dailey is doing as mayor.

- Job performance ratings for city officials, though they don't always have high name recognition, tend to be generally favorable.

"The numbers came out great," said Skip Rutherford (not without a certain note of relief in his voice). He's heading the library fund drive.

"You're going to have some of the people who have access to the radio stations and the papers who speak in a more critical voice, but I've always thought and I've always believed that the library was a great asset for Little Rock and Arkansas, so I think these numbers are most encouraging."

Rutherford even found some encourage-

ment in the results of a speculative question, on whether city voters would favor a temporary penny sales tax to replace the \$14 million or so spent on land acquisition and preparation. Such a tax was opposed by a small majority, 51 percent, while more than 40 percent favored it. That's a surprisingly positive number for a tax, particularly one that hasn't been proposed in any forum, Rutherford said.

Ernie Oakleaf of Opinion Research also expressed surprise at the results. "The criticism of the project had reached such a level and was so taken for granted I was expecting a much more negative finding than we got. But a lack of trust in city government could help explain the tax issue — distrust of that monolith is greater than the sum of its parts."

Mayor Jim Dailey said he would have

Continued on next page

Clinton library

Continued from previous page

expected a positive outcome, though he said he was gratified by the margin of positive support.

"That one doesn't surprise me," Dailey said. "I speak to a lot of groups and they range all the way from young people to elderly. Even though there are people who have their political issues with the president, I rarely have anyone who's opposed to the library being here."

Poll respondents were asked whether they'd be willing to take followup questions for a newspaper article.

Maxine Polk, a retired UAMS researcher who lives in Oak Forest, was one of those who had been somewhat disapproving of the establishment of the library in Little Rock. "I don't think it's going to be the tourist attraction they say," she said. On the other hand, and while she's not a great admirer of the president, she said, "If it will help renovate downtown, that's wonderful."

Dr. Ann Smith, a history professor at Henderson State University who lives in western Little Rock, was in the majority on the library.

"I'm absolutely in favor of it. It's an absolute must. It would be a very serious mistake to allow that library to go somewhere else."

The telephone poll sought registered Little Rock voters. They were drawn from a randomly generated list of telephone numbers.

A strong majority also believes the Clinton presidency has been

method and the lack of a vote.

Just the same, he said he was "surprised" at the outcome on the library question and the high approval rating given Mayor Jim Dailey, who's been a leading advocate for the library. "I've had almost 100 percent support for my position," Pfeifer said. "Admittedly, a few of those people seem to despise President Clinton, but a majority have an honest displeasure with the way the thing was financed."

Mayor Dailey doesn't quarrel with Pfeifer on the point. "When I'm speaking to people, I'll say we didn't necessarily feel good about the procedure we used. But when I'm asked if I'd do it again, based on everything I know now and what our options were then, I say I don't think we had any other choice." City officials have said they wanted to make a firm proposal for the land to keep the president from choosing another city.

The poll seemed to show that Little Rock voters separate their feelings about the president from his library.

While 67 percent approved the library, 53 percent thought his presidency generally had been good for Arkansas, while 32 percent thought it had been bad for the state. The "good" percentage is just about the same as the percentage of the vote he received in Arkansas in 1996.

"I don't think he's done a thing for Arkansas except be from Arkansas, and that's not really a big deal," said Maxine Polk.



BUILD IT: The Clinton Presidential Library, which will be built on this site, should help Little Rock, voters say.

have a positive impact and 72 of 78 black respondents, or 92 percent, though it would be positive. The other six blacks were not negative, merely undecided. There was not a single negative vote among blacks, in other words.

Turning to the question of Clinton's impact on Arkansas, the results were more diverse.

The more educated a respondent, the less likely he or she was to find a positive impact of the Clinton presidency. The positive rating ranged from a high of 60 percent among people with some high school education down to 49 percent among college graduates.

Bring on the library!

QUESTION: Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of the establishment of the Clinton Presidential Library in Little Rock?

Strongly approve

45%

The respondents were asked three questions about the library:

- How they felt about its establishment.
- How they assessed the library's impact on Little Rock.
- Whether they'd vote for a one-year penny tax to recoup money committed to the library.

The results on the library should serve as some vindication for embattled city directors, who committed the money without putting it to a public vote. A huge majority, 67 percent, approved the establishment of the library and 77 percent thought it would have a positive impact on Little Rock. A bare majority opposed the temporary sales tax 51 to 42 percent. The poll had an error margin of plus or minus 5 percent.

It is clear from several interviews that support of the library didn't necessarily equate with support for the City Board's decision to shift park fees to support the bond issue that paid for the acquisition.

"The shell game of how it was built is enough to set a person off," said respondent Marshall Driver, a retired insurance executive who lives near Park Plaza. "City government has become arrogant to the point where they want to ram their projects down our throat without consulting us."

Gene Pfeifer, a businessman who's resisted the city's efforts to take his land for the library, has emerged as a lightning rod for library opponents. He said he wished the survey had asked voters about the financing method.

"I've always said I supported the presidential library and that it would be good for Little Rock," he said. But he opposed the financing

good for Arkansas.

Marshall Driver had similar feelings. "I have a very low opinion of Clinton. I don't think there

should be a library with his name on it."

Support for the Clinton library was high across all the demographic categories calculated in the poll — education, age, income, race, sex and neighborhood. There was a significant gap in only one category, race. There 63 percent of white respondents favored establishment of the library and 88 percent of black respondents favored it.

The results were much the same when the sample assessed the impact of the presidential library on Little Rock. Again, the president's popularity among black voters was evident. There, 73 percent of whites thought it would



ENCOURAGED: Skip Rutherford, who's leading the presidential library fund-raising, said he was encouraged by positive feelings in Little Rock about the project.

Similar progressions were found in other categories. Younger voters and poorer voters tended to be more positive about Clinton than older, richer voters.

Again, in race, the results were striking.

Of the 323 white respondents, 145, or 45 percent, thought the impact of Clinton's presidency good for Arkansas; 127, or 39 percent, generally bad, and 51, or 16 percent, were undecided.

Of the 78 black respondents, 70, or 90 percent, thought he'd had a good impact, two thought he'd had a bad impact, and six were undecided.

Women tended to be more positive than men — 57 percent to 50 percent of men thought he'd had a good impact.

In the neighborhood breakdown, another striking gap occurred, one that illustrates the political split of the city.

In zip codes downtown and on the east side of Little Rock, some 78 percent thought Clinton's presidency has had a good impact on Arkansas. The number declined to 69 percent in the south and southwest, 49 percent in Hillcrest and the Heights and the "old west" and a tiny 28 percent in the "new west," that area west of Interstate 430. These are numbers that have stark implications for political races and undoubtedly reflect the growing Republican strength in western Little Rock.

On the question of a sales tax to recoup library expenses, there also were some differences in the preferences. While a majority of the total sample opposed it with a bare majority of 51 percent, a majority of people making less than \$25,000 a year and a majority of blacks would have supported such a tax.

Somewhat approve	22
Somewhat disapprove	8
Strongly disapprove	19
Don't know	5

The Presidential Library's Impact

QUESTION: Do you think the Clinton presidential Library in downtown Little Rock will have a generally positive impact on Little Rock, or a generally negative impact on Little Rock?

Positive	77%
Negative	12
Don't know	11

Arkansas in the Clinton years

QUESTION: Generally speaking, do you think the Clinton presidency has been good for Arkansas or bad for Arkansas?

Good	53%
Bad	32
Don't know	14

Bad gossip

The Arkansas Democrat-Gazette this week picked up the rumor that **President** and **Hillary Clinton** were thinking about buying a **Manhattan apartment**. One problem: "None of it is true," a Clinton spokesman had told The New York Times several days earlier. The New York Observer explains that a creative PR agent for a Manhattan real estate firm cobbled up a news release imagining the Clintons had sought the firm's help. The release named a couple of its listings, repeated in the D-G, as perfect for the First Couple. But a spokesman for Corcoran Real Estate explained that the press release wasn't meant to be taken literally. "It was done in the spirit of 'If the Clintons are looking, here are some ideas.' " Gossip columnists printed as fact the news release's purported Clinton requirements — such as proximity to a park for their dog, Buddy, and a desire for a condo, not a co-op, so as the D-G said, "to avoid choosy co-op boards." 🐾

In the news

The Atlanta Constitution and Journal has reported that **Matthew J. Glavin**, president of the **Southeastern Legal Foundation**, was arrested near Atlanta for public sexual indecency. The paper said Glavin, who filed the complaint seeking Clinton's disbarment, was in court briefly Tuesday on a charge that an undercover federal officer saw Glavin masturbating May 17 on a trail in the Chattahoochee National River Park. Glavin allegedly fondled the officer. He denies the charge.

up before - something as
 THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN
 10-18-00 WILLIAM SAFIRE who?

Spectrum Squatters

WASHINGTON

What powerful special interest strikes terror in the heart of both parties in Congress, and turns both Al Gore and George Bush into quivering sycophants?

In terms of ripping off the taxpayers with not a peep from the media, nothing compares with the broadcasters' lobby. This phalanx of freeloaders has stolen the free use of great chunks of the most valuable natural resource of the information age: the digital television spectrum owned by the American people.

Five years ago, despite warnings of John McCain, Bob Dole and former F.C.C. chairman Reed Hundt, NBC, ABC and CBS pulled a bait-and-switch. Because their analog spectrum, a gift to them from the past, was outdated, they demanded a lion's share of the new, digital bandwidth.

When a few of us suggested that this national resource be opened to competitive bidding rather than given away, the broadcasters insisted that the airwaves were their entitlement. With a gift of the new spectrum, they promised to deliver free TV broadcasts on high-definition television.

The Republican Congress and Clinton White House promptly doubled the broadcasters' bandwidth — a freebie estimated then at \$70 billion, now worth far more.

Worse, the lobby was told it could keep making money on its old analog portion of the spectrum until 2006 or until 85 percent of American homes had digital TV, whichever was later. But it took over 20 years for color TV and 16 years for video recorders to reach that level of market penetration. That's like giving the broadcasters squatting rights on the digital spectrum for decades to come.

Result of Congress's foolish and craven gift of such a cost-free option? Broadcasters have been sitting on their hands, delaying new development and looking for ways to use the new spectrum for profitable cell phones and wireless e-mail, which has nothing to do with broadcasting the promised free digital TV.

Meanwhile, cable and satellite companies, having invested heavily in digital technology, provide the new wares to consumers — but at a high price. U.S. taxpayers, who invested \$70 billion of spectrum value in broadcasters to get free digital TV, are forced to wait for decades. Lesson: When private money is on the line, private companies move fast; but when public assets go to private pockets, at no

interest, private companies sit tight.

William Kennard, chairman of F.C.C., uses a homely analogy of spectrum squatters: it's as if Congress gave each broadcaster two controlled apartments on Manhattan's Upper West Side, and the broadcaster occupied one while leaving the other empty.

What's the F.C.C. to do when Congress and the White House refuse to say "use it or lose it" to the squatter — and thereby let a lobby threaten U.S. lead in new technologies? speed our transition to free digital? Kennard will mount the bully pulpit a New York speech tomorrow.

He'll call on Congress to require that all new TV sets be DTV-capable in two years. High volume would only lower the price of receiver components to manufacturers but also stimulate consumer demand for the improved images — which, in turn, would provide the profit incentive to broadcasters to get off their duffs.

Broadcast media \$70 billion ripoff

Then the F.C.C. chairman will call on Congress to close the 85 percent hole that now turns the double-digit spectrum into a generation-broadcasters' entitlement to corporate welfare.

Then he'll suggest requiring a transition after 2006 for the use of the old analog channels. "This 'spectrum squat fee,'" says Kennard, "would escape yearly, until broadcasters complete their transition to digital and release the analog spectrum to the American people." That would light a fire under the networks and even encourage debates at public-dispirited NBC.

Although the subsidized industry legion of lobbyists will lash back in fury, now's the time to ask: How Al Gore, the professed populist, handle this hot potato? Where stands George Bush, who would probably appoint F.C.C. commissioner Mike Powell, Colin's son, to the chairmanship?

Let's find out if either candidate would propose legislation to stop the giveaway and to sell or lease the public's spectrum — thereby bring free broadcast digital TV to average Americans. Or would both let the ripoff roll?

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Podesta

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-18-00

Europe Proposes Compromise in Dispute With Washington Over Banana Quotas

By GEOFF WINSTOCK
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BRUSSELS—The European Commission proposed a new plan that it hopes will resolve a dispute with U.S. and Latin American banana producers and lead to the lifting of \$191 million of U.S. trade sanctions on European Union products.

The complicated plan endorsed by the EU executive body would maintain a big preference for producers in former EU colonies in Africa and the Caribbean, but it tries to meet U.S. concerns with a new system for allocating import licenses to the big U.S. trading companies Dole Foods Co. and Chiquita Brands International Inc. The World Trade Organization ruled last year that previous licensing systems for importers favored EU banana traders over their U.S. competitors.

The EU says the new license system based on "first-come, first-served" will meet U.S. concerns and comply with WTO rules. EU Trade Commissioner Pascal Lamy said, "We will finally be in a position to bring this long-running saga to an end, and, with it, the sanctions currently being applied by the U.S."

year to revamp the complicated system of tariffs, quotas and licenses failed to convince the U.S. to lift sanctions. The U.S. has come under pressure from the EU recently in an unrelated dispute involving U.S. export subsidies, and both sides say they want to de-escalate trans-Atlantic trade tensions.

Even with U.S. backing, however, the commission may not even be able to win approval from the 15 EU member governments, which will consider the plan Monday at a meeting of foreign ministers. Some countries are eager to end the dispute with the U.S., but France, Spain and perhaps Britain could try to block any deal that sells out their former colonies. Mr. Lamy said the plan offered sufficient protection for the Caribbean and African producers. But a spokesman for Jamaica, one of the major Caribbean banana exporters, said the commission's proposal would drive the former colonies out of business.

The EU will also have to sell the system to Latin American producers, especially Ecuador, which last year won a separate WTO case against EU restrictions.

The EU proposal would maintain for an

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Podesta

RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION THIRD ANNUAL AWARDS DINNER

10-19-00
THE WHITE HOUSE

Assistant to the President and
Director of Political Affairs

Betty ^{Should do to} ~~do test~~ ^{him}

Thought the
President might
want to see.

From Saturday's
dinner where
they were were
honoring him.

Mr

10-19-00

To political affair
for Reply?



THIRD ANNUAL AWARDS DINNER

DINNER CHAIRS

RON BURKLE

BERRY GORDY



PROGRAM

Welcome Host

CHRIS TUCKER

Invocation

JEFF MAJORS

Presentation of Award to Angela Oh

MIKE FARRELL

2000 Woman of Conscience Award

ANGELA OH

Presentation of Award to Mario Obledo

HOLLY ROBINSON PEETE

2000 Trailblazer Award

MARIO OBLEDO

Presentation of Award to Judge Greg Mathis

MICHAEL CLARKE DUNCAN

2000 Advocacy Award

JUDGE GREG MATHIS

Introduction of Special Musical Guests

DON CORNELIUS

Musical Performance

PEABO BRYSON & THE GEORGE DUKE ORCHESTRA

Presentation of Award to Cathy L. Hughes

DON CORNELIUS

2000 Bridge Builder Award

CATHY L. HUGHES

Musical Performance

DONNIE McCLURKIN

Presentation of Award to President Clinton

REV. JESSE L. JACKSON, SR.

2000 Leadership Award

THE HONORABLE WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON

Sunday, October 15, 2000

The Beverly Hilton Hotel

From the

REVEREND JESSE L. JACKSON, SR.



mainstream education, zero tolerance policies and jail industrial complexes. There are more African American males who are in jail than are in institutions of higher education. There is a strong correlation between the rate of high school drop-outs and those who end up incarcerated.

In this nation, AIDS and HIV have reached epidemic proportions. As of June 1999, African Americans and Latinos accounted for over 60% of new AIDS and HIV cases reported. In the age group of 25-44, AIDS is the leading cause of death among black males and the second leading cause of death among black females. This disease has devastated the continent of Africa at a rate that is capable of decimating entire populations. Among many other social ills, AIDS in Africa will result in a chronic generation of orphans.

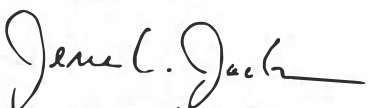
Ghosts of Mississippi haunt the tragedy of Raynard Johnson, a 17 year old honors student who was found hanged in a pecan tree in front of his home in Kokomo, Mississippi. Even though Mississippi today is not the same Mississippi of the 1950's, it is our national nightmare that crimes of bigotry continue to occur.

Those such as Shaka Sankofa (formerly known as Gary Graham), who are poor and cannot afford adequate legal representation, have been subjected to wrongful executions in startling numbers. Additionally, there is a disturbing racial component to the application of the death penalty. Until systematic flaws within the criminal justice system are corrected, we must seek a national moratorium on the use of the death penalty.

When united by hope, not divided by fear, we can pool our political and economic might to enable greater opportunities for all and create a better union. On the doorstep to a new American century, we unite again to call upon the nation to bring all under one big tent, leaving no one behind. History will watch closely as we decide how to act in this time of peace and prosperity; it will judge us severely if we squander this golden opportunity for progress. Rather than remaining fragmented by fears, let us implement this forward-looking agenda of hope and realize the promise of the American Dream.

We appreciate so much your support, your diligence and your willingness to serve, for without you our mission would be far more daunting. I thank you for coming here tonight to celebrate with us and look forward to our continued work together.

Keep Hope Alive,



Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, Sr.
President/Founder
Rainbow/PUSH Coalition

It is my pleasure to welcome you to our Third Annual Rainbow/PUSH and Citizenship Education Fund Awards Banquet. We come here tonight to celebrate our victories, recognize our challenges, and move forward together. Let our dreams be stronger than our memories. We also come together to celebrate the lives and works of five extraordinary individuals; five people who exemplify the spirit of the American dream, all of whom prove that one person really can make a difference.

In reflecting over this past year's accomplishments, I am proud to say that we have achieved many of our goals, and for that I am thankful. At the same time, I realize that our work is far from complete, so while we pause a moment tonight to celebrate, we do so with the knowledge that we shall rise in the morning and continue the struggle.

Highlights of Rainbow/PUSH Coalition's successful national and international initiatives this year include the following: registering thousands of voters in our New Southern Crusade for Hope, encouraging citizen participation, supporting shared economic security for all Americans, ensuring the democracy of our telecommunications infrastructure, and advocating for equitable education opportunities throughout the country. In addition, we led a minority trade mission to Sub-Saharan Africa where members discussed business opportunities with President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa. This highly successful trade mission promoted investment and trade in the telecommunications, media, information, technology and finance sectors.

This has been a year of growth for us as well. Since we gathered here this same time last year, we have opened new offices in East Palo Alto ("The Silicon Valley Project"), Houston and Atlanta. This expansion further allows us to continue to bring light to dark places and protect those who are unable to protect themselves. We must rescue our children from the vicious cycle of inferior or non-

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 15, 2000

Dear Friends:

I am pleased to have this opportunity to send greetings to each of you attending the Third Annual Rainbow/PUSH Coalition Awards Dinner. I am especially pleased to join my voice with yours in wishing Reverend Jesse L. Jackson a very Happy Birthday! It is most appropriate that this evening's event celebrates the birthday of Reverend Jackson by honoring individuals who exemplify his lifelong dedication to completing the circle of human rights.

As a broadcast industry pioneer, Cathy L. Hughes is a role model for African American women business owners. I commend Ms. Hughes for her efforts to provide a voice for the African American community.

The remarkable accomplishments of Judge Greg Mathis demonstrate that every young person can achieve the American Dream if he or she has determination, faith and support. Judge Mathis' dedication to civil rights, political, church and youth causes exemplifies the positive influence a single individual can have on his community and country.

Mario G. Obledo is an internationally recognized leader on Hispanic issues and has dedicated his adult life to bringing ethnic, racial and religious groups together to change conditions in America. Mr. Obledo's commitment to public service is an inspiration to all those who want to make a difference in the life of another.

The improvement of race relations in our nation has benefited greatly from the efforts of Angela E. Oh. Whether as a member of the President's Initiative on Race or as an international lecturer, Ms. Oh demonstrates daily the role we can all play in bridging racial and ethnic divisions in our country.

I am pleased to note that you have chosen to honor my husband with the 2000 Rainbow/PUSH Coalition Leadership Award. I share the President's belief that we must encourage meaningful dialogue and develop creative solutions if we are to enable all Americans to celebrate our shared humanity. With the support of Reverend Jackson, the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition and each of this evening's honorees, we can change attitude and behavior and create a nation that celebrates our diversity.

I send my congratulations to the honorees and to each of you my best wishes for a wonderful evening.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Hillary Rodham Clinton". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Hillary Rodham Clinton