

Craig Smith
CT's
it's a soap
OK
mm

HITE HOUSE
HINGTON

December 22, 1994

Gloria O'Donnell
13 South Main Street
Mercersburg, Pennsylvania 17236

Dear Gloria:

Thanks for your letter of December 10. It was great to hear from you and to get an update on all that's going on in your life. It sounds as though your job is going well.

Thanks, too, for your willingness to serve in the Administration, and I've shared your letter with Veronica Biggins, my Director of Presidential Personnel.

Finally, I appreciate what you said about the mid-term elections. We have a great deal of work to do in the next two years, but I'm confident the end will bring us out all right.

Sincerely,

Bill

cc V Biggins

Jay

December 10, 1994

Dear Bill,

I've been following this "Republican Sweep" very closely. I can only imagine that how, personally, you must feel. Do you remember what I said about "them" being afraid of you because you make them look bad? I believe that with all my heart. The harder you work, the worse it makes them feel. You have accomplished more in your first two years than any President in recent history, according to the Congressional Record.

Most of the people that I have talked with, do not believe for one minute, that Republicans are going to solve all the problems. The poll that I saw yesterday, as a matter of fact, shows more disapproval of Newt Gingrich than your polls indicate.

I'm sorry that the media chooses only to show the unfortunate situations. But, I believe that your quick and positive reactions to negative circumstances, shows your real qualities as a person and as a leader.

I knew that you'd bounce back from this great "sweep" with enthusiasm, vitality and even more great ideas. Hang in there! My preacher in Arkansas used to tell me, "Don't let them throw you out of the buggy".

Out of necessity (long story), I accepted a full-time job in Adamstown, Maryland, which, by the way, is only 40 miles from D.C. I still pursue my training/computer business, and teach evening computer classes at the local VoTech school. If you need me to "bop" down to D.C. on the weekends, after work or whenever, just give me a jingle. (717)328-9551 gets my message line, or you can have someone call me daytime at 301-695-9400 (ext. 333). I work for a company called Trans-Tech, which makes ceramic parts for wireless communication devices. It's a very interesting company. Yes--politics is discussed quite often, because the company used to have a lot of government contracts.

By the way, I came down for the Ukrainian ceremony. I knew I wouldn't be able to visit, but I always try. You never know, I might get lucky!

Craig Smith called several weeks ago to tell me that there might be a job for me between now and 6 months. He asked me what I wanted to do, and how much money I needed. Of course, ideally, I'd love to be one of your aides, but I know that's probably not possible. I've given it a lot of thought. You know that I'd be happy being an Administrative Assistant (I'm a great organizer), or any kind of underling; I'd love to "clean up" JTPA; I'd love to be able to set up training centers for people who can't afford training; because being a part of the greatest administration in the 20th century would be such an awesome honor for me, I will serve you and my country wherever and however you feel I'll do the best job. I want you to know that you don't owe me a

job or that you don't owe me anything at all. If, for any reason, I should be so honored to be a part of what you believe in, I wouldn't, under any circumstances, embarrass you or ever behave myself in an unseemly manner--no matter what the assignment.

I'm sorry--I had to get that off my chest. Again--I'm always straight with you, as you have been with me, and I want you to know that you can always count on me, and you can trust me. I've basically gotten what I wanted out of life and I have no hidden "agendas", and no axes to grind. I owe no favors, and I'm committed only to God, my family, and the United States of America. Sorry again.

I just wanted to let you know where I stand, because so many things haven't been said that I guess now is the time to say them. You know that from the first time I ever heard you speak that I have believed and trusted you--and that has never changed. You are the man for the job you now hold and we must work hard to keep you there. Only a special person could take on all the problems that this country has and YOU are that person. Go back to the people and listen to them, and you won't go wrong.

With sincerest and warm regards,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "J. F. Davis". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the closing line of the letter.

[REDACTED]

GLOBIA O'DONNELL
13 SO. MAIN ST.
MERCERSBURG, PA 17236



ATTN: NANCY HERN RICH
WHITE HOUSE
WEST WING
1st FLOOR
WASHINGTON, DC-2050



Kevin
O'Keefe

Rm

148

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~cc: O'Keefe~~
cc: O'Keefe
Just Keef
am on Keef
bush
OK
pm

December 22, 1994

James L. North
Alex W. Newton
700 Title Building
300 21st Street North
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Dear James and Alex:

Thanks for your letter of December 19 and for your suggestion that Gregory H. Hawley be appointed United States Attorney for the Northern District of Alabama. It's good to have your insight, and I've shared your letter with Abner Mikva, Counsel to the President, to let him know of your personal recommendation.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Barack Obama

Merry Christmas!
Thank you for your letter

cc: V Biggins

JAMES L. NORTH
ATTORNEY AT LAW
700 TITLE BUILDING
300 21ST STREET NORTH
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203
TELEPHONE (205) 251-0252

December 19, 1994

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We write to support Gregory H. Hawley for appointment to the position of U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Alabama. Senator Heflin has submitted four names to the White House, including Greg's, to fill this position.

At your request, Greg was one of the organizers of your campaign in Alabama beginning in the fall of 1991. He was State Counsel to the campaign in Alabama. He was one of your appointees to the DNC Rules Committee, and attended Rules Committee meetings on your behalf. He was of considerable importance in our fundraising efforts in Alabama, and also attended many campaign events, rallies, and town meetings where he spoke on behalf of the campaign. In short, his loyalty to you is unsurpassed, and is equalled by only a few members of your campaign team in Alabama.

During the primaries in 1988, he was very active with the Gore campaign. Based on his well-known understanding of Alabama politics and other skills, he agreed to manage the Dukakis campaign in Alabama after the convention. His service to the campaign was one of the few bright spots of 1988. Finally, you should note that he is Chairman of the Democratic Party in the largest county in Alabama. Thanks to his leadership, the County Party was in a position to spend more money on local campaigns in 1994 than it had done in recent memory. In short, he has made sacrifices on behalf of the Democratic Party and he has "paid his dues."

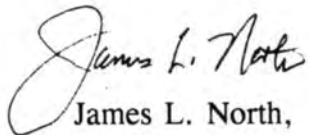
You should know that Greg has broad support among all groups that comprise the Democratic Party -- courthouse officials, trial lawyers, businessmen and women, and others. Greg also has broad support in the African-American community and would treat all issues that come before him with fairness and impartiality to all regardless of race or station in life.

The President
December 19, 1994
Page Two

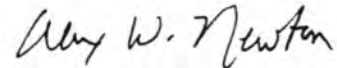
We are sure that you have seen Greg's resume. We will not belabor his fine academic and professional qualifications. We would only add that he has the strong support of the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, the Chief Justice, Congressman Bevill, and various other elected officials in Alabama. He has very broad support among all people who make up the Democratic Party in Alabama. It is very important that we have someone of his character, judgment and abilities in the U.S. Attorney's position.

His appointment would be a reaffirmation of the Clinton campaign's commitment to "reward those who work hard and play by the rules." We cannot overstate our support for this appointment.

Very truly yours,



James L. North,
Co-Chair
Clinton Campaign
Finance Committee



Alex W. Newton,
Co-Chair
Clinton Campaign
Finance Committee

/dw

cc: The Honorable Leon Panetta
The Honorable Craig Smith
The Honorable Bruce Lindsey
The Honorable Rahm Emmanuel

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 21, 1994

Bill Press
Chair
California Democratic Party
8440 Santa Monica Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90069

Dear Bill:

Thanks for your memo of December 19 about Don Gevirtz and for your recommendation that he be appointed Ambassador to Indonesia. I agree with you that Don would be an outstanding representative of our nation.

It's always good to know what you think, and I can assure you that I will seriously consider Don as the decision approaches.

I hope you have a wonderful holiday season.
See you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill

UH cc Veronica
I checked w/
Craig; This is
what he suggested
He showed They
considered
I think

cc U Biggs
C Smith

Craig Smith
Rm
150



CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATIC PARTY

BILL PRESS, Chair

MEMORANDUM

*Just for the
Cgt info for
12/20 cc Vernon*

TO: President Bill Clinton

FROM: Bill Press
State Chair, California

DATE: December 19, 1994

SUBJECT: Ambassador to Indonesia

You will soon be meeting to discuss nominations for U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia.

I join Dianne Feinstein in the strongest possible recommendation for: Don Gevirtz.

Don fits every category you could be looking for in an ambassadorial nominee.

1. Don is extremely well-qualified. He is a highly successful California businessman and author. He has travelled widely and lectured in Indonesia. He is an expert on entrepreneurship and international trade.
2. Don is a valuable ally. Outspoken, early business community supporter of Clinton/Gore. Finance Chair of Dianne's 1992 Senate campaign and Co-Chair with Dick Blum of her re-election. Co-Chair of our California Democratic Party Trustees.
3. Don is the kind of Democrat who can get by Jesse Helms. He is a centrist. He is articulate. He has many Republican backers, including former Congressman Bob Lagomarsino, who will testify on his behalf.

Mr. President, this appointment is highest priority for both Dianne and me.

Don was on the "short" list last time. This time, let's make it happen. Don will make you and the nation proud!

Many thanks!



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 12/22/94

TO: VERONICA BIGGINS

FROM: **JOHN D. PODESTA**
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

For appropriate handling.

cc: Leon Panetta





DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

December 20, 1994 04 DEC 20 P5:42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Lloyd Bentsen *Loy Bentsen*
SUBJECT: UNDER SECRETARY FOR DOMESTIC FINANCE

I would like to recommend that, pending the successful completion of background checks, you nominate John D. (Jerry) Hawke, Jr. to become Under Secretary for Domestic Finance.

Jerry Hawke has served as Chairman of the law firm of Arnold & Porter since 1987. He has been affiliated with Arnold & Porter since 1962; elected a Partner in 1967 and re-elected in 1978. From 1975 until 1978, Jerry served as the General Counsel for the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. Jerry is a noted expert in the field of banking law. He has taught banking law at Georgetown University Law Center, Boston University School of Law and Columbia University School of Law. In addition, Jerry has served on several public and private sector boards and committees including the Advisory Committee to the FDIC Task Force on the State and Federal Regulation of Commercial Banks and Chair of the Banking Law Committee of the Federal Bar Association.

In addition to me, Jerry has met with Frank Newman and Bob Rubin, both of whom join me in my recommendation. A life long Democrat, Jerry's references, personal and professional, include: Bob Strauss, Vernon Jordan, Bernie Nussbaum and Jack Quinn, among others.

The main point of this memo is to register my support for Jerry Hawke, before leaving my post this Thursday. If you do not have any objections, I will instruct my staff to work with Veronica Biggins on appropriate follow-up.

cc: Veronica Biggins

Leon PAWETTA

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 21, 1994

Robert L. Fogel
Hilfman and Fogel
33 North Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois 60602

Bob
Dear Robert:

Thanks for your letter of December 9 and for your suggestion that Philip H. Hilder be appointed to the National Commission on Crime Control and Prevention. It's always good to have your insight, and I have shared your letter with Veronica Biggins, my Director of Presidential Personnel, to let her know of your personal recommendation.

Sincerely,

Bill

*cc V Biggins
can we do
this?*

LAW OFFICES
HILFMAN & FOGEL, P.C.

LOUIS HILFMAN
ROBERT L. FOGEL
PATRICK J. SULLIVAN
WILLIAM F. MARTIN
MICHAEL I. STARKMAN
STEVEN C. FUOCO
DANIEL C. HOFERT

OF COUNSEL
JEFFREY M. GOLDBERG

33 NORTH DEARBORN STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60602

TELEPHONE
(312) 236-5207
FAX
(312) 236-2321

December 9, 1994

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington D.C., 20500-2000

RE: National Commission on Crime Control
and Prevention

Dear Mr. President:

A former Assistant United States Attorney, close personal friend and a committed New Democrat, is apparently being considered for Presidential Appointment to the National Commission on Crime Control and Prevention. I want to advise you that Philip H. Hilder would be a significant contributor and participant in such Commission.

I have personally known Philip for more than 10 years and consider him to be a person of high integrity and professional commitment. He received his law degree from Boston College Law School in 1981, was in private practice briefly in Chicago before becoming an Assistant United States Attorney in Houston, Texas in 1984. In 1987 he became the Attorney in Charge of the Organized Crime Strike Force in the Houston field office through 1990 until the Strike Force was merged back into the local United States Attorneys. He returned to private practice in Chicago for a year before returning to private practice at Bennett, Broocks, Baker & Lange in Houston.

He was a significant participant in your 1992 campaign, the 1993 Senator Krueger campaign, and the recently unsuccessful Senate campaign of Richard Fisher.

LAW OFFICES

HILFMAN & FOGEL, P.C.

President Bill Clinton

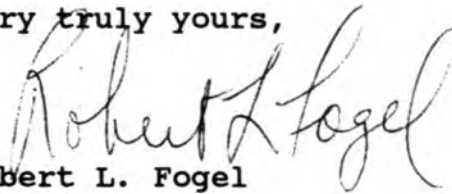
Page Two

December 9, 1994

I hope that you will be able to give Philip Hilder your consideration and support for membership to the National Commission on Crime Control and Prevention.

With warmest regards, I remain,

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Robert L. Fogel". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Robert L. Fogel

RLF:keb

cc: Ms. Liz Montoya
Mr. Thomas Shea

cc: H. Cisneros
A. Herman



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 15, 1994

Mr. Robert P. Bonilla
Bonilla & Berlanga, Inc.
2727 Morgan Avenue
Corpus Christi, Texas 78405-1821

Dear Robert:

Thank you so much for your kind words of encouragement. I am grateful for your commitment to helping me move America forward. Indeed, the recent elections gave us much to think about as we continue to face the many challenges ahead, and I appreciate your input and your interest.

Please stay involved. I deeply appreciate your continuing support.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Your letter was
wonderful - Thank you

2
10/11/1994

Bonilla & Berlanga, Inc

Attorneys At Law

2727 Morgan Avenue
Corpus Christi, Texas 78405-1821
P.O. Box 5427
Corpus Christi, Texas 78465-5427

Phone 512/882-8284
FAX 512/881-1031

November 11, 1994

President Bill Clinton
THE WHITE HOUSE
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton,

I am writing you this letter to apologize on behalf of myself and many other dedicated Democrats across the country. We have let you down. It is not your fault that many of the Democrats across the country did not exercise their Constitutional right to vote for a candidate of their choice. It is not your fault that the campaigns across the country did not actively pursue a vigorous "Getting out the vote" drive. Therefore, I feel compelled to apologize to you since you are the one that is having to take all the blame.

Let me reassure you, the election in 1996 will be different. Your dedication and commitment to this country should be recognized. If you should choose to run for re-election in 1996, you will have my full support.

I want to assure you that I will not sit idly by anymore. I want to assure you that I will participate in any way that I can. And finally, I want to assure you that I am determined to work hard and to correct the mistake that happened on November 8, 1994. It is time for change, that is what the American people have voted for, but it looks like the change will have to take place in 1996. At that time, the Democrats will be able to take back control of Congress and we will be sure to re-elect you as our President.

As a former member of the Young Democrats of America, I did have the privilege of meeting you back in 1988 or there about's when you were Governor of Arkansas. At the beginning of your campaign for President, I wrote you a letter acknowledging my full support before any of the Democratic Primaries had concluded. I therefore, felt compelled to write you again to let you know that a lot of us still believe in you and have great hopes for a good future which you will lead us to.

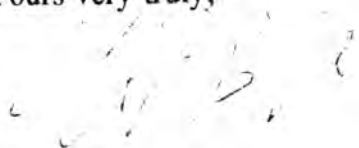
President Bill Clinton
November 11, 1994
page 2

Even though the tide in the state of Texas is turning Republican, I want you to know that I am fully dedicated to see to it that in 1996, when you are re-elected President, it is done with all the electoral votes in Texas. In other words, I am going to work as hard as I can to see to it that Texas, as a whole, fully supports President Bill Clinton.

If there is anything specifically that I can do for you from now until your re-election, please do not hesitate to call on me. I am a young adult, at the age of 25, I am working for my father as a Legal Assistant at our family Law firm in Corpus Christi, Texas. I am looking forward to attending Law school somewhere in Texas, but I am temporarily putting that off to dedicate my free time in making sure that you and other Democrats are re-elected in 1996 so that the country can get back on the right track again. For whatever it's worth, I am adding my telephone numbers in case any of your staff members ever need to reach me. I can be reached at the office at (512) 882-8284. My home phone number is (512) 993-2387. And I can also be reached by fax at (512) 881-1045.

Good luck with initiatives to come in the next two years and be assured that Texas is behind you in the years to come. Thank you.

Yours very truly,


Robert P. Bonilla
Legal Assistant to
William D. Bonilla

RPB/gt

c:\ROBERT\PERSONAL\CLINTON.315

94 DEC 22 18:02

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: SECRETARY HENRY CISNEROS

Fax Number: 708-1993

Phone Number:

FROM: John Podesta's office

SUBJECT: cc from the President

DATE: 12/22/94

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 4

MESSAGE:

If all pages are not received, please call 202/456-2702

The document accompanying this facsimile transmittal sheet is intended only for the use of the individual or entity to whom it is addressed. This message contains information which may be privileged, confidential or exempt from disclosure under applicable law. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, or the employee or agent responsible for delivering the message to the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any disclosure, dissemination, copying or distribution, or the taking of any action in reliance on the contents of this communication is strictly prohibited.

cc: H. Cisneros ✓
A. Herman

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 15, 1994

Mr. Robert P. Bonilla
Bonilla & Berlanga, Inc.
2727 Morgan Avenue
Corpus Christi, Texas 78405-1821

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Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

your letter was
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2
PCM / America

Bonilla & Berlanga, Inc

Attorneys At Law

2727 Morgan Avenue
Corpus Christi, Texas 78405-1821
P.O. Box 5427
Corpus Christi, Texas 78465-5427

Phone 512/882-8284
FAX 512/881-1031

November 11, 1994

President Bill Clinton
THE WHITE HOUSE
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton,

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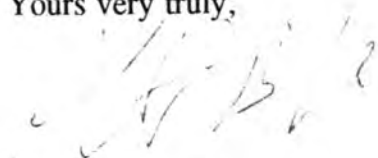
President Bill Clinton
November 11, 1994
page 2

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Yours very truly,



Robert P. Bonilla
Legal Assistant to
William D. Bonilla

RPB/gt

c:\ROBERT\PERSONAL\CLINTON.315

LAW OFFICES
SIEGFRIED, RIVERA, LERNER, DE LA TORRE & PETERSEN, P.A.

SUITE 102

201 ALHAMBRA CIRCLE

CORAL GABLES, FLORIDA 33134

DADE (305) 442-3334

BROWARD (305) 781-1134

FAX (305) 443-3292

FORT LAUDERDALE OFFICE

ONE FINANCIAL PLAZA

SUITE 2012

FORT LAUDERDALE, FLORIDA 33301

BROWARD (305) 1632-0720

FAX (305) 784-1750

STEVEN M. SIEGFRIED
OSCAR R. RIVERA
LISA A. LERNER
HELIO DE LA TORRE
BYRON G. PETERSEN
FLICK H. EDWARDS

MARIA VICTORIA ARIAS
DANIEL DAVID, P.E.
JAMES F. HARRINGTON
ELISABETH D. KOZLOW
H. HUGH McCONNELL
ALBERTO N. MORIS
SAMUEL A. PERSAUD

12/20
cc: President
msg: Sam/John & Joe
Reply
MICHELLE C. FRIGOLA, P.A.
FORT LAUDERDALE, FLORIDA 33394

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-22-94

FILE NO.

REPLY TO:

FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

TO: PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON
FAX #: 1-202-456-6703
PHONE #:

FROM: MARIA VICTORIA ARIAS RODRIGUEZ
FAX #: (305) 443-3292
PHONE #: (305) 442-3334
FILE #:

RE: SEE ATTACHED

DATE: December 19, 1994

TIME: 6:43 pm

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: 2 3

MESSAGE: Please read the attached letter which was faxed
to my office by Diaz-Balart's office.

The information contained in this transmission is attorney privileged and confidential. It is intended only for the use of the individual or entity named above. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution or copy of this communication is strictly prohibited.

COLN DIAZ-BALART
21ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA

COMMITTEE ON
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

COMMITTEE ON
MERCHANT MARINE
AND FISHERIES

CHAIRMAN
NEW TASK FORCE ON LATIN AMERICAN
AND CARIBBEAN AFFAIRS



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-0921

PLEASE REPLY TO:
WASHINGTON OFFICE

☐ 900 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-0921
(202) 225-4811

DISTRICT OFFICE

☐ 2225 N.W. 53RD TERRACE
SUITE 102
MIAMI, FL 33148
(305) 470-8888

FAX COVER SHEET

Please deliver to:

Name:

Maria V. Arias, Esq.

Office:

Phone:

() _____

Fax:

(305) 443-3292

Date:

Time:

From:

Re:

Total # of Pages (including this cover sheet):

Comments:

As you'll see, this is very serious.
trial

Congress of the United States
Washington, DC 20515

December 19, 1994

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States of America
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We have received deeply disturbing reports from within your Administration concerning efforts by Mr. Morton Halperin to achieve the implementation of a policy initiative by the White House that would benefit the Cuban communist dictatorship.

These reports are made even more alarming by the fact that Mr. Halperin is the member of your National Security Council staff whose nomination to a sensitive Department of Defense position had to be withdrawn when the Democratic-controlled Senate would not confirm him. Throughout his career, Mr. Halperin has shown faulty judgement in relation to threats emanating from Castro's Cuba. After Castro's incursions into Angola and Ethiopia, for example, Mr. Halperin inaccurately wrote that "every action which the Soviet Union and Cuba have taken in Africa has been consistent with the principles of international law. The Cubans have come in only when invited by a government and have remained only at their request".

As you know, Mr. President, on August 5th of this year approximately 30,000 Cubans spontaneously took to the streets in Havana demanding freedom. Despite a terrible crackdown by the regime, Cubans throughout the island are demanding democracy in ever-bolder forms of action. Sugar production and Castro's ability to purchase oil are at an all-time low, the sanctions you implemented last August 20th are having a strong effect, and numerous signs point to the inevitable collapse of the communist tyranny.

Any gesture along the lines being sought by Mr. Halperin at this time, such as authorizing U.S. business to engage in the unrestricted sale and financing of medicine, medical supplies,

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
December 19, 1994
Page 2

medical equipment or food to Castro; Lifting your August 20th sanctions banning charter flights and remittances; Allowing financial transactions or travel for so-called academic, cultural and scientific exchanges, public exhibitions or performances, or activities of alleged religious organizations; Loosening travel restrictions to allow unrestricted travel by U.S. citizens or allowing business or tourist travel; Allowing the establishment of U.S. news bureaus in Cuba or Cuban news bureaus in the U.S., or ceasing to regulate financial transactions or activities related to the establishment of news bureaus in communist Cuba; Entering into "negotiations" with the Cuban government to allegedly settle U.S. property claims; Or any other friendly gesture toward Castro at this time of almost unprecedented repression, would constitute a form of complicity with the ferocious oppression of the Cuban communist dictatorship against its people.

We hope that you will remain firm in the enforcement of our sanctions against the Cuban dictatorship and in resisting the pressures of those who would throw the moribund Cuban totalitarian regime a lifeline, Mr. President.

Sincerely,


Lincoln Diaz-Balart
Member of Congress


James Ros-Lehtinen
Member of Congress

Benjamin E. Wesley
1940 N.E. 197 Terrace
North Miami Beach, FL 33179

December 19, 1994

Hon. William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20006

VIA HAND DELIVERY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-22-94

Handwritten note:
Rico Perez
Miami, FL
12-22-94
B

Re: Cuban children in Guantanamo - response to Dr. Manuel Rico Perez

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to encourage you to respond to the letter written to you by Dr. Manuel Rico Perez requesting the release of the children in Guantanamo to the United States. Dr. Perez is a very wealthy, influential man who has his own radio show. He has been frustrated by your lack of response to his letter that he published as a full page advertisement in the New York Times. As a result, he spends much time on his radio show bashing your Presidency. This situation could be turned around by a response from you.

Dr. Perez's concern seems to be focused on the little girl with the violin at Guantanamo. He would like to sponsor her in the United States. If you were to write to him and arrange for her release, you would have a public relations coup. I strongly believe that to release this little girl and those like her would be to do the right thing. We hear of their suffering every day in Miami through the media.

I urge you to respond to Dr. Perez. You can write to him care of my wife, Donna Ballman, 13899 Biscayne Blvd., Suite 154, N. Miami Beach, FL 33181. Any response would be better than none. At least you would have the opportunity to let your views be heard.

Thank you for your kind attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Benjamin E. Wesley

U. S. Secret Service
PRESIDENTIAL PROTECTIVE DIVISION

SECRET
SERVICE
CS: HOC

December 21, 1994

Dear Mr. President and Mrs. Clinton,

One year ago, the Presidential Protective Division presented the First Family with a Christmas gift of adopting Kramer Junior High School's student population with the goal of promoting and enhancing their educational opportunities. The Division employed a series of lectures, job-related field trips and extracurricular activities to accomplish these goals. It is my pleasure to inform you that the relationship forged with Kramer Junior High School has been an absolute success, serving to stimulate the students' desire for greater educational and social outlets.

The Division sought initially to establish an interpersonal relationship with the students through a series of presentations that focused on historical contributions the Secret Service has made throughout its long history. These presentations were complemented with "hands-on" opportunities for the students, using some of our professional "tools of the trade." Division agents and administrative personnel attended career day, exposing the students to career opportunities in the field of federal law enforcement.

Clearly, the highlight of this partnership was your visit to address the assembled student body and staff at Kramer Junior High School. This provided a boost for this project and for many similar ones throughout the country.

The partnership has not been all work and no play. The first annual "Secret Service vs. Kramer Junior High" basketball game was held at the school gymnasium and played before the school's student body. The event raised over \$150.00 toward the school's athletic program. Additionally, Kramer's ninth grade class invited the Secret Service to participate in their commencement exercise. The Division took this opportunity to present a Secret Service Citizenship Award to Jesse Wilson, who displayed ideals the partnership encourages.

The year's partnership was celebrated in September with a '94-'95 school year "kick-off". More than 500 students, teachers and Division personnel gathered at Bolling Air Force Base in Washington for a picnic featuring food, games and fellowship. The excitement of this effort has spread to your staff, some of whom have participated with this Division throughout the year in

nurturing the effort. This cooperation, perhaps more than any other aspect, serves to enhance the Christmas spirit embodied by our gift.

The Presidential Protective Division wishes you and your family a Merry Christmas and good wishes for the New Year. We wish to rededicate the Kramer Junior High School partnership as our gift to the First Family emphasizing the meaning of the day throughout the year.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Dave", written in dark ink.

David G. Carpenter
Special Agent in Charge
Presidential Protective Division



THE PRESIDENT

12-22-94

Dear Dave -

The work you are doing with the
Kramer School means more to me
and to Hillary than I can say -

It is the best possible Christmas
gift, along with the outstanding work
done by the PPD every day.

Sincerely
Bill Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE

David G. Carpenter
Special Agent in Charge
Presidential Protective Division

THE WHITE HOUSE
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12.16.94

I sent Bruce a
memo on this —
We need to act
before it's too late.

JS

Leon

I'd like to do this
It's not much to
+ it means something
to me —

Boe

copy to
John
Angell

PUBLIC STRATEGIES WASHINGTON, Inc.**Facsimile Cover Sheet**

Please deliver the following pages to:

Name: Marsha Scott
Company: _____
Fax Number: 456-5558
From: Lee Williams
Date: 12/14/94

We are transmitting a total of 2 pages including this cover sheet. If you do not receive all the pages, please call us at (202) 783-2596. Our fax number is (202) 628-5379.

Marsha

*The President needs to know
about this, before it is a
"done deed".*

Lee

*I hear by the
grape vine that the
cutting shears are
honed!*

PUBLIC STRATEGIES WASHINGTON, Inc.

December 14, 1994

LEE WILLIAMS

Memorandum

To: Marsha Scott
From: Lee Williams
Subj: Fulbright Program Budgets

So far as I am informed, USIA and OMB are still discussing the FY 96 budget for the Fulbright Program, along with other Agency programs and budgets. I'm told the situation is still very fluid.

These are the budget levels for the Fulbright Program in recent years.

FY 93
\$133 Million

FY 94
\$139 Million

FY 95
\$134 Million

Congressional funding for the Fulbright program since 1946 has been nearly \$1.8 billion (almost fifty years and over 200,000 grants), the same as the cost of one B-2 Bomber. Thanks to the success of the program, 42 foreign governments now provide financial support as well. In 1993, this support came to over \$22 million.

After several years of moderate increases, Congress cut USIA's FY 95 allocation for Fulbright and other exchanges by \$4.5 million. In honor of the 50th anniversary of the Fulbright Program in 1996, USIA proposed to restore the cut and add a substantial enhancement for exchanges in FY 96. Any Agency budget cut would impact heavily on the Fulbright Program.

You and I know, personally, of the President's strong belief in the value of the Fulbright program. It has probably provided more real value to the U.S., dollar for dollar, than any other international effort we have ever undertaken. These early budget formulations rarely come to the attention of the President until after the fact. I hope you will have an opportunity to inform the President about Fulbright before the budget is set in concrete. If he lets Alice Rivlin know of his interest it may save the program!

The Willard, 1455 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004 (202) 783-2596

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 12-22-94

NOTE FOR:

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
for your:

Information ☐

Action ☒

Gene - Can you
call Yaker for
Bohus? Thanks

Todd

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

The Washington Post Writers Group

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 12/20

1150 15TH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20071-9200
TEL: (202) 334-6375 (800) 879-9794

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^EDWIN YODER COLUMN<

^(For IMMEDIATE RELEASE--Normally Advance for Monday, December 19, 1994)<

^(For Yoder Clients Only)<

^By EDWIN M. YODER, JR.=

— call Edwain & tell
him what we did
last time too

— also that we pay
for them -

WASHINGTON--President Clinton's speech from the Oval Office may have been--as Mark Twain supposedly said of Mahler's lengthy symphonies--better than it sounded. But it is a great irony that the man who led Congress to fashion the first sensible budget in more than a decade has now enlisted in the clamor for middle class tax cuts. And that he has done so just as his own presidential commission highlighted, once again, the budgetary dangers of runaway entitlement growth.

As to that dilemma, the Kerrey-Danforth commission, confessing that it could agree on no remedies, came up with a truly scary figure. If nothing is done about entitlement programs, the federal deficit, now 2.3 percent of gross domestic product, will in less than four decades swell to 19 percent. Already, entitlement spending--chiefly for Medicare, whose "trust fund" will evaporate long before it was projected to do so--will continue to swallow up "discretionary" spending.

That is not the right environment for a "middle class bill of rights," defined as wholesale tax concessions.

The catch is that tax cutting--including the bonanza of the early Reagan years which the president correctly identifies as the chief cause of a quadrupling of the national debt--is easy. Finding the compensatory savings is hard. Putting government departments and programs, wholesale, on the chopping block sounds good; it fits the giddy mood of the moment. Reductions or abolitions may be in order. But anyone who thinks that it is easy to reduce government agencies

(more)

and bureaucracies, with all their ties to local economic and political interests, or that Congress will not find wily ways to evade responsibility, has slept through the last half-century of American history.

It is sad to see President Clinton abandon, so soon, the push for fiscal reform he began with his valiant battle for the 1993 budget. He has claimed, plausibly enough, that the five-year deficit cutting plan embodied in that budget helped create the present climate for job growth. The same budget reflected utter stringency and tightness, including a hard freeze on discretionary spending--no growth even for inflation.

That freeze has served its purpose and brought borrowing under control, temporarily. But swelling deficits loom in distant years, and the hard freeze meanwhile has potentially damaging effects. Two of countless symptoms are the drastic proposed cuts in national rail service and the shortfall in military readiness funds which the president is already proposing to make up with a \$25 billion supplementary appropriation.

Today, as always, the bulk of national revenues necessarily come from the millions who pay thousands, the middle class. It is understandable that the middle class is beginning to feel overtaxed and that tax relief, damn the consequences, has become the political passion of the day. And that the president, since Nov. 8, has heard the call of the bandwagon.

Even so, the timing is wrong. The American economy is growing so robustly that a mistimed tax cut could release inflationary pressures and force the Fed, for the eighth time in less than a year, to boost interest rates. And squeezed between rising prices and rising interest charges, on both public and personal debt, the middle class could easily lose more in spending power than the tax cuts would offer.

Middle class discontent is being fed, in reality, by a change of historic proportions. The old American industrial economy, with its busy production lines and fat pay envelopes and protected markets is

(more)

vanishing, and there is a feeling that the old middle class living standards and expectations are vanishing with it. The feeling isn't misplaced; but we must be careful to draw the right conclusions from it.

The dynamic features of the economy today are service- and knowledge-based enterprises, and the lucrative growth prospects are in export markets. What middle class Americans need, far more than quickie tax cuts, are the educational and training services that will equip them to compete in the new economy. And until the entitlement problem is taken in hand, all reductions in the revenue stream will only worsen the budget dilemma and shrink and curtail needed services.

These are the ABCs of the post-industrial world. But with his party in a post-election panic, the president has been swept along with the mood of the moment, more led than leading.

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The Dallas Morning News

Texas' Leading Newspaper

© 1994, The Dallas Morning News

Dallas, Texas, Sunday, August 14, 1994

33 Sections

B +

The Dallas Morning News

Susan Feeney
National Political Reporter

202/662-7581, FAX 202/662-7590
The Dallas Morning News

1012 National Press Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20045

Minority officials say powers denied under racist tactics

1992 ruling bars intervention
under Voting Rights Act of '65

First in a series

By Susan Feeney
and Steve McGonigle

Washington Bureau of The Dallas Morning News
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The Newton County, Miss., Board of Supervisors finally agreed to draw new district lines to help elect the first black member since Reconstruction. The same week, it voted to slash the incoming official's road budget.

Walter Gardner, the Mississippi civil rights leader who broke the all-white board's color line in 1991,

VOTING RIGHTS: THE NEXT GENERATION

A loss of authority

- Racial politics on school board. 26A
- Hurdles for commissioner. 26A

remarked, "You might say the predicament of black people has been worsened."

A generation after the Voting Rights Act of 1965 outlawed racist schemes to disenfranchise minorities, the officials those voters put into office are facing other tactics aimed at diminishing their authority.



Special to The Dallas Morning News: Associated Press

Walter Gardner, the first black supervisor since Reconstruction in Newton County, Miss., had his road budget slashed.

And because of a 1992 U.S. Supreme Court decision, minority officials have scant recourse. The high court declared that assaults on minority officeholders' powers. Please see MINORITY on Page 26A.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 12/21

To Archbishop Raku
As a result of this news -
R.C.

Minority officeholders find powers diminished

Continued from Page 1A.

Voting Rights Act and barred the Justice Department from intervening.

From Victoria, Texas, to Colbert County, Ala., to Lynchburg, Va., a six-month Dallas Morning News investigation found that some minority officeholders are being denied official powers, equipment, information and other government courtesies afforded to their white predecessors.

The number of such cases far outnumbers the handful of discrimination reports that have come to the attention of Congress and the Justice Department, The News found.

The News reviewed more than a decade's worth of Justice Department voting rights documents and conducted more than 300 interviews with voting rights specialists, state and federal authorities and local officeholders in 11 states subject to the highest level of scrutiny under the Voting Rights Act.

Voting rights advocates expressed frustration with this latest wave of incidents, and the federal government's inability to intervene.

"We didn't have in mind electing empty people who would just draw their salaries and not have any power," said Rep. Don Edwards, D-Calif., chairman of the House Judiciary subcommittee that oversees voting rights.

Mr. Edwards' legislation to override the 1992 Supreme Court decision has been stalled in Congress for two years, thwarted by opponents who contend no such action is needed.

"I'm not saying the complaints don't have some merit," said Rep. Henry Hyde, R-Ill., the ranking Republican on Mr. Edwards' subcommittee. But such problems are "beyond the scope" of the Voting Rights Act's aim "to make sure everybody gets a chance to vote."

The Voting Rights Act was signed during the first generation of the voting rights struggle — minorities' efforts for access to registration and the ballot box. The second generation was the redrawing of political districts to elect more minorities.

Third-generation cases, the latest wave, involve the ability of a minority officeholder to perform his or her duties.

Theresa Gutierrez of Victoria is an example. So is Willie Dixon of Frankville, Ala., and the late Lawrence Presley of Gadsden, Ala.

For almost two years, Mrs. Gutierrez, the lone Hispanic school board member in Victoria, was silenced by a rule passed after her election that required two votes to place items on the board's agenda.

"It's like you are buying the dream of representation for your people and

you find out the harsh reality," Mrs. Gutierrez, 47, said during an interview at her home.

A court ordered Washington County, Ala., to create the majority-black district that elected Willie Dixon as the first black supervisor. But no law said the white supervisors had to give Mr. Dixon the road repair equipment he needed to do his job.

"It's not so much that they are hurting me," said Mr. Dixon, 43. "It was hurting people who live in my district."

Mr. Presley, the first black member of the Etowah County Commission in Alabama, lost his road-repair authority when white commissioners created a single road supervisor and fund controlled by the white majority.

In January 1992, the U.S. Supreme Court used Mr. Presley's lawsuit to impose new limits on the Justice Department's ability to intervene in such cases.

"Changes which affect only the distribution of power among officials are not subject to (the Voting Rights Act) because such changes have no direct relation to, or impact on, voting," Justice Anthony Kennedy wrote for a six-justice majority.

The three dissenters, led by Justice John Paul Stevens, predicted dire consequences. State and local governments covered under the Voting Rights Act would be "free to evade the (law's) requirements and to undermine the purpose of the act," he wrote.

Attorney General Janet Reno has pledged to support "corrective" legislation, but has not been specific and has taken no action.

"I think it's the department's feeling we would like to clarify this so that the decision does not in any way undermine the ultimate goal of the Voting Rights Act," she told The News.

Mr. Presley died in January 1993. His state lawsuit remains pending.

Until the Presley decision, the Justice Department's Voting Section routinely reviewed reallocations of authority.

Now, the department cannot intervene unless the degree of power-stripping amounts to "a de facto elimination" of the office, said Steve Rosenbaum, the Voting Section's chief.

"After all these years," he said, "minority voters finally got a representative at the dinner table, and then they changed the time they were serving dinner. That's a voting problem."

The Rev. Denise Freeman, 36, the only black school board member in Lincoln County, Ga., speaks from experience. She has battled her white colleagues for 18 months to gain access to basic school information such as disciplinary statistics. This data was provided routinely to her

white colleagues.

"This is 1994," she said in an interview at her Tignall, Ga., home. "For the Supreme Court not to protect us and help us is... painful."

Worse, she said, "These people who are practicing this racism are told (by the court) it's OK."

Like white officials elsewhere, Lincoln County school board member Fred McWhorter denied any discriminatory action.

Mr. McWhorter blamed Ms. Freeman's aggressive style for causing friction on the board. "There are right ways of doing things and wrong ways of doing things," he said.

Preoccupied by legal battles over redistricting, many of the nation's top voting rights advocates said they have not looked ahead to third-generation voting rights problems.

One who has is Lani Guinier, a law professor at the University of Pennsylvania.

"If the right to vote is simply a ritual that we are conducting for the benefit of the rest of the world to make them believe we are a democracy but, in fact, the way we behave and function is undemocratic, what's the point?" asked Ms. Guinier, whose nomination to head the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division sparked a national debate over remedies for voting abuses.

Pamela Karlan, a voting rights specialist at the University of Virginia law school, said reallocations of authority are just another in a series of schemes used against minorities for decades.

Historically, discrimination has been "like a hydra-headed monster," she said. "You chop off one head, and it grows back another."

Opponents of changing the Voting Rights Act say such measures are unnecessary and would add another layer of burdensome government oversight.

Requiring Justice Department review of every change in state and local officeholders' powers would be "the antithesis of democracy," said Georgia Attorney General Michael Bowers.

"I'm not saying that racial actions of any sort are ever permissible. We don't permit them," said Abigail Thernstrom, a voting rights scholar at the Manhattan Institute, a conservative New York-based policy think tank. "But we've got plenty of laws under which someone can seek a remedy."

For example, she said, officeholders could file a discrimination lawsuit under the 14th Amendment, which guarantees equal protection. Others suggested lawsuits challenging a local government's right to receive federal funds if it is not abiding by federal anti-discrimination standards.

Rep. Edwards said he hopes to have hearings and floor votes in the House and Senate later this year. He said a congressional reversal is unlikely unless there is a concerted push by the Clinton administration.

Experts agree that third-generation voting rights problems typically occur on the cutting edge of the voting rights struggle, in small, often rural communities where minorities are being elected to office for the first time.

Sometimes, officials are denied funds. Other times, they are denied equipment, information or specific powers. Longstanding practices, such as selecting the chairman by seniority, are scrapped when minorities are about to get their turn.

In Newton County, Miss., which is 29 percent black, a lawsuit helped persuade the all-white board of supervisors to begin redrawing district lines to elect the first black member. That same week in January 1991, the board voted to distribute road repair money by the number of road miles in each of five districts, instead of equally among districts.

The result was that Mr. Gardner, the black supervisor elected that November, got 10 percent of the total road budget, instead of 20 percent.

In Washington County, Ala., which is 27 percent black, Mr. Dixon became the first black commissioner in November 1992. A lawsuit had forced creation of an additional district with a majority-black population.

Mr. Dixon got a full share of road money, but the cast-off equipment he inherited from the white supervisors made his job all but impossible. Other commissioners have two or three road graders, including at least one

purchased in the last four years. Mr. Dixon has one grader. And it's 28 years old.

"I really thought it was because I was a minority and they didn't want me to succeed," Mr. Dixon said.

He has lobbied white board members about his plight, and some have allowed him to borrow their equipment on occasion.

Horace Odom, a retired farmer who served on the commission during redistricting, said no racism was involved in the road-equipment decision.

Each district gave up some equipment for the new majority-black district, he said. But "you get elected out of your district. That's the one you look out for the most."

The first-ever black majority presided over the Greenwood, Miss., City Council in September 1992 when the white mayor issued an executive order declaring that he alone had the authority to hire a city attorney.

Until then, the city attorney in the largely segregated, 60 percent black Delta city of 19,600 was tapped by the mayor but subject to council confirmation. Black members filed a lawsuit, which is pending on appeal.

"I wanted to make the point it was a racial thing," council president David Jordan, a local black civil rights leader, said in an interview in Greenwood.

In 1992, T.Y. Lawrence, chairman of Talladega College's Education Department, became the first black elected to the school board in the Alabama city.

Soon after, the Talladega City Council passed a rule barring city officials from sitting on more than one board, according to Mr. Lawrence's attorney, James Blacksher

of Birmingham.

Mr. Lawrence, an appointed member of the city water board, and his attorney doubted the majority-white City Council's authority to make such a rule and chose to ignore a letter from the council.

Talladega City Attorney Jay Montgomery denied that the rule or the letter ever existed. "We couldn't have written the letter because we don't have anything to do with either one of the boards," he said.

Some minority officeholders run into roadblocks when they seek to become chairman of their board or commission, or to become mayor. Even when the posts are ceremonial, they frequently are important platforms for setting the agenda in small towns and counties.

Tradition in Lowndes County, Miss., was for the senior supervisor to serve as chairman. Not so, now that Leroy Brooks, one of two blacks on the five-member board, has seniority. The majority voted for a white man who had just joined the board.

M.W. "T.D." Thornhill was a councilman in Lynchburg, Va., — a city of 66,000 that is 37 percent black — for 14 years before he wrangled enough votes from his colleagues on the majority-white council to be tapped as the city's first black mayor.

But Mr. Thornhill, who represented one of the city's four council districts, was fought along the way by Steve Newman, a white councilman who held one of three at-large seats.

"I said it plainly," Mr. Thornhill recalled. "The only thing he's concerned with is to keep M.W. Thornhill from being mayor and also

Please see RULING on Page 27A.

VOTING RIGHTS: THE NEXT GENERATION

Ruling barring intervention debated

Continued from Page 26A.

to keep any other black person from being mayor."

Mr. Newman, now in the Virginia House of Delegates, unsuccessfully pushed measures in Lynchburg and Richmond to bar district council members from holding Lynchburg's largely ceremonial mayoral post.

"I'm very proud of the fact that I wanted (all) the people of Lynchburg to elect their mayor," Mr. Newman said. "It's a bit insulting" to answer questions about whether race was a factor, he said, adding, "Of course not."

Other customs, too, can disappear when minorities rise to power.

In Evergreen, Ala., — a city of 3,900 with a 42 percent black population — each of the five district council members traditionally named one person to certain city boards, such as the Board of Adjustment that oversees tax assessments.

But when Councilwoman Elizabeth Stephens had her turn to appoint a member to that board last year, the black candidate whom she backed was defeated, 3-2. The three white council members supported the brother of white councilman James King.

That effectively gave Mr. King two appointments, and Mrs. Stevens none.

In a twist, Dottie Maley, the white county clerk in Sinton, Texas, lost two employees and her duties as

voter registrar because she helped Hispanic officeholders fight abolition of their posts.

Mrs. Maley riled the white majority on the San Patricio County Commissioners Court in 1987 by seeking the required Justice Department approval of a plan to eliminate the jobs of two Hispanic justices of the peace. She later testified for the two judges in court.

The Justice Department blocked the plan — an action it could still take today because the jobs were being eliminated. But the commissioners' court gave Mrs. Maley's election duties to the county tax assessor.

She notified the Justice Department, and it stepped in — something it could not do today after the Presley decision. Although the department ruled in her favor, Mrs. Maley never got her powers back.

The Justice Department never followed up. And Mrs. Maley said she didn't want to file suit, even though in most Texas counties voting is handled by the county clerk.

"I just let it go," she said. "I'd have to do some fighting. It's just not worth it sometimes."

James Allison, an Austin attorney who represented the commissioners' court, denied that Mrs. Maley was a victim of retaliation.

Without the strong arm of the Justice Department, minority

officeholders whose powers are thwarted have limited options.

They can sue. But part of the reason for the Voting Rights Act, all sides agree, was to put the considerable legal and financial burden of proof on state and local governments, requiring them to show they are not discriminating.

James Dawson, a Huntsville, Ala., school board member and retired professor at Alabama A&M University, filed suit when he was denied access to job applications. After 2½ years and \$23,512 in legal fees, he won the right to see materials his white counterparts had seen all along.

For many that expensive option is out of reach.

In Lincoln County, Ga., for example, Rev. Freeman, her schoolteacher husband and their four children live modestly on \$25,000 a year and grow most of their own food.

When a lawsuit by Mrs. Gutierrez in Victoria, Texas, failed, she worked two years to elect more Hispanics to the school board.

Spiver Gordon, the first black on the Eutaw, Ala., City Council, found relief only after someone died.

Elected in 1984, Mr. Gordon was denied input into appointments to boards and commissions, as was customary. That changed a decade later, when the white mayor died and was replaced by another white elected

with black support.

Some backers of the Presley decision, including Samuel Issacharoff, a University of Texas law professor and voting rights specialist, contend that in time many of these racial power struggles will heal themselves.

But time is not the answer, said Mr. Rosenbaum, the Justice Department's Voting Section chief.

"Waiting them out hasn't served as an effective strategy in getting full voting rights for minority citizens in this country," he said. "And there's concern that that way wouldn't work when you're talking about changing the powers and duties of positions."

Said Ms. Guinier: "For those people for whom the status quo is kind, there is nothing but time."

VOTING RIGHTS: THE NEXT GENERATION

The first generation of the voting rights movement concerned minorities' access to the ballot box; the second saw the redrawing of political boundaries. In the third generation, voting rights advocates say, minority officeholders are battling attempts to curb their powers.

■ **SUNDAY:** A loss of authority

□ **MONDAY:** Threats, abuse, indignity

□ **TUESDAY:** A watchdog questioned

The Dallas Morning News

Texas' Leading Newspaper

© 1994, The Dallas Morning News

Dallas, Texas, Tuesday, August 16, 1994

5 Sections

B

• 25 Cents

SIDELINED JUSTICE

Agency's efforts faulted, but officials cite voting rights progress

Last in a series

By Steve McGonigle
and Susan Feeney

Washington Bureau of The Dallas Morning News

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WASHINGTON — The day President Lyndon Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965 into law, he immediately directed the Justice Department to challenge poll tax laws in his native Texas and three other Southern states.

"I pledge to you," he told the nation in a televised address, "we will not delay, or we will not hesitate, or we will not turn aside until Americans of every race and color and origin in this country have the same rights as all others to share in the process of democracy."

Twenty-nine years later — and 19 months into

VOTING RIGHTS: THE NEXT GENERATION

A watchdog questioned

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| ■ Edwards Aquifer, voting rights. | 6A |
| ■ Profile of voting rights section. | 6A |

another Democratic administration pledged to strict voting rights enforcement — officials elected by minority voters said they struggle alone. They rarely ask the Justice Department to help battle attempts to cut their power.

During a six-month investigation, *The Dallas Morning News* found that the Justice Department often stays on the sidelines when minority officeholders

Please see CRITICS on Page 6A.

Critics say Justice Department failing to protect voting rights

Continued from Page 1A.

complain that their authority has been transferred.

Justice Department officials concede that enforcement weakened over the past decade of Republican administrations. But they contend that great strides have been made toward fulfilling the Voting Rights Act's goals.

"There has been tremendous gain achieved," said Steve Rosenbaum, chief of the department's Voting Section. "There are still gains left to be achieved."

Theresa Gutierrez, a school board member in Victoria, Texas, is not a fan. Not only did the department decline to help her fight a board policy that muted her participation, she said, but it successfully urged the U.S. Supreme Court not to hear her appeal.

"It was MALDEF who came to my rescue and not the Justice Department," she said, referring to the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, a Hispanic civil rights organization.

"The Voting Rights Act," Mrs. Gutierrez said, "is a facade."

Some observers argue that the Voting Rights Act was meant to offer broad coverage, including Justice reviews of transfers of authority. Others contend that such scrutiny would be an unwarranted intrusion into state and local government affairs.

"This is oppression. That's all it is," said Georgia Attorney General Michael Bowers, an outspoken critic of proposals to amend the Voting Rights Act to cover shifts of official authority.

"Who elected them to govern the City Council of Vidalia, Georgia?" asked Mr. Bowers, who is elected. "The people didn't get to vote for those lawyers in the Justice Department."

Several civil rights advocates countered that the federal government must assume a more vigilant role to abolish the remaining vestiges of racism that undercut minority political participation.

The Clinton era

Critics of voting rights policy during the Reagan and Bush administrations contended that enforcement waned by design. It is upsetting, they said, that little has changed under President Clinton.

"I'd like to think with this administration there will be a greater attention to enforcing voting rights," said Rep. Bennie Thompson, D-Miss., a former mayor and county supervisor. "It still remains to be seen how deep their commitment is."

Assistant Attorney General Deval Patrick, who oversees voting rights enforcement, declined repeated interview requests by *The News*. He said during a chance meeting that he was still working to set the department's voting rights priorities.

Mr. Patrick, a former staff counsel with the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, joined the Justice Department in March. He has said repeatedly that he is committed to strong voting rights enforcement.

In a recent television interview, he said the administration must "be very aggressive to the extent that there are

challenges to the ultimate objectives of the Voting Rights Act, and those ultimate objectives are to assure that minorities have as meaningful an opportunity to participate in the political process as everyone else."

Mr. Patrick's boss, Attorney General Janet Reno, has employed similar language about voting rights, as has Mr. Clinton.

Since Mr. Clinton took office in January 1993, the Justice Department has sided with several black members of Congress against lawsuits challenging creation of their majority-minority districts.

Ms. Reno has stated that she favors "corrective" legislation to address a 1992 U.S. Supreme Court decision that limited the Justice Department's role when minority officeholders' powers are reallocated.

But neither she nor Mr. Patrick has committed to support a pending bill to override the decision. The measure's chief sponsor, Rep. Don Edwards, D-Calif., said administration backing is crucial to passage.

Several Texas lawyers said they have not been impressed with the department's approach to fulfilling its responsibilities.

"The problem with the Justice Department in Texas is they have not paid attention. They have paid attention to the South. They have not paid attention to Hispanic concerns," said Judith Sanders-Castro, a voting rights attorney with MALDEF in San Antonio.

Mike Daniel, a Dallas lawyer who has filed several voting rights cases in East Texas, said the same lack of interest is evident there.

"The Justice Department is not there from the beginning," he said.

Rep. Kweisi Mfume, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, said neither the president nor the top administrators at the Justice Department have made voting rights a priority.

"We believe that there has been an effort to deprioritize — by many of the president's people — the issue of voting rights and the issue that deals with the plight of minorities in this country," he said.

"When you talk about voting rights, when you talk about urban policies for the cities of this nation and for policies affecting poor rural communities or Haiti, you dial 911 and you get no answer from the White House," said Mr. Mfume, a Maryland Democrat.

One factor was the 1992 Supreme Court decision in *Presley v. Etowah County*, which placed new limits on the Justice Department's enforcement of voting rights laws where officeholders are concerned.

The decision, which stemmed from a recently elected black commissioner's objection to losing road-repair powers, decreed that the Justice Department could not intervene in transfer-of-authority cases.

"Changes which affect only the distribution of power among officials are not subject to (the Voting Rights Act) because such changes have no relation to, or impact on, voting," the court stated.

Because of the ruling, Mr.



President Lyndon Johnson signs the Voting Rights Act.

Rosenbaum, the voting section's chief lawyer, said his staff no longer looks for transfer-of-authority cases and must turn away those that it receives.

Only if the degree of power-shifting transformed the officeholder into a powerless figurehead, he said, would the department intervene.

Mr. Rosenbaum denied that previous administrations discouraged the 35-lawyer voting section from carrying out its enforcement duties.

"There hasn't been a policy directive in that sense, but you tend not to get policy directives in any administration like that," said Mr. Rosenbaum, a 16-year Justice Department veteran.

Under the Voting Rights Act, the Justice Department may file lawsuits to halt discriminatory practices. In all or part of 16 states, including Texas, the department must approve all proposed voting changes before they take effect.

Private groups' action

But private civil rights groups — with far fewer lawyers than the Justice Department — routinely have

filed more voting rights lawsuits than the government, specialists in the field say.

"That's been an operative fact of life for a long time," said Neil Bradley, associate director of the American Civil Liberties Union's Voting Project, which is based in Atlanta.

Chandler Davidson, a voting rights scholar at Rice University in Houston, reports in his new book, *Quiet Revolution in the South*, that the Justice Department filed three of 82 voting rights lawsuits brought against cities and counties in Georgia from 1974 to 1990.

In 1993, the first year of the Clinton administration, the Justice Department filed nine voting rights lawsuits — one more than the department had filed in the previous four years combined.

Mr. Rosenbaum attributed the small number of suits in recent years to the amount of staff time devoted to complex redistricting issues.

Spiver Gordon, the first black City Council member in Etowah, Ala., recalled the reception he got from the Reagan Justice Department when he asked for help with a loss of his

appointment authority.

"They were totally irresponsible," Mr. Gordon said. "They said they would get back to me, and they never did."

Several voting rights experts argued that the Clinton Justice Department's enforcement power has atrophied from an intentional lack of use during 12 years of Republican administrations that began in 1981.

"It's certainly not because they are incompetent," Lani Guinier, a former civil rights division attorney, said of the department's career legal staff. "They are quite competent."

The lack of aggressive enforcement, she said, is "because they were sent a signal, they were sent a message that the department's resources were not to be employed in this particular manner."

Accusations of political motivation have long haunted the voting section. Complaints were particularly frequent in the 1980s, when there was an explosion in the number of redistricting cases and subsequently, the number of minorities elected to office.

William Bradford Reynolds, assistant attorney general for civil rights during the Reagan administration, was chided by voting rights advocates for a lack of aggressiveness. Now in private law practice in Washington, Mr. Reynolds did not respond to repeated interview requests.

Jose Garza, a San Antonio voting rights attorney, said that during Mr. Reynolds' stewardship of the civil rights division, "if it had to go beyond the line-item people to a level to make a decision about litigation, it was extremely difficult to deal with them."

Officials inside the Justice Department, who requested anonymity, said Mr. Reynolds frequently overruled recommendations by the voting section to take a more aggressive approach on enforcement matters.

In a 1988 letter to Waycross, Ga., officials, Mr. Reynolds objected to their plan to abandon the 61-year practice of City Council members choosing one of their own to serve in the largely ceremonial post of mayor. Instead, they wanted to elect the mayor citywide.

The Justice Department found that in a 37 percent black community with a history of racial bloc voting, a black candidate would be unable to win in a citywide election requiring a majority vote for victory.

Mr. Reynolds advised Waycross officials how to circumvent the department's objections and still do what they wished.

"We hasten to add," said the letter, "that if the mayor were elected by a plurality rather than majority vote, the concerns that prompted the interposing of this objection would be significantly alleviated." Waycross took Mr. Reynolds' advice.

Mr. Reynolds' counterpart during the Bush administration, John Dunne, said that the voting section had been forceful, although he noted, "We don't just roam the countryside looking for violations."

Mr. Dunne said he was particularly disturbed by the circumstances surrounding the stripping of

Commissioner Lawrence Presley's road-repair duties soon after his election in Etowah County, Ala.

"I felt that it clearly either denied or diluted the power or the strength of the individual vote," Mr. Dunne said.

"If somebody goes and votes for Mr. X, who's vested to carry out certain powers, and then as a result of Mr. X succeeding and Mr. X having principally (been) the favorite candidate by the minorities, it has the effect of diluting the vote or negating the minorities' vote."

When Mr. Presley's case went to the Supreme Court in November 1991, the Justice Department urged the justices to take a broad view of the voting changes covered by the department's reviewing authority.

In its brief to the court, the Justice Department listed eight cases in which it had objected to proposed transfers of authority involving minority officeholders.

But less than a year after the *Presley* case was decided, the Bush Justice Department backed off its support of the Edwards bill to override the court's decision. The measure remains pending before a House subcommittee.

Tim Flanigan, the former assistant attorney general who headed negotiations on the Edwards bill, said the department was worried that the law would flood the Voting Section with minor complaints. "The civil rights division at the time was very concerned about the possibility that they would be completely submerged," he said.

Since the Clinton administration took office, civil rights advocates have urged the president, Mr. Reno and other top officials of the Justice Department to take immediate action to protect voting rights.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson invoked South Africa's recent steps to ensure full participation in its first national election after apartheid.

"When one detects these schemes to undercut the promise, there must be a legislative or judicial remedy," Mr. Jackson told *The News*. "We should not at all be surprised at how those who have not accepted one America under one flag, the schemes they use to try to frustrate it. And those who are responsible in government, of course, must seek to keep building the bridge and tear the walls down."

David Jordan, a civil rights leader and state senator in Mississippi declared: "From time to time, we still need the iron fist of the federal government to make sure we treat each other right."

VOTING RIGHTS WATCHDOG

The voting rights section of the Justice Department's civil rights division monitors compliance with the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

ACTIONS

- Since passage of the Voting Rights Act, the Justice Department has reviewed 256,540 voting changes submitted for approval from state and local governments in the 16 states that receive special federal scrutiny.
- Forty-one percent, or 104,547 submissions, came from Texas, the highest total from any state subject to approval.
- The department objected to 2,910 proposed changes as having the "purpose or effect" of denying or abridging minority voting rights.
- Of those, 10 percent — or 289 objections — came in response to Texas changes, the fourth-highest of any state.

PROFILE

- STAFF: 83 employees, including 35 attorneys, paralegals and clerical staff.
- BUDGET: \$7.7 million for fiscal 1994. (By comparison, this is less than the Justice Department spends on prosecuting income-tax scofflaws.)
- HEADQUARTERS: Housed in downtown Washington on two floors of a Justice Department annex occupied mostly by the U.S. Bureau of Prisons.
- OVERSIGHT: Review of voting changes proposed in Texas and the 15 other states covered by the Voting Rights Act of 1965 — virtually every state, city, county, school district and water board from Arlington, Va., south to Mobile, Ala., and west to Phoenix.
- TEXAS RESPONSIBILITIES: More than 3,600 state and locally elected governing bodies.

SOURCE: Justice Department statistics through June 30, 1994

Whole coverage

Parts of these states

VOTING RIGHTS: THE NEXT GENERATION

The first generation of the voting rights movement concerned minorities' access to the ballot box; the second saw the redrawing of political boundaries. In the third generation, voting rights advocates say, minority officeholders are battling attempts to curb their powers.

- ☐ SUNDAY: A loss of authority
- ☐ MONDAY: Threats, abuse, indignity
- ☐ TUESDAY: A watchdog questioned

Hurdles impede only black on Alabama board

By Susan Feeney

Washington Bureau of The Dallas Morning News

TUSCUMBIA, Ala. — Emmitt Jimmar was grilling his colleagues at a recent Colbert County Commission meeting. He questioned each action — top to bottom, front and back, trying to make sure everything was done to the letter.

The only black on the commission, and the first ever, Mr. Jimmar saw the five white board members rolling their eyes.

"It doesn't bother me," the former high school science teacher said later. "I'm an advocate, an activist. I'm accustomed to what they do."

He has no gripe about being out-voted on policy. That's a given, he said. But Mr. Jimmar said that he can't abide by rule changes that thwart his power in his office.

Sometimes, however, he can't stop them.

The commission erected an extra hurdle for Mr. Jimmar's participation in meetings and eliminated his chief outlet for dissent, county records show. He is denied information available to other board members.

And under a 1992 U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Presley vs. Etowah County Commission*, the Justice Department can't help. A key enforcement section of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 does not apply to minority officials whose powers are diminished, the court said.

Elected in November 1988 after a lawsuit forced redistricting in a county that is 15 percent black, Mr. Jimmar, 55, spent time learning the ropes before pushing to change county policies. This apparently proved too much for the board.

At its Feb. 5, 1991, meeting, the commission voted after Mr. Jimmar left to require that all agenda items be submitted 10 days in advance of a meeting, except when a majority deems the matter an "emergency."

The rule hit Mr. Jimmar hardest. Other commissioners in the northwest Alabama county, voting as a bloc, routinely declare each other's actions "emergencies," minutes of commission meetings show. Not so for Mr. Jimmar.

Commissioner Thomas Pennington denies any discrimination. "I expect him to tell it just the way he sees it. But I'm gonna tell it just as I see it," Mr. Pennington said.

Mr. Jimmar blasted the new agenda rule in a Minority Report attached to the minutes of the Feb. 19 meeting. He called the move a conspiracy and "willful act" of bigotry.

On April 16, the board struck back, voting 5-1 over Mr. Jimmar's objections to abolish the Minority Report.

The longstanding forum was used by all commissioners — and increasingly Mr. Jimmar — to record objections to board actions.

Mr. Pennington said, "We had to cut out a lot of stuff that everybody was putting in the minutes."

Nonsense, said Mr. Jimmar. "These rules were instigated to gag me."

On another front, Mr. Jimmar has made repeated written requests to the county engineer for data on how much money is spent in each commissioner's district under the central road repair system.

He said that he's never received that information, but other supervisors clearly have.

"I've improved road(s) by spending \$1,121,512.67 from grants and county funds," Commissioner Jimmy Viall said in a campaign ad.

Mr. Jimmar has received racist telephone threats and had dead dogs left in his driveway. But he said he was surprised when his objections to a closed-door meeting of white board members brought an open threat from the chairman.

According to verbatim minutes



Emmitt Jimmar is the first black member on the Colbert County Commission in Alabama.

of the June 19, 1990, meeting, then-chairman Charles Thompson told Mr. Jimmar: "You need to sit down . . . behind the doors. Politics don't work at open meetings, Emmitt, you know that."

Mr. Thompson said, "If you don't work with them" — meaning other board members — "you ain't going to get nothing for your people."

Mr. Jimmar couldn't believe his ears. "If I don't work with who?"

"With this commission right here," Mr. Thompson replied.

"Why, you mean my black people?" Mr. Jimmar asked.

"Yes," said Mr. Thompson.

"I got some white people now," responded Mr. Jimmar, whose district is 67 percent black.

"I know you do," Mr. Thompson said.

"You mean, they ain't going to get nothing?" Mr. Jimmar asked again, for emphasis.

"I am saying," Mr. Thompson said, "how many things have you got approved by just bringing them up here and arguing with them?"

The irony, Mr. Jimmar said later, is that for his black constituents, "It would be better to elect a white person. They'd get more done for you."

Victoria school board member is bitter over battles with white-dominated panel

By Steve McGonigle
Washington Bureau of The Dallas Morning News

VICTORIA, Texas — Tears cascaded down her cheeks as Theresa Gutierrez recalled nine tumultuous years on the Victoria school board.

"I'm very bitter — like you wouldn't believe," she said through her sobs. "I can't believe we are six years from the 21st century, and we are essentially in a time warp."

She was referring to racial politics in this South Texas oil and ranching center that she blamed for slashing her powers. Of the 55,000 residents in the former Mexican settlement, 38 percent are Hispanic.

Mrs. Gutierrez, who was born here 47 years ago, is angry about the racial polarization. She is upset that those who disagree with her have branded her a troublemaker and tried to silence her.

For 2½ years, she was effectively barred from initiating public debate because of a white-dominated board's policy requiring two votes to place items on the agenda of meetings. As the only Hispanic member, she said, she was unable to get a second vote.

The policy was adopted over her lone objection after a series of board meetings where she and other Hispanic parents criticized a plan to close predominantly Hispanic schools to satisfy a desegregation order.

"They totally shut me out of the process," Mrs. Gutierrez said.

She claimed the change was racially motivated. The school board president at the time said it was aimed at her combative manner.

"It had nothing to do with racism at all," Johnny Wilson said.

With help from the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, she challenged the policy as a dilution of minority voting strength under the Voting Rights Act. A three-judge federal panel disagreed, and the Supreme Court refused to review the case in 1989.

The Justice Department advised the high court not to hear Mrs. Gutierrez's appeal, saying her situation was outside the law's scope.

"The Voting Rights Act is a facade," she said.

It took the election of another Hispanic and a white that Mrs. Gutierrez recruited to repeal the policy that she said had put her in political limbo.

Last year, after eight years on the board, her colleagues elected Mrs. Gutierrez to the ceremonial office of president. In May, she won a fifth, two-year term on the board by the slender margin of 13 votes.

She ran for the school board in 1985 because she was dissatisfied with the education her six children were receiving as well as the board's hostility toward Hispanic parents.

"It's a big mission I have for the children is why I do these things," she said, sitting in her living room. "I think God gave it to me, because even I don't understand it." Her election as the board's second Hispanic ever was paved by the creation of single-member voting districts. The redistricting was prodded by MALDEF's threat of a voting rights lawsuit.



Special to The Dallas Morning News: Associated Press

Theresa Gutierrez, a Victoria school board member, says other trustees shut her "out of the process."

Once in office, Mrs. Gutierrez began to speak out about issues of concern to her 69 percent Hispanic constituency. She talked about disciplinary procedures, dress codes and a desegregation battle that had seen the district forfeit federal funding for more than a decade.

When the board began closing schools in May 1986 to achieve a required racial balance, it shut down the elementary school two blocks from Mrs. Gutierrez's home, which her children attended.

Six months later, amid a court battle initiated by Mrs. Gutierrez over the election of two white board members, her colleagues adopted the new agenda policy that Mrs. Gutierrez contended was aimed at her.

"They told me it wasn't worthy of discussion if I couldn't get a second," Mrs. Gutierrez said. "That's a bunch of bull."

Mr. Wilson, the board president who initiated the change, said he was looking for a way to streamline increasingly lengthy meetings.

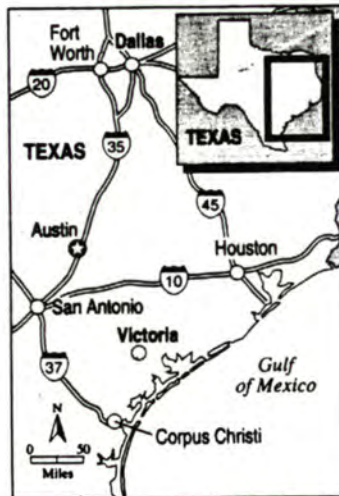
"The basic feeling was it was not a good idea to put things on the agenda that most of the board was not particularly concerned with," he said.

Mr. Wilson said the policy did not silence Mrs. Gutierrez. "I don't believe you could read the papers here in town and believe that she was shut out of the process. She was involved in everything," he said.

Mrs. Gutierrez filed suit in March 1987, contending the new agenda policy was a change affecting voting that had to be submitted to the Justice Department for approval before being implemented.

The three-judge district court analyzed the situation as a minor parliamentary dispute between school board members, and the Supreme Court, without comment, left the lower court's ruling intact.

One of the attorneys who participated in the Justice Department's decision to urge the high court not to grant review of Mrs. Gutierrez's case was Steve Rosenbaum, who is



The Dallas Morning News

now chief of the Voting Section.

Mr. Rosenbaum, part of a Clinton administration effort to boost Justice Department oversight of changes in minority officeholders' powers, acknowledged that he had an advisory role in Mrs. Gutierrez's case. He declined to discuss his recommendation, citing a department policy against discussing internal communications.

While the agenda rule was abolished in May 1989, Mrs. Gutierrez has continued to have clashes with the board that she attributes to racism.

Two years ago, for example, the board declined to pay her expenses to attend a convention of the National Caucus of Hispanic School Board Members, where she was to be installed as president.

Other board members contended that she would be representing a "special interest" group and cut off further discussion.

"The majority of us at that point felt we didn't need to single out any one race of people. We needed to concentrate on all students," said board member Margaret Easley, who is white.

"It wouldn't be fair to the black students or to the Asian students," she said of funding Mrs. Gutierrez's trip. "It really wouldn't be fair to the Anglo students."

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5 Sections

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Associated Press

David Jordan is the president of the first black-majority City Council in Greenwood, Miss. White opponents are pressing him to resign his council seat.

UNENDING STRUGGLE

Years after vote law, minority officials still find harassment

Second in a series

By Susan Feeney
and Steve McGonigle

Washington Bureau of The Dallas Morning News
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As the father of two teen-agers, Lowndes County Supervisor Leroy Brooks rarely answers the telephone at his Mississippi home. This day in March was different.

"Leroy Brooks, you (expletive) nigger," a man said in a low, angry voice. "I'm sick and tired of you. I'm gonna kill your damn (expletive)."

Mr. Brooks, the first black elected to the Board of Supervisors since Reconstruction, quickly hung up. He punched up the codes to learn the caller's telephone number and called police.

Almost three decades after passage of the Voting Rights

VOTING RIGHTS: THE NEXT GENERATION

Threats, abuse, indignity

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| ■ Black voters still excluded. | 10A |
| ■ Trouble in Kountze, Texas. | 11A |

Act of 1965, some minority officeholders still face forms of harassment reminiscent of the earliest days of the civil rights struggle.

The vast majority of blacks, Hispanics and other minorities in public office serve unfettered by discriminatory schemes. But harassment and retribution still persist across Texas and the South — a region subject to special scrutiny under the Voting Rights Act because of

Please see MINORITY on Page 10A.

Minority officials still find harassment years after vote law

Continued from Page 1A.
historic discrimination.
A six-month investigation by The Dallas Morning News into the stripping of power from minority officeholders — known as third-generation voting rights problems — also found evidence of continued harassment against these officials.

Facing threats

From Panola County, Miss., to Lynchburg, Va., minority officeholders report threats of death or violence. Others face organized boycotts of their private businesses and go broke. Some are subject to racial epithets, petty slights or other indignities.

Most cases do not rise to the level of criminal wrongdoing. Still, minority elected officials and voting rights experts say that such behavior underscores the continued need for federal voting rights enforcement.

"I hate to think we aren't ever going to get past it," said University of Virginia law professor Pamela Karlan, a voting rights specialist. "But the evidence suggests we haven't gotten past it yet."

Many communities gained minority representation only after court-ordered redistricting, said Selwyn Carter, director of voting rights programs at the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit research group in Atlanta.

"It shouldn't be a surprise that people who didn't want to share power did not turn around overnight and change," he said.

In most instances, these minority officials remain unbowed and buoyed by a sense of higher purpose.

"If you are in a position to make change and the world is against you but you know you are right, you have to stand," said the Rev. Denise Freeman, the only black on the school board in Lincoln County, Ga., which is 38 percent black. "You take the mud, you take whatever comes with it. You just stand."

In 1992, she led the revolt against a practice of ordering black students to the back of county school buses. During a break in one especially tense school board session, two of Ms. Freeman's young children overheard officials saying they wanted to "get rid of" her.

"My children thought that meant they wanted to kill me," she said. "It really scared them."

Said Joaquin Avila, a voting rights lawyer formerly with the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund in San Antonio: "There are a lot of local heroes out there."

Emmitt Jimmar, the only black on the Colbert County, Ala.,

Commission, twice has had dead dogs left in the driveway of his home.

A racially charged letter was left by his mailbox, he said, and there have been "the normal telephone calls" with unidentified voices hurling racial slurs at whomever answers the telephone.

"It really doesn't bother me," the former schoolteacher said. "It bothers my wife a little bit."

M.W. "T.D." Thornhill, who served 16 years on the Lynchburg, Va., City Council, said he received 10 to 15 telephone threats in 1991 and 1992, when he served as the city's first black mayor.

For Robert Avant, a supervisor in northern Mississippi's Panola County, the worst came in his first, unsuccessful, run for office in 1983.

Stream of calls

In a stream of harassing telephone calls, he said, "They'd tell me or my wife or my children, 'We're not going to have a black supervisor in Panola County,' or 'They're going to find you shackled in some ravine or hanging from a tree.'"

"If you come home and your child is crying and saying someone called and said they're going to burn down the house, that gets to you," Mr. Avant added.

For Mr. Brooks, the Lowndes County, Miss., supervisor, the telephone threat was the second against him after he tried to get the white-majority board, in the 37 percent black county, to hire a black deputy road manager.

The first threat came through the mail — a handwritten, racist scrawl across white-lined paper that carried a local postmark.

"You are the classic affirmative action nigger," the letter began. "It must pain your soul to realize the only way you and your people can work with white Americans is to have the federal government make us."

Mr. Brooks, 40, said, "The whole thing is to see me shudder. I haven't shuddered." But he now keeps a shotgun propped next to his computer in his downtown Columbus, Miss., office.

Businesses suffer

Tony Villarreal's life was not in jeopardy. His livelihood was.

The first Hispanic on the Edwards County Commissioners' Court, he questioned its closed-door meetings. The panel, he said, failed to address the needs of Hispanics, who make up 52 percent of the southwest Texas county.

"I'm not radical or anything, but when I'm elected to a position, I'm elected for the people I represent."



Leroy Brooks, supervisor of Lowndes County, Miss., has received telephone and written threats.

Mr. Villarreal said. "And that was my district I was representing." White ranchers, who dominate the local economy, stopped patronizing Mr. Villarreal's fence-building business. Conditions grew so grim that he did not seek re-election in 1988 and moved from Rocksprings to Port Stockton.

In 1992, he was elected to the Pecos County Commissioners' Court. He said that he has no problems with harassment and his business is prospering.

Ralph Leal used to run a small grocery store in Nixon, a town of 1,996 in Gonzales County, southeast of San Antonio. In 1988, he was elected the town's first Hispanic mayor.

Within two years, Mr. Leal said, whites stopped patronizing his business or even speaking to him. The store closed four years ago.

He also had problems at City Hall. He said that the city manager, whom the council hired over his objection, forbade employees to talk to Mr. Leal. When the city fixed the streets in his neighborhood, the contractor skipped his block, he said.

"That's the way this community is," said Mr. Leal, 35, who in May was defeated for re-election by a white candidate. "They don't want a Hispanic to blossom or to make a name for himself."

City Manager Pete Byrd denied ordering his employees not to speak to Mr. Leal. And he chuckled when told of the former mayor's other accusations of biased treatment by city officials or the community.

"I don't have any knowledge of

him being harassed while he was mayor because he was Mexican or Hispanic — whatever you want to call it," Mr. Byrd said.

Sham prosecutions

A persistent complaint from minority officeholders — heard from Capitol Hill to the Texas Panhandle — is that they are subject to sham prosecutions. Minority officials in small towns and rural counties often have few resources with which to fight.

Last year, a Calhoun County, Texas, grand jury investigated Port Lavaca City Councilwoman Elvira Martinez over allegations that she improperly assisted elderly Hispanic voters at a polling place. She was cleared.

Mrs. Martinez was one of two Hispanics elected to a six-member council in a city that is 47 percent Hispanic. Her accuser, a Hispanic ally of the white mayor, backed his charges with a videotape of Mrs. Martinez, who was surreptitiously taped by the mayor's husband, a local constable.

"They don't want me to say anything," Mrs. Martinez said of her white council colleagues. "They don't want me to represent my constituency. They want me to do what they want me to do."

In 1990, based on a complaint by Mrs. Martinez, another county grand jury reprimanded the Port Lavaca council for holding private briefings — without her — in violation of the Texas Open Meetings Act.

Mayor Tinye Browning denied that she or other members of the

council were racially biased. But she acknowledged that there had been near-constant friction since Mrs. Martinez took office.

"She is extremely racist," Mrs. Browning said. "She is Hispanic, and she feels like everybody is out to get her. We've worked real hard to work with her, but there's just no way."

In Mississippi, Mr. Brooks was charged with extortion in May 1992 in connection with the community youth center he runs. A state judge dismissed the case for lack of evidence.

He was investigated by the state auditor 10 times in 10 years — the result, he said, of anonymous tips from Lowndes County. Only one finding stuck: He gave a load of gravel to a radio station, which he said he thought was nonprofit. It was not a criminal charge.

A spokeswoman for the state auditor declined comment.

Board President Johnny Mack McCrary said that Mr. Brooks is not discriminated against.

Frivolous complaints

"He just got a problem," Mr. McCrary said. "Everything that comes up he tried to make it a racial problem. I don't know what gets him going. He always takes it personal and says it's racial."

But James "Punch" Walters, the board's white attorney, sides with Mr. Brooks.

"Yeah, he's been harassed," Mr. Walters said. "He's been in court 500 times on all this Mickey Mouse stuff. He's one of the brightest lights of Mississippi. I wish we had 1,000

more" of him.

Former Mississippi Gov. Ray Mabus, who was state auditor from 1984 to 1988 and recently became U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia, said frivolous complaints become apparent. When investigators detected such a pattern, he said, they gave additional allegations a low priority.

In Texas, when the all-white Castro County Commissioners Court refused to pave roads in Harold "Tater" Smith's heavily Hispanic precinct, he dug road-paving materials from his land to do the job.

For his efforts, Mr. Smith faced possible felony charges last year for using county equipment to do work on private property.

Mr. Smith, a 65-year-old potato farmer, denied any wrongdoing. He contended that he would not have been threatened with prosecution had he not aided efforts to elect the first Hispanic commissioner in a county that is 69 percent Hispanic.

Mr. Smith said other commissioners persuaded District Attorney Jerry Matthews to take him before a county grand jury. Afterward, he said, Mr. Matthews signaled that he could quit or be indicted.

"They made life so rough on me that I resigned, and it was because I supported the Spanish people," Mr. Smith said.

Mr. Matthews said that Mr. Smith's resignation had "nothing to do with the redistricting matter," although it was tied to his relations with commissioners who opposed Please see MINORITY on Page 11A.

VOTING RIGHTS: THE NEXT GENERATION

Minority officials still struggle with harassment

Continued from Page 10A.
the districting plan favored by Hispanics.

"In a nutshell, he didn't get along with the other commissioners, and it was causing family and personal problems," Mr. Matthews said. "His wife and family asked him to resign and get out."

Castro County, with 9,000 residents, spent at least \$350,000 in legal fees to fight a redistricting plan favored by the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund. The county recently settled the lawsuit, agreeing to a plan similar to MALDEF's initial proposal.

White opponents used a white Louisiana police juror's support for blacks as a lever to oust her in a recall election last month. Margaret Herrington's Morehouse Parish Police Jury district is 90 percent white.

'Segregation alive'

A filer attacking Mrs. Herrington charged that she "voted exclusively with the black members of the jury from the day she took office . . . to the detriment of the majority of her constituents."

Mrs. Herrington, one of four whites on the seven-member panel, said, for example, that she cast the tie-breaking vote in December to name Lee Loche the first black

president "not because of color. It was because of qualification."

Mr. Loche said, "Segregation is alive and well and hearty in Morehouse Parish," where a majority of voters supported former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke in the last governor's race.

In Greenwood, Miss., Delta civil rights leader David Jordan faces another brand of backlash.

President of Greenwood's first black-majority City Council, Mr. Jordan won a seat in the state Senate in 1992. When his white opponents pressed him to resign his council seat, a new fact came to light: Mississippi was one of a dozen or more states that permitted dual officeholding.

Mr. Jordan kept both offices, and his council district re-elected him overwhelmingly in 1993.

This year, his white foes persuaded the Mississippi Legislature to bar lawmakers from holding two offices. The Justice Department must review the measure to decide whether it is discriminatory.

"Everybody says it's just a racial thing," said Mr. Jordan, a former schoolteacher.

Mississippi state Rep. Jimmy Green, a Republican and chief proponent of the measure, denies any racial motivation. "I don't think

it's right for a person to serve in two elected offices — regardless of race, creed or national origin."

In Newton County, Miss., last August, Supervisor Walter Gardner's white colleagues told him that the board meeting was about to end, and he left the session to take his wife, Daisy, to the doctor.

What happened, according to minutes of the meeting, is that the board went on to approve at least 16 more matters not on the agenda. One was an unprecedented vote to take money from a county account of Mr. Gardner's to pave a little-used, mile-long road leading to a horse- and cattle-show barn in his district.

The road, used primarily by more affluent residents from other parts of the county, was not a top priority for Mr. Gardner. He struggles to keep his cash-strapped district's busiest thoroughfares in repair.

"Three on a board can do anything they want to," said Supervisor Jimmy Smith, who was chairman at the time. Further, he said, "it don't have to do with race."

In Edwards County, Texas, when the commissioners court voted in 1984 to reduce all four commissioners' salaries from \$11,000 to \$8,600 annually, advocates said it was an equitable, cost-saving move.

But it came just as the first

Hispanic, Mr. Villarreal, was elected to the court. Unlike the white ranchers who dominated the court, Mr. Villarreal said that he needed the money.

Sidesteps

At times, local governments take extraordinary actions to sidestep the wishes of minority officeholders.

Plaquemines Parish, La., was the bayou stronghold of the late segregationist and Commission Council President Leander H. Perez. In 1965, Mr. Perez told Congress the Voting Rights Act was a communist plot to control the Deep South through "Negro rule."

Plaquemines Parish is now 23 percent black, and its first black councilman, Hosea M. Ned Jr., serves largely without hindrance. But when he wanted to hire the first black for the council's clerical staff in 1991, his colleagues balked and voted to eliminate the job.

In Lowndes County, Miss., the battle in March was over hiring a black deputy road manager, but the result was the same.

"They would rather not have anyone than have a black guy," said Mr. Brooks, the black supervisor.

Sometimes even common courtesy is suspended.

John Pellham, the first black mayor in tiny Rich Square, N.C.,

which is 44 percent black, was presiding over his first council meeting last December when he saw several whirling camcorders aimed at him by the wives of his white political opponents.

"I suppose they thought our competence was in question," Mr. Pellham said with a laugh. The cameras returned at January's meeting but were gone by February, he said.

A frequent slight cited by minority officials is a refusal to pay their costs for attending minority conferences.

Mississippi supervisors routinely are reimbursed for travel to the annual meeting of the white-dominated Mississippi Association of Supervisors. But so many blacks were unable to get reimbursed when they attended Mississippi Black Supervisors Association meetings that they changed the name to Mississippi Association of Supervisors/Minority Caucus to try to get their expenses paid.

Money an issue

Money also figures in other disputes.

Mrs. Martinez of Port Lavaca, Texas, and Ms. Freeman of Lincoln County, Ga., said they have been required to pay for copies of

VOTING RIGHTS: THE NEXT GENERATION

The first generation of the voting rights movement concerned minorities' access to the ballot box; the second saw the redrawing of political boundaries. In the third generation, voting rights advocates say, minority officeholders are battling attempts to curb their powers.

☐ **SUNDAY:** A loss of authority

☒ **MONDAY:** Threats, abuse, indignity

☐ **TUESDAY:** A watchdog questioned

government documents that they consider necessary for their official duties.

Ms. Freeman, a gritty combatant with her white school board colleagues since taking office in January 1993, is brought to tears in the recounting of one incident.

She and her husband were unable to attend a school banquet in December, so she asked school officials if she could send a representative. She said that she offered to pick up any costs, and school officials gave her the go-ahead.

But when a father and his sixth-grade son arrived at the banquet, they were turned away.

"They made him and his son go home because they didn't have \$10," Ms. Freeman said.

Voting rights entangled in aquifer-control battle

By Steve McGonigle

Washington Bureau of The Dallas Morning News

WASHINGTON — Attorney General Janet Reno puzzled over the voting rights memo about a vast underground lake in the Texas Hill Country.

"I wondered what an Edwards Aquifer was," she recalled. "And I couldn't figure out what voting rights had to do with Edwards Aquifer."

Ms. Reno's education is lacking no longer. She has learned that Edwards Aquifer means a 50-year-old battle over water pumping rights, blind salamanders, wild rice and Hispanic voting strength.

The stakes include control of a rich Texas resource and the Justice Department's ability to block states from replacing elected governing boards in protected minority areas with appointed ones.

This fall, a three-judge panel in Washington is expected to decide whether Texas' proposed change in aquifer governing boards violates the Voting Rights Act. The result could be a transfer of oversight to a federal judge or a blueprint for eliminating minority officeholders.

The fight pits not only Austin against Washington but also Gov. Ann Richards against a longtime civil rights ally, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund.

The governor has accused

MALDEF of endangering the economic future of the San Antonio area by opposing a new aquifer management plan that replaces an elected water authority with an appointed panel.

Aldes said the change would increase Hispanic representation.

"Ann Richards' record on civil rights is extensive and well known," said Susan Rieff, director of the governor's policy council. "If there had been any feeling on our part that this (change) was discriminatory, clearly, we wouldn't have supported it."

MALDEF lawyers are unpersuaded. They fear a domino effect on other elected offices if the Edwards Aquifer plan is legitimized.

"We're very concerned about the impact on minority voting rights. And we're concerned about this precedent — replacement of elected officials with appointed officials," said Judith Sanders-Castro, voting rights specialist in MALDEF's San Antonio office.

The Justice Department, which is grappling with the aftermath of a 1992 Supreme Court decision that limited the scope of its voting rights powers, has sided with MALDEF. Except for a few comments by Ms. Reno, voting rights officials declined to discuss the aquifer case.

Water rights and voting rights converged last year when the Texas Legislature adopted a management plan for the 180-mile-long aquifer,

San Antonio's sole source of drinking water.

A few months earlier, U.S. District Judge Lucius Bunton of Midland had ruled that a lack of proper management was imperiling downstream plants and animals protected by the federal Endangered Species Act.

Judge Bunton ordered the state to take steps to protect the blind salamander, fountain darter and Texas wild rice. Otherwise, he warned, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service would regulate water flow.

The Legislature responded with a plan that abolished the Edwards Underground Water District — a three-county, 12-member, elected board that had regulated certain aspects of the aquifer since 1959.

In its place, lawmakers created the more powerful Edwards Aquifer Authority, led by a nine-member board appointed by elected officials in eight counties covering the aquifer.

The change in governing bodies was drafted as the original water board was negotiating to redraw boundary lines. The redrawn lines would allow for the election of the board's first-ever Hispanic majority.

Backing abolition of the elected board were several large developers, the city of San Antonio and the San Antonio Water System, each of which had bitter policy differences with the water district.

"The makeup of the current board was one that a lot of people

did not like," said state Rep. Robert Puente, D-San Antonio. "So they thought that this (change) was a way to get rid of them because they couldn't do it at the ballot box."

Mr. Puente said he balked at abolishing the elected board but was convinced by the architect of the compromise, state Sen. Ken Armbrister, D-Victoria, that only an appointed board could win legislative passage.

The voting rights question, Mr. Armbrister said, was a minor consideration compared with the threat of federal takeover of the aquifer if no management plan was established.

He, too, denied the governance change was meant to discriminate against Hispanics. "If you read the language of the bill it says those appointed must accurately reflect the ethnicity of the area," he said.

Last November, the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division disagreed. It ruled that the new arrangement would dilute Hispanic voting strength and, under the Voting Rights Act, blocked the change.

Ms. Richards and Attorney General Dan Morales offered to allow the two boards to coexist, but the Justice Department refused.

On March 9, the state filed suit. It built its argument for approval on Presley vs. Etowah County Commission, the 1992 Supreme Court decision that declared the Justice Department lacked

MANAGING THE EDWARDS AQUIFER

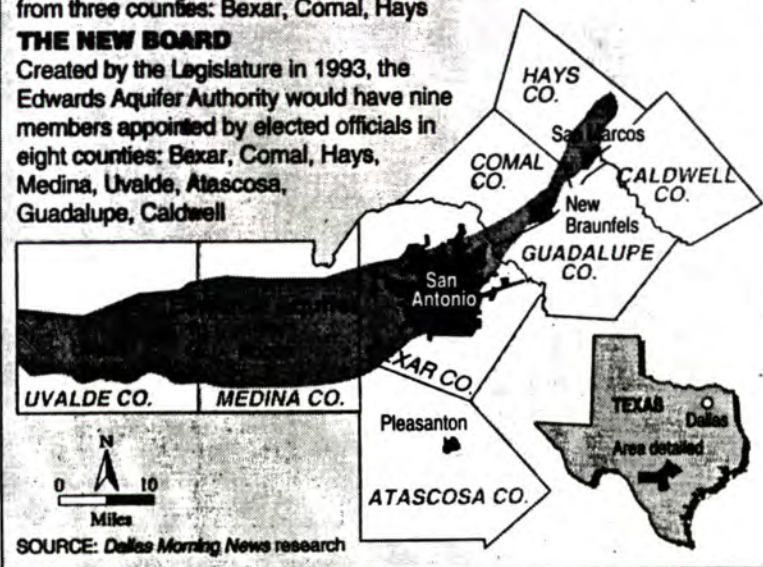
The method of selecting a board to oversee the Edwards Aquifer has become a central issue in a state-federal legal battle.

THE OLD BOARD

The Edwards Underground Water District consists of 12 members elected from three counties: Bexar, Comal, Hays

THE NEW BOARD

Created by the Legislature in 1993, the Edwards Aquifer Authority would have nine members appointed by elected officials in eight counties: Bexar, Comal, Hays, Medina, Uvalde, Atascosa, Guadalupe, Caldwell



The Dallas Morning News

authority under the Voting Rights Act to bar transfers of minority officeholders' powers.

"All we're saying in this case is this (board change) falls within the range of the Presley decision," said Assistant Texas Attorney General Renea Hicks.

Mr. Hicks contended that the change to an appointed water board was a matter of state agency management. He suggested that the Justice Department was interpreting the shift as a voting change to reclaim some of the

authority it lost under the Presley decision.

Henry Flores, a political science professor at St. Mary's University in San Antonio and a MALDEF ally, said the circumstances made the Justice Department's decision a sound one.

"You talk Texas, you talk elections, you talk racially polarized voting, you talk a history of racism in the state around electoral types of politics and you're talking about the Voting Rights Act," Mr. Flores said.

Freedom comes nearly 30 years late for blacks voting in their 1st elections in Mississippi town

By Susan Feeney

Washington Bureau of The Dallas Morning News

CRUGER, Miss. — Freedom Summer came to Cruger nearly 30 years late.

The tiny Delta town's 1993 municipal election was the first that most blacks in town knew about.

"We just didn't know," said William Jackson, the newly elected mayor of the 81 percent black community.

"They didn't get to participate in government," said Rep. Bennie Thompson, D-Miss., who represents Cruger in Congress. "When I first ran for office in 1969, we couldn't find where Bolton (population 664) had ever had an election. Here it is 20, 25 years later, and that kind of thing still happens."

Voting rights experts say Cruger's troubles show that the battle for basic voting rights, although significantly advanced, is far from won. Still too often, blacks, Hispanics, Asian-Americans, American Indians and other minorities are barred from meaningful participation in government, they said.

"There are hundreds of small towns where the effect of the Voting Rights Act has yet to be felt," Rice University political sociologist Chandler Davidson writes in his new book on voting rights, *Quiet Revolution in the South*.

Any intentional exclusion of black voters in Cruger is denied by

the white officials who, until last year, ran the quiet, dusty town of 548 people.

But there is no denying that blacks were left out. The proof came in the balloting.

Blacks registered in record numbers, county officials said, and in June 1993, they elected Mr. Jackson mayor and put blacks in four of five alderman posts.

The longtime town clerk, who is white, abruptly resigned.

Robert O'Reilly, an 85-year-old retired cotton farmer who was mayor for 42 years until 1989, is unapologetic.

"Nobody goes around and says, 'There's an election tomorrow, go and vote,'" he said. "If they weren't interested in finding out, no one was interested in going around telling them."

Mr. O'Reilly, who paved Cruger's streets and got federal money for a fire truck, said blacks "just weren't interested" in voting. "The only thing they were interested in is welfare."

Mr. Jackson shrugged. "There may be some truth" to that, he said. About half of Cruger's blacks receive federal assistance, the mayor said, but it doesn't mean that their votes count for less.

White officials "never informed us" about elections, "never publicized them," said Mr. Jackson, 48, who works on the assembly floor at nearby Baldwin Piano & Organ Co.

Black apathy also is to blame, he

said.

"You might say we did not really do any hard effort until a couple of years ago," he said.

On a 10-minute driving tour of Cruger, Mr. Jackson struggled to explain how blacks could be in the electoral dark for so long in a town a half-mile wide and six streets across.

So small is Cruger that house numbers don't matter. One woman, registering to vote, told the county that she lived on the "2nd street, 3rd house on right." Another said: "Left at 4th street, cross railroad tracks, 1st left, follow the curve, 3rd house on the right."

Blacks and whites don't mix, Mr. Jackson said. Cruger's homes span the economic gamut from ramshackle trailers with tar paper roofs in the black neighborhood to white-column colonials in the white section of town.

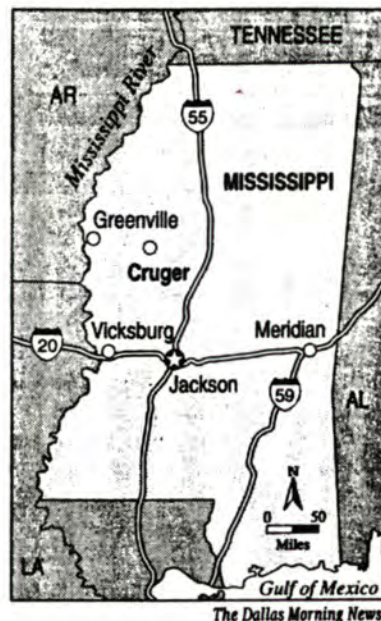
Of 20 residents who recently registered to vote, half said they had no telephones.

A wide spot in U.S. Highway 49E, Cruger has one store, a cafe, a cotton gin, an auto repair shop, a beauty shop and a juke joint. There are two black churches and two white churches.

The children frolicking on the playground at Tchula-Cruger Academy are all white. Black children ride the bus nine miles to public school in Tchula.

Until 1993, locals say, Cruger's elections worked like this:

Early in an election year, "most



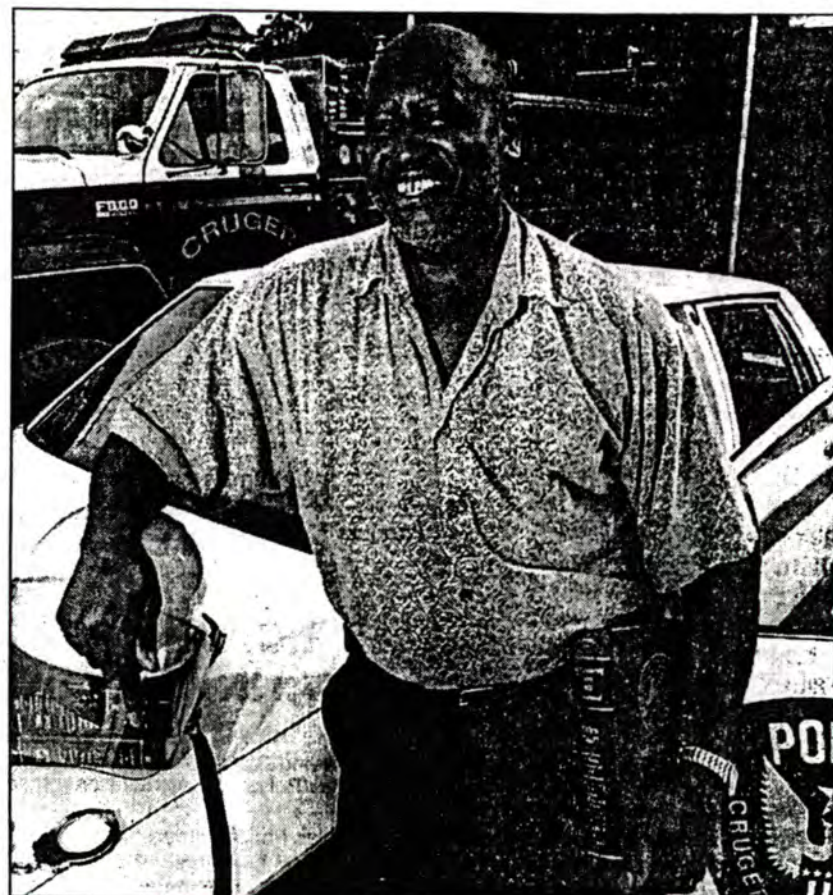
of the men would gather around and — if one didn't want to run again — someone else would say, 'Well, I guess I'll run,' " said Sandra Lindsey, the former town clerk.

The hand-picked mayor and alderman candidates ran unopposed, eliminating any need for campaign signs, speeches or mailings. All ran as independents. Elections were held at the town's lone polling place, a green aluminum-sided fire house that doubles as City Hall.

"We absolutely did have black voters," Mrs. Lindsey said, although she admits that they were few. Mr. Jackson said a door-to-door canvass early last year yielded only two blacks who said they had voted previously.

Official election records are no help because state law bars identification of voters by race.

"There was no real reason for them not to know" about elections, Mrs. Lindsey said. Although Cruger



Associated Press

William Jackson was recently elected mayor of the 81 percent black community of Cruger, Miss.

did not place formal election notices in the newspaper "for the sake of expenses," she said, "all Mississippi municipalities hold their elections the same day. Anyone who is informed, if you read the newspaper, you'd see all these other towns that had competition going."

But Cruger doesn't have a newspaper or a radio station, not even a community bulletin board. Mr. Jackson said few blacks

subscribe to the newspaper in nearby Greenwood, which usually published a small mention of Cruger's election results.

There are conflicting accounts about what prompted Cruger's blacks to act. Alderwoman Mattie Young's explanation is one of the most succinct:

"We just woke up one day, and we decided it was time for a change."

THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT AT A GLANCE

HISTORY

■ **The president:** On Aug. 6, 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson signs the Voting Rights Act into law. The backdrop is police beatings and Ku Klux Klan murders of voting rights advocates near Selma, Ala.; the march by 25,000 from Selma to Montgomery; and the murder of three civil rights workers in Philadelphia, Miss., the previous summer.

During a nationally televised address from the U.S. Capitol rotunda, the president says the law would "strike away the last major shackle of those fierce and ancient bonds" on blacks. The signing takes place in the same room off the Senate chamber where exactly 104 years before, President Abraham Lincoln signed a bill freeing slaves who had been pressed into the service of the Confederacy.

■ **The Senate:** Had passed the bill, 77-19, on May 26, with opposing votes coming exclusively from the Deep South and Texas.

■ **The House:** Had voted for passage, 333-85, on July 9, with most of the opposing votes coming from the Deep South and Texas.

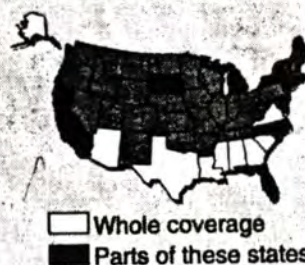
SOURCE: *Dallas Morning News* research

PROVISIONS

Intended to enforce the 15th Amendment right of black suffrage, the act abolished literacy tests, poll taxes and other bigoted devices to prevent minority voting. It provides for an increased federal policing role. Its key components are:

■ Section 2 of the law, which applies nationwide, provides for government and private lawsuits to challenge dilutions of minority voting strength.

■ Section 5, which today applies to nine states, including much of the Deep South and Texas, and parts of seven others. It requires covered states and local governments to submit proposed voting changes to the Justice Department for "preclearance" to determine whether they would be discriminatory in purpose or effect.



The Dallas Morning News



Special to The Dallas Morning News: Associated Press

Denise Freeman, a school board member in Lincoln County, Ga., has battled for months to gain access to basic school information.

Muslim mayor battles all-white board

By Steve McGonigle

Washington Bureau of The Dallas Morning News

Charles Bilal has brought international attention and Muhammad Ali to Kountze, Texas, helped open the city's first park and recently landed \$250,000 in grant money for a badly needed water well.

But when the first black Muslim mayor in America takes his chair at council meetings, he cannot get a second to his motions or keep members of the all-white council from speaking without his recognition.

Days after his election to a second term in May, the council voted to have photographs of Mr. Bilal with Gov. Ann Richards, Attorney General Dan Morales and the Rev. Jesse Jackson taken off a wall in City Hall.

Three council members tried to have him sign a document that would have trimmed his powers. The paper contained a warning that violations constituted "gross ignorance" and could result in firing.

"I'm getting the impression that they're trying to run me off," the 46-year-old mayor said without a trace of irony.

Last week, Mr. Bilal became so exasperated that he sued two council members for slander and what his attorney described as implicit threats of "imminent bodily injury" allegedly made during a recent council meeting. The council members denied the charges.

Mr. Bilal's friends recently decided that they had seen

enough. They began a petition drive to force an election to reduce the council from five members to two. They gathered enough signatures in 24 hours.

"These three council members are trying to fire a democratically elected mayor," said Jim Powers, a white computer consultant who helped organize the drive. "And that just wouldn't cut it with me."

Saturday, Kountze voters overwhelmingly rejected the proposed change in city government, leaving Mr. Bilal's opponents in office until at least the next municipal election in May 1995.

Mr. Bilal shies away from blaming his problems on racism — although his backers do not hesitate. The mayor prefers to attribute the turmoil of the past year to political and personality differences.

"I just feel that it's just a matter of them not wanting to give me the respect because of who I am — being somebody that I don't think they like," Mr. Bilal said.

The mayor's most outspoken council foe, Betty Ann Williford, denied that race was behind her criticism. Mrs. Williford said that she could accept Mr. Bilal's high profile if it produced results for Kountze.

"He travels. He gets notoriety. But as far as I know, he has never accomplished one single thing for this town because of that public relations, that notoriety," she said.

"Quite the contrary, there are some people who think we're a black Muslim community, which is

not the publicity we want for this town," Mrs. Williford said.

She denied that the council wanted to remove Mr. Bilal, whom she described as "a figurehead, so to speak." Rather, she said, the council wanted to exercise the authority assigned to it by law.

"The fact that we don't always speak to the chair and through the chair is not a problem in my mind," Mrs. Williford said.

Mr. Bilal has been an unpaid mayor of the southeast Texas town of 2,056 people since his appointment by a previous council in 1991. His troubles, he said, began in 1993 with the election of three new members who opposed a plan that he backed to dissolve the city's small police force.

"Things been going downhill for me ever since," the mayor said.

When he sets a meeting agenda, council members have city staff change it. He can't get his expenses paid to get official training. He can't even choose the city administrator, which is a break with tradition.

Mr. Bilal said that he has broken five or six gavels trying in vain to convince council members to follow basic parliamentary procedures. They don't wait for him to adjourn before leaving council meetings, he said.

Last summer, the council forced him to vacate his office in City Hall. They said the space was needed for staff, but it remains empty.

"I tell you, man, it's tough," Mr. Bilal said.

Mr. Bilal was born Charles Jenkins but took a slave's name when he converted to the Muslim

faith in the 1970s. He has lived in Kountze all his life, except for his years in college and on the road with a band.

His is a town with a checkered racial past. In the 1930s, a black murder suspect was killed by a white mob and dragged through the streets. There were reports of cross-burnings eight years ago.

Vidor, where the Ku Klux Klan is active and where no blacks resided until recently, is 25 miles to the southeast.

Mr. Bilal, the owner of a lawn-care business, had a series of blue-collar jobs and worked in several local elections before he ran for the City Council in 1990. He defeated an incumbent by nine votes.

He ran, he said, because he had tired of his own complaining. He said that he wanted to "see if I could make a difference."

His two victories in mayoral elections have come by wide margins, despite the fact that Kountze is less than 30 percent black.

He attributed his popularity to "being a people person."

Because of his unique status as a Muslim mayor, he has also become something of a celebrity. He was invited by the government of Indonesia to visit and has been interviewed by news organizations from Japan.

Earlier this year, Mr. Bilal was able to bring Mr. Ali, the former heavyweight boxing champion, to Kountze for a parade and benefit for a new city youth center. The event garnered \$6,500.

His council foes "tried to block that," he recalled. "They done all



Special to The Dallas Morning News: Adress Latif

Supporters rally for Kountze, Texas, Mayor Charles Bilal.

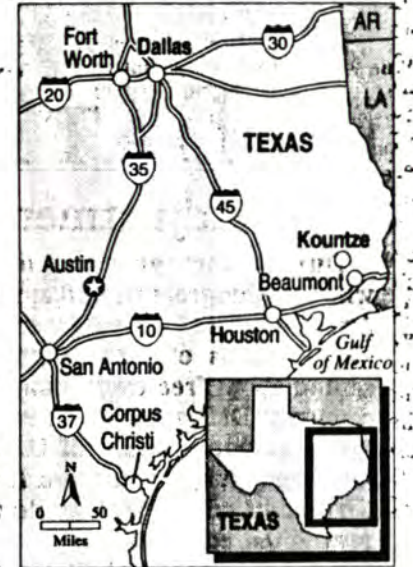
kinds of things to try to disgrace my leadership."

Mr. Bilal said that he rarely tries to raise issues in council meetings, because he knows he is unlikely to draw even one supportive vote.

His successes, he said, have come outside City Hall. Contacts in Washington helped him win the grant to dig a new water well. He said that he is working on a second grant for \$500,000.

Still, his service has taken a toll. His business is facing problems. He said that he worries that a single official mistake could land him in jail.

"The council is where the power is. They can work with the mayor or against the mayor," he said. "If you got a council in there



The Dallas Morning News

that don't like the mayor, they can utilize their vote and make anything happen."

Sir Eugene Epstein
Lady Marlene Epstein
Penn Oak
1238 Wrightstown Road
Newtown, Pennsylvania 18940
(215) 968-2200

Mr. John Podestra
Office of Presidential Corres.
White House
Washington D.C. 20500
December 13th 1994

Do Skunk

Dear John;

Please have Bill Clinton propose a "National Hot Line" with a toll free 800 number. This would give the President immediate feed back from the populous. I propose that when a question requiring public input is presented that the general public should be given 48 hours to respond by calling a toll free 800 number and punching in their social security number which will eliminate duplication. Their response will immediately give the President the necessary feed-back to go to the next step. Bill needs to take aggressive actions immediately in order to preserve his Presidency.

Gene Epstein

A Republican that believes that Bill Clinton wants to do a great job for everyone.

Sincerely

Gene Epstein





THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

AMERICAN PORTLAND CEMENT ALLIANCE

1212 NEW YORK AVENUE, N.W. • SUITE 500 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
TELEPHONE (202) 408-9494 • FACSIMILE (202) 408-9392

12/20
1-cc to for memo
2 Pam
3 DORSKII

To: Nancy Hernreich
Assistant to the President and Director of Oval Office Operations

From: Peggy Hudson

Date: December 12, 1994

Subject: Attached letter to President Clinton

Nancy, many thanks for taking my call today. I am faxing a copy of a letter to President Clinton following up on my discussion with him at the DLC gathering Wednesday morning at the White House. I would appreciate your help in making sure he sees this letter.

I enjoyed meeting you, and hope you have a wonderful holiday season. Please let me know if you need any other information.

Marilyn

This is the letter
you may have
seen —

Mr. President ; cc Enslin
in the

~~Per your request,~~
~~let me see letter~~



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TELEPHONE (202) 408-9494 • FACSIMILE (202) 408-9392

December 12, 1994

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It was so nice to see you at the recent DLC events. Thank you for the opportunity to give me a few minutes to talk to you about my industry and its current concern over cement kiln dust.

As I indicated to you, the Environmental Protection Agency is scheduled to make a regulatory determination relative to cement kiln dust (a by-product of the cement manufacturing process) by January 31, 1995. We understand from various sources that the Agency will probably decide to regulate the dust as a hazardous waste, subject to Subtitle C regulations under the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act.

The industry's dust is currently considered a high volume, low toxicity waste and has been included under the Bevill amendment to RCRA, which mandates that EPA perform a study of the waste before regulating it as a hazardous waste under Subtitle C. To date, EPA has conducted four studies on high volume, low toxicity wastes. In every case, EPA has determined that Subtitle C regulation is not warranted and that the special "Bevill waste" status should remain. EPA recently completed their study of cement kiln dust and concluded that, "cement kiln dust waste generally presents a low inherent toxicity is only rarely characteristically hazardous, and, in most cases based on risk modeling, does not present a risk to human health and the environment."

An independent analysis, which was conducted by an outside contractor, concluded that, "The Report to Congress' costs for Subtitle C and other options under Subtitle C threaten 40% to 60% of the plants in the domestic cement industry with closure. Associated job losses at these cement plants and related job losses could amount to 15,000 jobs.

Using the Report to Congress' risk estimates the population risks posed by current CKD management practices amount to about one thousandth of a cancer death per year or about one cancer death every 700 years.

We have talked to a number of key people in your Administration, including: Sally Katzen, Mack McLarty, Kathleen McGinty and Greg Simon, as well as several EPA officials including Carol Drown. In addition, our industry has met with Members of Congress on both sides of the aisle. I would appreciate your help in looking into this matter.

It is always wonderful to see you, and happy holidays to you and your family. Also, Tommy and Danelle send their best.

Sincerely,

Peggy A. Hudson
Vice President

Thanks!



12/20
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

14 AIO: 38

TOBY ROTH
WISCONSIN

December 12, 1994

*Leon Rubin
we need to
have a longer discussion*

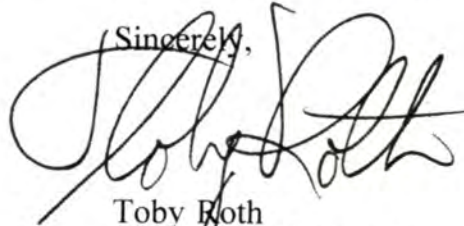
Dear Mr. President:

Once again, from a conservative Republican, allow me to say you give a hell of a good speech in Miami!

I appreciated your answer to my question on the Export Administration Act. We can expand our exports by \$30 billion if we reform that law.

Your offer of help is crucial. I know with your participation we will get the job done next year. What is needed is Tony Lake's participation so we can override the normal bureaucratic turf battles and work to fashion a bill that can pass in 1995. I know we can do it.

Sincerely,



Toby Roth
Member of Congress

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

HRC-
you
with
from
Am. reception

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 12/20/94

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

M/S School

5/20

←
Edwards

12/20
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

December 19, 1994 DEC 19 P7:32

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

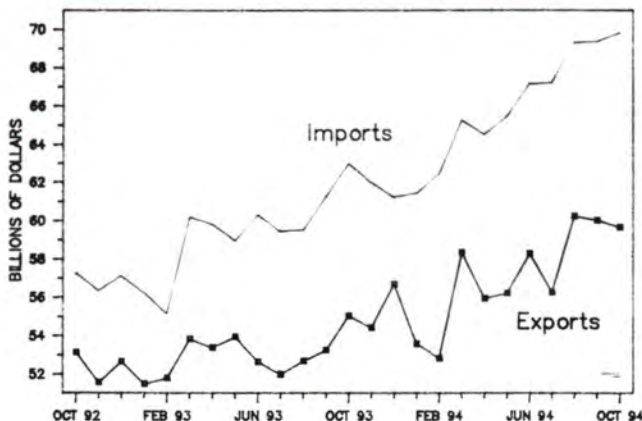
FROM: MARTIN N. BAILY *Martin N Baily*

SUBJECT: Goods and Services Exports and Imports in October,
Commerce Department Release, Tuesday, 8:30 a.m.

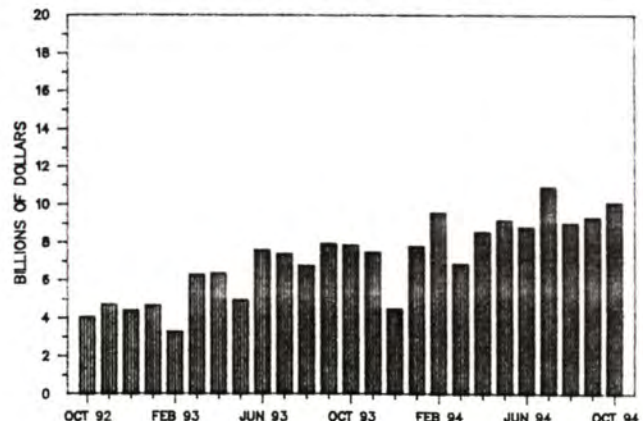
The October trade report showed that the trade deficit worsened to \$10.1 billion from the revised \$9.4 billion deficit reported for September. Market analysts had expected a slight improvement in the trade deficit.

- Merchandise exports decreased by \$290 million in October while merchandise imports increased by \$295 million. Net exports of services declined by \$202 million.
- The October trade report included substantial revisions for the second and third quarters of 1994. According to the report, the estimate for the trade deficit in the second quarter decreased by more than \$220 million, while the estimated trade deficit in the third quarter shrank by more than \$1.6 billion.
- The merchandise trade deficit with Japan increased by nearly \$1.3 billion in October. During the first 10 months of this year, the cumulative trade deficit with Japan was \$5.6 billion greater than the total for the first 10 months of 1993.
- September's \$37 million merchandise trade surplus with Mexico became a \$89 million trade deficit in October. However during the first 10 months of this year, the cumulative trade surplus with Mexico was \$384 million greater than the total for the first 10 months of 1993.

Exports and Imports of Goods and Services



Trade Deficit for Goods and Services



DONNA M. BALLMAN

A PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

13899 BISCAYNE BOULEVARD • SUITE 154
NORTH MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA 33181

TO V. RAOO
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BC.

12/20

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Hon. William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20006

VIA HAND DELIVERY

12/20
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Benjamin E. Wesley
1940 N.E. 197 Terrace
North Miami Beach, FL 33179

December 19, 1994

Hon. William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20006

VIA HAND DELIVERY

Re: Nomination of Craig Edward Stein to the U.S. Court of International Trade

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to encourage you to expeditiously select your two nominees for the present vacancies on the United States Court of International Trade. As of March 1995, the two vacancies on this Court will have been open for four years.

Fortunately, you have at least one excellent choice for the vacancies. One of the finalists for nomination is a good friend of my wife, Donna Ballman, and mine - Craig Edward Stein. I heartily endorse his candidacy. The appointment of Mr. Stein would mark the first time an individual from Florida has been elevated to that Court. More importantly, however, is that Craig Stein is highly qualified for this position. He not only has a background in international law, he is also a well-respected litigator and participant in community affairs. His fluency in Japanese, his practice focus on Asia, and his background in complex commercial arbitrations in the international context give him an ideal background for this position. It is as a result of his impressive background that he has the trust of individuals from across the political spectrum. Indeed, I am certain that you have already heard from many prominent officials, both Democrats and Republicans, recommending Mr. Stein for this position. I simply want to add my enthusiastic support and to urge you to act swiftly on this nomination.

This will mark the first time that a Democratic President has made appointments to the U.S. Court of International Trade. Your Administration will be well served should you select Craig Edward Stein as one of your two nominees. He will be a credit to the bench.

Sincerely,



Benjamin E. Wesley

Donna Ballman

FOR CIRCUIT COURT JUDGE

Campaign Committee (in formation)

Sen. Daryl Jones
Sen. Ronald Silver
Rep. Annie Betancourt
Rep. John Cosgrove
Rep. Anne Mackenzie
Commissioner Gwen Margolis
Commissioner Bruce Kaplan
Commissioner Dr. Deborah Mash
Geller
Councilman David Gell
Councilman Tom Glick, Esq.
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Adrienne Promoff, Esq.
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Maryann Ruffner
Leslie Scharfman, Esq.
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Marsha Silverman, Ph.D.
Lissy Valdez
Manuel Valdez
Teresa Valdez
John Walker
Dr. Shirley Merlin West
Nathaniel Wilcox
Ray Zeller

December 18, 1994

Dear Friends:

As of December 7, 1994, I am a candidate for Circuit Court Judge. I have filed for an open seat that is up for election in 1996. The incumbent is retiring. As of this writing, I had no filed opposition.

I hope you will join my election team as a member of my Campaign Committee or Finance Committee. If you would like to join us, please fill out the attached form and return it to me via fax or mail as soon as possible.

If there is anyone that you think should be on the Campaign Committee or Finance Committee that is not listed, particularly someone that you think you can get involved, please let me know.

Thanks in advance for all your help and support.

Donna

Fill out and fax or mail back.

I, the undersigned, authorize the use of my name in advertisements and literature furthering the campaign of Donna Ballman for Circuit Court Judge.

Signature: _____

Name: _____

Address: _____

___ I agree to serve on the Finance Committee

___ I agree to serve on the Campaign Committee

Committee to Elect Donna Ballman for Circuit Court Judge
13899 Biscayne Boulevard, Suite 154, North Miami Beach, FL 33181
Telephone (305)947-9479 Telefax (305)947-9070

Finance Committee (in formation)

Chair, Jack Peeples

Rep. Kendrick Meek
David Auslander, Esq.
Greg Baldwin, Esq.
Hilarie Bass, Esq.
Luis Boue, C.P.A.
Armando Bucelo, Esq.
Steve Cranman
Simon Ferro, Esq.
Dino Galardi, Esq.
Janet Gifford, Esq.
Fausto Gomez
Karen Haas, Esq.
Cyrus Hornsby, Esq.
Dennis Kainen, Esq.
Chris Korge, Esq.
Benedict Kuehne, Esq.
Ronald Lowy, Esq.
Charlotte Mather
Bill Mauk
Jeff Mell
Patricia Menendez Cambo, Esq.
Patricia Rogers Libert
Lauri Waldman Ross, Esq.
Rick Sisser
Jeffrey Sonn, Esq.
Nic Walker
James Whisenand, Esq.

Checks should be sent to Luis Boue, C.P.A., Treasurer, 3001 Ponce de Leon Blvd., Coral Gables, FL 33181
and be made payable to "Campaign Account of Donna Ballman"

Pd. pol. adv. pd. for by the Committee to Elect Donna Ballman for Circuit Court Judge

Calvin D. Biggers, CLU & Associates
212 Center Street, Suite 1100
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201-2442
Telephone: 501 376-0946
Fax: 501 376-0607

**Northwestern
Mutual Life®**

CALVIN D. BIGGERS, CLU
Special Agent

94 DEC 15 10:05

Susan L. Lewandowski, Associate Agent

Edward A. Burch, CLU, ChFC, General Agent
Raymond L. Bertasi, CLU, ChFC, District Agent
Mary W. Cox, Service Manager

December 8, 1994

*from The
Pattys
Mack*

William J. Clinton, President
United States of America
c/o Mr. Thomas F. McLarty III
247 Kalorama Road NW
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Mr. President:

I have asked Mack to deliver these calendars to you and Hillary as a way to make sure this Christmas letter will reach you prior to Christmas.

You and Hillary absolutely are to be warmly respected and greatly admired for what you have done for this Country and the State of Arkansas. I believe your courage and dedication to other people is somewhat misunderstood at this time, but once the politics of many of these issues are removed with time your wisdom and courage will be recognized. I believe this applies to the undertakings in which Hillary is involved as well as the more public issues in which you are involved.

It was great to watch Chelsea turn on the lights of the Christmas tree on television. I admire and respect how you and Hillary have been able to keep her out of the limelight as much as you have.

I hope the enclosed 1995 calendars will be a small reminder of "home" and my appreciation of your business and confidence in me.

I'm beginning my fifth year on the UALR Foundation Board and am continually reminded of the impact you and Hillary made on the young people of this State, and how you instilled a lot more hope than they had ever experienced about finding a good job and having a good life in Arkansas. I hope this can continue to be communicated to the people of the United States.



FAX COVER SHEET

Doeskid

TO:

NAME PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON 94 DEC 7 P4: 57
ORGANIZATION WHITE HOUSE
FAX 456 1121
PHONE _____

FROM:

NAME RALPH NADER
ORGANIZATION Center for Study of responsive LAW
FAX 202-234-5176 or _____
PHONE _____

DATE _____

TIME _____

NUMBER OF PAGES (NOT INCLUDING COVER SHEET) 2

MESSAGE:

December 7, 1994

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear President Clinton,

This is a moral appeal for you to take this last opportunity to reconsider the GATT/WTO legislation and veto it.

The shift of power explicit in the membership of the United States within the authority of the autocratic system of global governance that is the World Trade Organization (WTO) is one that incrementally damages our democratic processes, our legitimate zone of sovereignty and our federalism. Binding the United States to the obligation of either repealing laws and standards or paying trade sanctions and fines should the WTO's secret tribunals, from which there is no independent appeal, decide against the United States is a travesty on American norms and jurisprudence. The structure of the WTO, with one-nation, one-vote and no veto powers among its 124-plus member nations, does not permit our nation fair representation and is replete with secretive and autocratic procedures that conflict with our allegiance to open government and public participation.

President Clinton, should you sign this legislation, you will be the first President in history to relegate the United States to a subordinate position in an international structure comparable to that of the WTO. You will be exposing the United States to being outvoted by any two dictatorships, to having 260 million Americans with the same voting power as the island nation of St. Kitts-Nevis with its 49,000 people. Because of the WTO's mandate of trade *uber alles*, which subjugates non-trade living standards affecting workers, consumers, the environment and health and safety to the imperatives of foreign commerce, multinational corporate interests will press often compliant technocrats and their governments to expand the centralization of power already initiated in the WTO's legislative, executive and judicial authorities. This managed trade agreement embraces and depresses not just existing non-trade living standards but it also will chill efforts in the future by our citizens and their representatives to advance these labor, consumer and environmental standards.

This is a "pull-down" not a "pull-up" agreement, as indicated in recent Senate hearings on overseas, brutalized child labor in expanding factories that often compete with U.S. workers. Nations that treat their workers, consumers and other citizens too harshly do not violate the WTO's nontariff trade barrier rules; only nations such as ours, with higher health and safety standards, would be vulnerable to being taken by other countries before the WTO's secret tribunals, which lack due process as we know that critical decisional process in our country.

Given your public statements on the WTO/GATT, which exclusively emphasize the presumed (but speculative) economic benefits and ignore the governance-democracy issues, it is doubtful that you have given yourself time to study this document directly. This is a momentous decision for a President to rely on summary memoranda from governmental

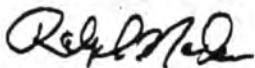
bureaus that are boosters of this agreement. You needed to hear the critical side and give it some reflective time. Attempts to meet with you by many supporters of yours who are of the judgment that this WTO is not good for America, apart from its budget-busting and pork preconditions, were conveyed to your staff and your special assistants without even a courtesy of reply. Today the newspapers report that Robert Rubin's task was to present you with both sides of any important issue. The WTO must have been an exception.

We ask for you to give this entry into an autocratic organization that trumpets the supremacy of foreign commerce over other living standards and our democratic traditions one last serious reconsideration. The GATT/WTO was opposed by all the trade unions, national environmental groups, most consumer organizations, family farm and animal rights associations. Large numbers of local citizen groups were opposed. Intensive study and discussion of the GATT/WTO preceded their opposition. The Americans who belong to these groups were instrumental in electing you; yet you would not see their representatives.

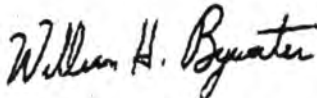
On September 14, 1994, 51 leaders of major news organizations and journalism groups sent you a letter criticizing the WTO's processes as "riddled with provisions denying access to governmental deliberations that are an affront to the democratic traditions of this nation." These media leaders, who include most of the established associations' leadership, such as the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the Society of Professional Journalists, urged you "to restore democratic openness to this crucial process. To do otherwise would break a sacred pact with the American people." You assigned the reply to this letter to your Trade Representative, Mickey Kantor, who responded by ignoring a thoughtful concern with democracy on the part of these professional journalists. You did not wish to respond directly, which typifies the isolation that you imposed on yourself from critics of this agreement and your wholesale adoption of the views of the Business Roundtable and the Fortune 500.

Please send this global trade pact back to Geneva for renegotiation by vetoing this emerging autocracy of centralized, inaccessible power.

Sincerely,



Ralph Nader
P.O. Box 19312
Washington, DC 20036



Bill Bywater
President
I.U.E.
1126 16th St., NW
Washington, DC 20036



Pat Choate
Manufacturing Policy Project
201 Massachusetts Ave.,
Suite C-7
Washington, DC 20002

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Health Component Institutions:
The University of Texas Southwestern Medical Center at Dallas
The University of Texas Medical Branch at Galveston
The University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston
The University of Texas Health Science Center at San Antonio
The University of Texas M.D. Anderson Cancer Center
The University of Texas Health Center at Tyler

BOARD OF REGENTS 9-12-94 P 6:18
of
THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS SYSTEM

201 W. 7th Street Austin, Texas 78701

December 9, 1994

Bernard Rapoport, Chairman
Post Office Box 2608
Waco, Texas 76797
(817) 751-8601

Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
of America
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

. . .in the coming days as you refine your investment and budget objectives for Fiscal Year 1996, I ask your personal support for an important investment program funded through the National Science Foundation (NSF). I am referring to the Academic Facilities Modernization Act, which was enacted as part of the 1988 Reauthorization of NSF.

This program provides federal funds that are matched dollar for dollar with non-federal funds to make competitive grants to colleges and universities to construct academic facilities or to undertake instrumentation projects. More importantly, the match for minority institutions is two to one. The 103rd Congress increased funding for this program by more than 100% over FY 94 to \$250 million, reflecting the need to strengthen our investment in programs that are likely to enhance the nation's economic strength well into the next century. But, Congress conditioned the release of more than half of the appropriation upon the Administration requesting at least \$250 million for the academic facilities program in the FY 1996 budget request. While this is an unusual condition in an appropriations bill, it is an important condition that I urge the Administration to make every attempt to honor on behalf of higher education.

The NSF facilities program is the only peer-reviewed academic facilities program in the federal budget. As such, it is an appropriate and important mechanism for supporting investment in academic infrastructure across the country, particularly at a time when fiscal constraints have made investments in new laboratories and teaching facilities difficult to obtain.

Wanger
Associates

Marketing
Communications

Media Relations

Memo

Dec. 16, 1994

To: John Podesta
Fr: Barry Wanger 
Re: Attached Letter

Hi, John. You've been out of the news lately so, I guess, that is good news.

I've been a bit frustrated, as I'm sure you have, about the opinion polls and the inability of the President to turn them around.

I have some ideas which, I think, may be of some value for the President and his staff who deals with such issues.

If you think it is appropriate can you give the letter to him? Thanks.

Merry Christmas!



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
December 15, 1994

94 DEC 19 P2:24

MEMORANDUM TO SENIOR STAFF

FROM: Leon E. Panetta 
RE: Christmas Gift for the President and the First Lady

If you would like to participate in a Christmas gift for the President and the First Lady, please give your contribution of no more than \$20 to Betty Currie or Nancy Hernreich before 5pm on Tuesday, December 21, 1994.

We plan to make a contribution in honor of Virginia Clinton Kelley, the President's mother, and Hugh Rodham, the First Lady's father.

From Podesta



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 DEC 19 P 9:58

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: Linda Lader

Fax Number: 202 638-4141

Phone Number:

FROM: John Podesta

SUBJECT: copy of article from the President

DATE: 12/19/94

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 3

MESSAGE:

If all pages are not received, please call 202/456-2702

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FIRST PERSON

EDUCATING THE PRESIDENT'S PASTOR

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12.12.94

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Llauder

*Politics and Immanuel's pulpit:
From Otwell to Falwell,
with stops at the White House.*

BY REX M. HORNE JR.

Governor Bill Clinton was one of the first people I visited after being called as pastor of Immanuel Baptist Church in August 1990. He ended our conversation prophetically:

"I hope I never do anything to cause you any problem."

Little did I know that in a year he would be running for president, and in two years would be elected, or that his election would put Immanuel and me in the headlines.

I don't always deserve the blame—sometimes credit—I receive from people when they read of the president forming a view out of conversations with his pastor. President Clinton has had three pastors since becoming a part of the Immanuel church family in 1980. Sometimes I am "that" pastor and sometimes not.

Either way, I have had many experiences I never imagined as a boy in Camden (Cullendale actually) or a student in college. Who would have thought a president would be elected from Arkansas or that I would be the pastor of the most recognizable man in the world (perhaps with the exception of Elvis Presley).

I couldn't have anticipated, either, how politics would impact my pastorate. I have toyed with a title I might use if I ever wrote a book about my experiences. The title would be lengthy but descriptive, "What the Left left out and What is Wrong with the Right!"

I am only a pastor, not an apologist for the president, his policies nor any other of Immanuel's more than 4,000 members. I am simply attempting to fulfill my ministry.

The President of the United States or anyone else who desires to worship where the Bible is believed and preached is welcome in our church.

The president and I do not agree on some issues—homosexual rights and abortion, to name a couple. We've said that

publicly. He has heard me, understands my conviction and allows me the opportunity to speak with him on any number of matters.

What many people, including people called to the ministry, do not realize is the trust that must be honored concerning such conversations. There are a number of helpful things the president has done that cannot be trumpeted

PASTOR—Continued on page 16



THE REV. REX M. HORNE JR.: 'There is more to the story than what Limbaugh, Dobson or Horne can tell.'

SPENCER TIBBY

FIRST PERSON

PASTOR

Continued from page 14

for any number of reasons. So, I keep my mouth closed and pray for those who understand, do not understand and, of course, for the president.

I prayed at the conclusion of the 1992 Democratic National Convention in New York City. Candidate Clinton had invited me. I knew my being there would be misunderstood by some. I was right. But others appreciated my giving the benediction.

Why did I go? As a Christian and a preacher, I thought it would be an opportunity to share a word of witness in a place where many Democrats and Republicans would think a witness was needed. I was given freedom to pray according to my own conviction, even in closing the prayer in "Jesus' name." I would not compromise my conviction about how to pray if I had been asked, which I was not.

To this day I pray publicly for the President every Sunday. If we don't pray for the president at his home church, then who will? We also pray for our governor, mayor, police, fire fighters, teachers and all who serve the public.

Thanks to our famous member, Immanuel has become exposed to people who take a different approach to people in public service.

During the months leading up to the presidential election, our church was the focal point for protests by W.N. Otwell, an East Texas preacher, and his followers. They wanted Immanuel to renounce Bill Clinton because of his expressions of support for homosexual rights, abortion and any number of other issues.

Each Sunday for several months some 40 or 50 protesters were on the sidewalk outside of Immanuel. I encouraged our people during this time to be Christ-like in their actions. I also reminded them of our opportunity to be good citizens recognizing the rights of others who would pillory our church.

As the weeks of protest dragged on, counter-protesters began to assemble. They supported homosexual rights. I preferred they all go somewhere else, but they were all within their rights as citizens to let their voices be heard—and they were, by lungs and placards!

I have no ill feeling toward Mr. Otwell and his followers. They seem to be sincere people who believe in what they are saying—or yelling. I do not believe they were right to vent their anger and political views on a church which, by and large, would also oppose abortion and broad legislation allowing homosexuals rights as a family, or in adoption of children.

But the freedom political protesters exercise is the same freedom that allows people to

worship as they see fit. Historically, Baptists have been strong on the autonomy of the local church and freedom of religion. Each church is independent and answers only to God. This irks a lot of people and even some fellow Baptists.

My son, age 7 at the time of the presidential race, would go to the foyer door with me to speak to our people as they left the church. One day he observed the two competing groups of protesters. He pointed to the counter-protesters and said, "Dad, those are the Christians aren't they?"

He saw Otwell's group shouting, exhibiting more of the "works of the flesh" than the "fruit of the spirit." The counter-protesters were mannerly and never interfered with our people. They obeyed the police. You might say they acted more "Christian" than the professed Christians.

I explained my conviction that the Bible does not condone homosexuality. Yet, those holding a different belief acted with kindness, civility and respect toward our people. I couldn't always say the same for the other group.

I COULD NOT ALLOW DR. FALWELL TO SPEAK FROM OUR PULPIT AFTER HIS STRONG ENDORSEMENT OF THE FLAWED "CLINTON CHRONICLES."

It was hard to explain how Christians would treat other Christians with contempt rather than compassion.

I've experienced more than the Otwell protests. I have received hundreds of letters, faxes, materials and calls. I have been sent solutions to the deficit, shampoo, hair spray, books, tapes and various gifts to be sent on to the president. I haven't gotten around to doing that yet. I have received letters asking for the president's favorite mealtime blessing. One letter asked me if the president prefers fudge with or without nuts. I don't know.

My hope has been that people of faith believe God is not bound by who is in the White House or Congress. I have great respect for Presidents Reagan and Bush. Yet, their positions on abortion did not slow the pace. The justices appointed by our presidents have chosen not to revisit or restrict past legislation. Why? A good question.

I, personally, have little hope in legislation solving many moral problems. Neither do I believe harsh rhetoric reaches people in need. Hearts must be changed. This is done as people of faith reach out to their neighbors, co-workers, people in stores and others with



BAN BILL: The Rev. W.N. Otwell wanted Clinton expelled from Immanuel.

love and help.

At the same time, I have a fear of weakening, not strengthening our witness when evangelicals become nothing more than a bloc of votes, a special interest group for either party.

This is partly why I decided not to allow Jerry Falwell to preach from the pulpit of Immanuel during the Pastor's Conference of the Arkansas Baptist Convention last month. Although Immanuel has been in the "eye of the storm" when it comes to being the president's home church, I have not preached partisan politics. I have and do address moral issues, but I do not repeat as "gospel" the rumors and secondhand information preached as fact.

I could not allow Dr. Falwell to speak from our pulpit after his strong endorsement of the flawed "Clinton Chronicles." When ministers shamelessly denigrate individuals, such as President Clinton, they also undermine the office. I am amazed how much rumor and innuendo is accepted as truth regardless of the character or motive of the witnesses.

The message I preach and stand I have taken are not criticized often by evangelicals. Rather, my methods have come under fire. But I believe one can have a prophetic voice without turning private conversations—such as mine with the president—into public information.

I've discovered in recent months, too, that the truth is too often a casualty of personal opinions. The commandment about false witness apparently is not looked on today as one of the "biggies."

For example, when I was listening to the radio some months ago, I tuned by chance into Dr. James Dobson's "Focus on the Family" program. Dr. Dobson has been greatly used of God for many years. I have the deepest respect for the man and his ministry.

Dobson is also an unabashed critic of the Clinton administration. The danger with Dobson is not unlike that facing the "dittoheads" of Rush Limbaugh. Millions of people take his word as truth, no question, thought or

research. (My office received calls one day asking me to keep the president from speaking to Southern Baptists in New Orleans. They had heard Limbaugh say the president was to make such a speech. Southern Baptists were not meeting in New Orleans. The National Baptists were meeting there.)

Dobson said he had heard from "leaks" that ministers who have met with the president at the White House had not raised the issues that were "important to us." These issues would certainly include abortion and homosexual issues.

This was patently untrue. I know. It has also been widely stated by others that those who visit this president are briefed on what they can

and cannot discuss. On several occasions I have taken people to meet with the president and vice president. On no occasion have I or they been told what to discuss. In fact, I have asked each person before we leave the president if there is anything on their heart that they want to say to the president.

Does it ever impact the president's decisions? He would have to answer that question.

Because Bill Clinton was elected President of the United States, I have had the opportunity of seeing firsthand places in our nation's capital that fill my American heart with pride in our past and hope for our future. I usually come home with a burdened heart. What can I do? I continue to do what I have been doing.

I speak with the president most every week. I don't mean to appear as an opportunist or more of an influence than I am. I am simply attempting to be a pastor to a man who needs one.

I have granted dozens of interviews on the radio, television, in newspapers and magazines. I know why I have been sought out. But the circumstances have enabled me to speak to more people in these last three years than I may reach in the rest of my ministry. In all of these interviews I have attempted to tell people my hope is in Jesus Christ alone, not a party or politician.

I know my life will never be the same because of these opportunities. If the experience has left me with one message, it is this: A call to civility. A person can have unbending convictions and still be civil. Civility separates a politician from a statesman. It also reveals the depth of faith in the life of a believer.

Take heart in knowing there is more to the story than what Limbaugh, Dobson or Horne have space or inclination to tell. If we really believe in prayer we might pray daily believing, "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water: he turneth it whithersoever he will."

It has been quite a journey from Cullendale. But I still believe what I did as a boy. Jesus will appear on a white horse (Revelation 19)...not on the back of a donkey or an elephant.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-19-94

'Don't ask or tell:' Plan may be worse for gays in military

Clinton policy ambiguous on key points

By KIM MILLS
Associated Press

WASHINGTON - Marine Cpl. Kevin Blaesing thought his sessions with a military psychologist were confidential, so he told her he was questioning his sexual orientation.

As the session ended, the counselor said she believed she was required to tell his commanding officer. Blaesing was charged with violating the "don't ask, don't tell" policy that subjects homosexuals in the military to possible discharge if they reveal their sexual orientation.

A board voted 2-1 to kick Blaesing out of the Marines. But the decision was overturned on appeal at the Charleston, S.C., Naval Weapons Station.

Since then, however, a new commander has taken charge and he gave Blaesing a low re-enlistment recommendation. Blaesing's lawyer contends that the commander is retaliating because he believes the corporal is gay.

Michelle Benecke, a former Army officer and co-director of the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network, says the Blaesing case is a clear example of how the new policy is worse than the one President Clinton abandoned after taking office in 1993.

The Clinton policy bars the military from questioning personnel or recruits to determine their sexual orientation. But it also calls for discharges of those who state their sexual orientation and wouldn't subsequently prove they wouldn't engage in homosexual conduct.

"Under the old policy, this case wouldn't have gone anywhere because (Blaesing) did not say, 'I am gay,'" said Benecke, whose nationwide organization has advised some 200 people accused under the new policy of homosexual conduct or who claim harassment. "Under the new policy, a gay statement is a statement that you're gay... or it's this nebulous thing called a nonverbal statement of one's orientation."

The patient-doctor confidentiality that Blaesing relied upon does not apply in the military services, "and the reason is for one of mission readiness," said Maj. Tom Schultz, a Pentagon spokesman.

In a case like Blaesing's, Schultz said the counselor would have to report the individual and the commander would be duty-bound to consider discharge.

But Peter Tepley, Blaesing's attorney, said he thought his client had not stated a sexual orientation and therefore, should not have faced discharge.

"If people want to tell, they know where the mess hall is, they

"Under the old policy, this case wouldn't have gone anywhere because (Blaesing) did not say, 'I am gay,'"

— Michelle Benecke

know where the commander's office is," he said.

Tepley said the policy defines "telling" as a statement "that a reasonable person would believe indicates the speaker's propensity to engage in homosexual acts."

"Our position is and the evidence at his hearing showed there was no intent to convey that. Therefore the policy wasn't violated."

The Marine inspector general's office investigated Blaesing's low re-enlistment rating and said earlier this month that it could not substantiate the bias allegations, according to Tepley.

The inspector general has offered to extend Blaesing's enlistment for one year, after which he will be re-evaluated, Tepley said.

The Pentagon reports that the discharge rate for homosexuality is holding steady, despite the new policy that Clinton said would make life better for gays already in the services.

Even though the services are not supposed to ask about sexual orientation, Benecke said the practice is still common.

One woman who spoke on condition that she not be identified for fear of recriminations said her recruiter asked about her sexual orientation last March.

"I was stunned," she said. "The reason why I was asked was my vehicle was seen at a prominent gay bar."

She said she parked there because the lot of the nearby restaurant where she was dining was full. The recruiter, who knew her, recognized her car because he was seeking a spot in the same lot, she said.

Boston attorney Paul Roecker said he represented a Texas-based airman who was investigated earlier this year because another Air Force member accused him of having a homosexual relationship.

"There were two sessions in which he was questioned by military authorities at which I was present," Roecker said, declining to name his client. "The servicemember was asked to identify other servicemembers who had engaged in homosexual conduct."



To Al Dubuque
P.S. mail to
Susan M. M. M.
B.C.

By DONNA DE LA CRUZ
Associated Press

NEWARK, N.J. - A bomber who has killed one person and injured 23 others over the last 16 years appears to have struck again, this time killing an advertising executive with a mail bomb, the FBI said yesterday.

Thomas Mosser, 50, was killed Saturday in his kitchen in suburban North Caldwell when he opened a small package addressed to him and delivered by the Postal Service, FBI agent Barry Mawn said.

No motive had been determined, but the FBI believes Mosser's death is linked to what it code-names the "Unabom" series of mail bombs sent to university professors and executives of airlines and computer companies in the United States, Mawn said.

"The components of the bomb, its construction, make us believe the bombs are linked," Mawn said. He would not elaborate on the makeup of the bomb that killed Mosser but said it was "extremely powerful."

He said he did not know where the package originated.

The FBI believes the person who has been making and sending the bombs is a white male in his 30s or 40s with a high school edu-

cation. Mawn on how the composite.

The FBI reward for bombings.

Mosser's the package band did not Essex County Fontoura's.

Susan package as and white. size of a vic

Mosser two children 15 months. the time of



CONCORD MONITOR

TODAY'S THE DAY



12-19-94

O F O U R T I M E

Up From 1994

Robert Kuttner

Since Franklin Roosevelt, the central liberal credo has been the use of government to benefit ordinary people. That premise is now battered—fiscally, politically, ideologically. In 1994, swing voters rejected both the concept and the party of government. The 1994 midterm election is not yet the epochal realignment that prefigures a new governing coalition and a new dominant party. But if Democrats sleep through the wake-up call and Republicans win the White House in 1996, realignment will be complete.

Thus the stakes could not be higher for Bill Clinton, and for liberals. Clinton must decide how to use his pulpit: when to conciliate and when to fight; what to jettison and what to defend; where to offer bipartisanship and where to draw partisan distinctions; what mechanisms to signal alliance with disaffected voters, absent the capacity to legislate; how to regain ground in the near term and also build strategically for the long term.

Clinton also will have to struggle to regain the affections of his own base. Richard Rothstein argues elsewhere in this issue that liberals have been too quick to abandon the president and that their faint, grudging support increased his isolation and vulnerability. Even so, the perception is now widespread that Clinton is damaged goods. If Clinton offers an uncertain trumpet, or a simple tack to the right, he will lose what remains of his liberal backing. We need to ask not just what Clinton should do, but what we should do.

At the same time, calamity can be overstated. A closer reading of voting statistics suggests that the congressional prospects for 1996 are not too bad. Despite the legislative outcome, roughly half the electorate

voted for Democrats—this was not the tidal shift suggested in the early commentaries. Dozens of House seats were decided by fewer than 2,000 votes. A majority of voters with incomes under \$50,000 voted for Democrats, though they turned out in lower numbers. In the Senate, the 1996 electoral arithmetic will be the inverse of 1994, with only 15 Democratic seats up, but 18 Republican ones. More statehouses and

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Gerson/Speck
Fgr B.

legislatures are institutionally in Republican hands, but the electorate is still narrowly divided, fluid, more “de-aligned” than realigned. It would only compound the conservative sense of smug, self-confident triumph if liberals took 1994 as a categorical repudiation of everything we believe and much that Americans value.

American voters are still schizophrenic in their public philosophy. Polls continue to show, as they have for 40 years, that voters are more liberal operationally than ideologically. They don’t like the idea of government, or the taxes required to pay for it, but they value its benefits. Only a minority has the extreme anti-government view that is now Republican philosophy. But the Democrats’ conundrum is that the operational part of our mixed political economy is harder to achieve.

For a generation, Democrats governed as the normal majority party because the economics and the politics of activist government could complement each other. Affirmative government delivered tangible, valued benefits—Social Security, Medicare, FHA loans, the GI bill, the interstate highway program, college aid. The very idea of government enjoyed prestige. Government cured the Depression, won World War II, organized the containment of communism, and sponsored far-flung public endeavors given legitimacy by the Cold War. Appreciative voters reciprocated. In the equation of benefit and cost, it was a good bargain.

It was also a *possible* bargain. The economy was mostly national, dominated by large, stable industries. On both counts, the economy was amenable to regulation and stabilization. All of this contributed to security and opportunity. Democrats were custodians of a social contract that worked, with affirmative government at its center. Having won the loyalties of voters via their pocketbooks, Democrats could spend political capital advancing riskier liberal causes such as minority rights, redistribution to the poor, and civil liberties.

And it was a viable bargain distributively. Taxes on working families remained surprisingly low until the 1970s. But then Social Security costs increased; the tax code became less progressive. What has changed is not the share of GNP channeled through government but the distribution of taxes and benefits. Young families are taxed at a much higher tax rate, while corporations and the wealthy have lower rates. A rising share of benefits go disproportionately to the elderly.

Almost every aspect of the old formula has now been negated by events. Economic growth has slowed and ordinary people are not sharing in it. Even people making ends meet feel breathless and insecure. Working families pay more of the total tax load and get back less. The icons of the era are individual and entrepreneurial, not civic and solidaristic. Fiscally, the politics of chronic

deficit denies Democrats and liberals the ability to deliver concrete benefits to core constituencies. In electoral politics, money continues to drive out participation, intensifying disaffection with politics as well as with government. Meanwhile, a fractious politics of group rights and demands is stronger than ever. The core coalition, of organized minorities and single-cause liberals, is highly mobilized and often ungrateful for what it perceives as half-hearted support from the president—yet this core falls far short of an electoral majority.

Nineteen ninety-four was a rude awakening but no sudden quake. The New Deal coalition began seriously cracking 30 years ago, under the twin strains of war and race. Republicans became the normal presidential party, but Democrats kept their hold on Congress largely because of inertial loyalties and because they could continue to serve key constituencies that remained (weakly) Democratic. Congressional realignment was also delayed by Watergate, which produced both a (weak) Democratic president and a generation of Democratic congressmen who stood for procedural reform. In three distinct, reinforcing senses, dealignment and gridlock have been the norm for a political generation. The two parties have shared power, vetoing each other's grand designs, disconnecting voters from the polity, and failing to solve looming national problems.

It was the Reagan presidency and the politics of permanent deficit that set in motion the tidal wave of 1994, because they finally denied Democrats the means to serve broad constituencies via the old formula. Though Democrats could (barely) elect a minority president in 1992, the political epitaph of the 103rd Congress can be summed up in three brief words: they didn't deliver. Candidate Bill Clinton had been just enough of a populist to get elected; his campaign signaled cultural moderation and articulated the pocketbook frustrations

of ordinary people. But in office he seemed a cultural liberal who failed to produce on economics.

Legislation was indeed enacted, but the high-profile achievements were either abstract products valued by economic elites—deficit reduction, NAFTA—or brave but politically risky products such as gay rights. Other legislation was necessarily token. More expansive projects such as health reform were blocked by fiscal limits, interest group vetoes, and Republican filibusters. The substantially trumped-up Whitewater scandal, the woes of old Democratic bulls like Dan Rostenkowski, the scent of sexual impropriety, and a picture of presidential vacillation all combined to suggest that Clinton and the Democrats represented everything about government that voters resented. The party of change became the party of the status quo. Republicans, as the party of anti-government, behaved with consummate cynicism, but enjoyed an almost total free ride.

In 1994, swing voters, ambivalent about government for decades, finally concluded that if government could not produce, then why pay taxes?—a view depressingly congruent with Republican philosophy.

Sooner or later, of course, the Republicans were destined to take control of the House of Representatives. It is unnatural in a democracy for one party to hold sway for more than 40 years. Given that the Democrats' hold on the House was partly inertial, that it depended on the remnants of a one-party South that took a generation to die off, given that 30 or 40 of their number voted more like Republicans anyway, and given that power really does corrupt, Democrats could not expect to be the congressional majority in perpetuity. A rotted congressional party was waiting to be knocked over by a good stiff breeze, and 1994 produced a hurricane. But 1994 may not have been such a bad year for the inevitable to occur. A de jure Republican majority bearing some responsibility is probably better than a narrow, de facto, Democratic one unable to produce.

There is one silver lining. If pocket-book frustrations are behind much of the voter backlash, none of what ails voters in 1994 is likely to get much better by 1996. If the shift of voter affections was resounding, it was tentative. Swing voters are giving the Republicans a try, but the same angry populism could easily turn against the Republican Congress later.

Thus, the challenge for liberals is both tactical and strategic. For the long term, what kind of affirmative program is thinkable? What are our first principles? How can the party's dormant base be revived? For the near term, how can Republicans and conservatives be made to take responsibility for a philosophy and a program likely to defer solutions and to worsen voter frustrations?

Clinton must play the difficult hand history has dealt him almost flawlessly. These tactical considerations should be guided by one strategic message: The Republican program and philosophy won't repair civic life, or improve the economic lot of ordinary people. The Democratic program, given a real working majority, might.

This fight can be fought on several fronts:

Be a Teacher. The Republicans are committed to a Contract with America that is a fiscal and economic fraud. Far from embracing elements of it, Clinton needs to play the teacher. If the contract passes, it will increase the economic squeeze on working families. As Reaganomics proved, you can't cut taxes, defend benefits, and balance the budget at the same time. Democrats should expose the cynicism and hypocrisy, as well as the wrongheaded economics.

To take one example, there will be overwhelming pressure for a tax cut. If there is to be one, this is a fine opportunity to underscore vividly who speaks for whom. The Democrats should champion tax relief for working families, and fight hard for it; let the Republicans press for capital gains cuts for the rich. Win or lose, the fight is usefully clarifying.

The balanced budget amendment to the Constitution will be another sore temptation for Democrats. It was barely blocked in the last Congress. The amendment would paralyze government for the foreseeable future. Well into the next century, government's main task would be raising taxes and cutting benefits that citizens value. Activist government would be stymied indefinitely. During recessions, government would be precluded from borrowing to prime the pump.

If the amendment does get the necessary two-thirds vote in both houses of Congress, Democrats should mount a grassroots effort to block the amendment in statehouses across America. The Constitution requires an amendment to be passed by three-quarters of the states. Democrats control 18 state legislatures, and at least one house in 12 more, as well as 18 governorships. State legislatures are the right place to mount a defense because states are where liberals need to rebuild and because states will bear the brunt of the political and fiscal cost if the amendment passes. Washington would balance its own books by reducing or eliminating aid to states and cities, leaving governors and legislators with the painful choice of raising taxes or cutting services.

Clinton is at his best in the role of teacher. He warms to town meetings and kindred events where he can engage with public issues as they affect ordinary people. He needs to use such forums to make crystal clear why the Republican philosophy will not fix the economy or cure what ails voters.

The deficit, subject of more misplaced obsession, is projected to increase over the next 10 years, from its present 2.4 percent of GDP back to 3.6 percent. But more than 100 percent of that increase is projected inflation in Medicare and Medicaid. If those two outlays were held to their present share of GDP, the deficit would continue falling. So budget reform boils down to health reform. Clinton needs to get that story out. He needs to oppose simple-minded deficit hysteria, and make the case for substantive reforms instead.

Be a Chief Executive. Under our system, the president is the chief executive, not the chief legislator. Conventionally, of course, presidents are measured by the legislation they enact—Roosevelt's first hundred days, Johnson's Great Society, Reagan's tax cuts and military buildup. But progressive legislation in this Congress is simply not in the cards.

What the president does have is enormous administrative latitude, both to make policy and to manage the government better. Vice President Gore's National Performance Review is not a one-shot public relations stunt, but an ongoing enterprise. Democrats ought to run the government better, because they believe in it more. This can have several distinct payoffs. First, it can save money. One little publicized Clinton administration initiative is **procurement reform**. Government buys billions worth of goods and services, much of it inefficiently. As Ralph Nader and colleagues have argued in these pages, government procurement reforms can also make policy. Environmental standards in government procurement, for example, are the policy equal of new legislation, even though they can be done by regulation.

Making policy by regulation will be harder given a hostile majority in Congress. But Reagan managed it. Here again, Clinton needs to pick fights that usefully clarify that he is on the side of ordinary people, win or lose. For example, one trend adding to the economic insecurity of ordinary people is the shift to temporary and part-time work. Here, the Labor Department has **enormous administrative latitude under ERISA, OSHA, and the Fair Labor Standards Act, to discourage employers from redefining full-time, permanent jobs as part-time temporary ones.**

Much of what the government does involves collecting data, keeping records, paying benefits. As government record-keeping is efficiently automated, the payoffs in cost-savings and consumer satisfaction are potentially immense. With a vice president who is a technology buff, the

Clinton administration ought to be at the cutting edge of bringing government into the information age.

A dollar liberated by efficiency gains buys just as much as a dollar borrowed or taxed; it is all government has when borrowing or taxing are foreclosed. This part of the "New Democrat" agenda makes sense. It also steals the Republicans' clothes that are worth stealing. The press is conditioned to view legislation (or its blockage) as a front-page story, and public management as a non-story. But that can be changed. Some stories of making government work better are actually interesting.

Offer a High Road of Bipartisanship. In our own times, divided government has meant blockage. A generation ago, divided government actually produced consensus and legislative compromise. The zenith of that era, it pains me to say, was the presidency of Richard Nixon, who was viciously illiberal on many fronts but also fancied himself something of a progressive conservative on social legislation. With Democratic majorities in both houses, the Nixon era saw legislative progress on environmental legislation, expansions of Social Security, OSHA, and the like. Nixon even flirted with universal health insurance and a guaranteed annual income.

The Republican party, of course, is far more conservative today, but there are still areas of bipartisan overlap. Some Republican legislators do recognize that there is a health crisis. Some are concerned about the effects of defense cuts on their local economies. Some favor lobbying and campaign finance reform. Some even favor preventive anticrime measures. Taken out of the context of a bitter midterm election, some constructive compromises could command bipartisan support. In areas where there is a real prospect of success, it won't hurt for Clinton to invite Republican leaders into the strategizing. But in signing compromise legislation, Clinton needs to be crystal clear about how much more he might have done with a working progressive majority.

But Be a Fighter, Too. To submerge partisan difference into an essentially conservative consensus—reduce the deficit, cut public spending, deregulate, privatize, marketize—moots the rationale for a Democratic party. A lot of the Republican program is nonsense. At this writing, it is energizing to hear Alice Rivlin, David Bonior, and others, say so.

Even as he compromises on some measures, Clinton needs to constantly remind people why they sometimes vote for Democrats, and to revive the party's workaday base. By doing so, he will also revive the polity. Clinton was elected as a force for change, a champion of working families. Republicans can pose as the former, but not the latter. At best, they can appeal to working families' fears of crime, of racial minorities, of taxes. The 1994 election underscored that deep demands for change are still out there. Clinton can put forth some far-reaching proposals that won't be enacted in this Congress, just to make clear where he stands, and to build for next time.

One key failure of the 1994 campaign was the Democratic party's feeble and belated effort to motivate the party's base. Voter registration, mobilization, and get-out-the-vote took a back seat to fundraising and using the party as a lobby for White House legislative goals. After several years of effort, Congress finally enacted the motor-voter bill. Democrats hardly used it. As we move into the gravitational field of 1996, it remains the case that wage-earning people vote for Democrats (sometimes) because they think Democrats stand for economic opportunity and security for ordinary people, and Republicans don't. Clinton needs to reclaim that mantle for the party and for himself.

In 1994, as aging southern Democrats continued to retire or die off, the trend continued of conservative Republicans replacing moderately conservative Democrats in the South. Running as center-right Democrats didn't save candidates like Jim Cooper, the man who spent much of 1994

undercutting the Clinton health initiative. If Democrats are to win even some seats in culturally conservative regions where there is little progressive infrastructure, they will do it by running as economic progressives, offering something to wage earners otherwise vulnerable to the rough justice of raw capitalism. The deeper forces constraining economic opportunity and civic vitality will not be resolved in the next Congress. But if they are clear about what they stand for, Clinton and the Democrats can position themselves to fight another day.

The 1994 election either presages a Republican realignment, or a period when a justifiably surly and fickle electorate is still up for grabs. Which will it be? The forces suggesting realignment include these:

- Fiscal blockage makes it harder to do anything tangible for the base Democratic constituency other than to cut their taxes. Symbolic politics and pilot programs won't help much. A politics of scarcity will increase Democratic fractiousness.

- The South is likely to become more Republican as time goes on. The creation of racially gerrymandered districts only accelerated the trend, and backfired on both Democrats and blacks. A two-party South emphatically requires biracial coalitions on pocketbook issues.

- White male support for Democrats may continue to erode. Many white men resent affirmative action. Southern white men are among the most culturally conservative of sometime Democrats. Traditionally male blue-collar jobs that paid a living wage are disappearing.

- Term limits, as a substitute for reform of the money-and-politics nexus, would only intensify the polity's Republican and conservative tilt. Democrats in Congress depended too heavily on incumbency. By using incumbency to raise special interest money, they were both pushed to the right and spared the need to mobilize the party's dormant base. But a political system in which all seats come open every few years

and in which candidates can spend unlimited money portends more Michael Huffingtons and more Democrats who adopt economic positions at odds with their natural base in order to be financially competitive.

- Unless he does nearly everything right, Clinton could prove a personal liability for Democrats. Congressional Republicans can now conduct Whitewater fishing expeditions. If Clinton is personally discredited, either by Whitewater or by the perception of vacillation, his own unpopularity could supercharge the conservative trend.

On the other side of the balance sheet, the new Republican congressional majority cannot expect a free ride from the voters either.

- Gingrich and Dole will increasingly get bad press. Neither man is likely to wear well. Despite their insurgent pose, both are up to their ears in special interest money. Both have a nasty streak. Gingrich is culturally far to the right of the country. The press will find plenty to criticize about the new incumbents.

- Nothing the Republicans do will change the underlying economic insecurity of the average man and woman. Because of the same deficit logic that paralyzes, any tax relief the Republicans deliver will be token. Even draconian anti-crime measures are unlikely to change the reality on the street. If the mood continues to be sour, there will be a backlash against the GOP.

- There are profound contradictions in the conservative world view and in the voter embrace of it. The party that celebrates the open global economy is also the party of California's anti-immigrant Proposition 187. People who are fearful of job loss and downward mobility resulting from greater economic turbulence voted for the party of laissez faire. People who wanted tax relief and deficit reduction voted for proponents of a Contract with America that will make both goals harder to achieve. The party of personal liberty

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wants prayer in school and state regulation of women's reproduction.

■ The smaller congressional Democratic delegation is likely to be a more coherent and effective one. The election thinned the ranks of the party's DLC wing, and the party that remains is likely to be clearer about what it stands for.

Democrats and liberals can wrest the working middle class away from its unnatural liaison with ultraconservatives only if they are clear about what they themselves believe and have the courage of their convictions. Clinton has a choice of two governing scenarios. One begins to rebuild the party base; the other offers a pale version of the Republican program. But slightly more moderate versions of welfare crackdown, or modified school prayer, or retrenchment on gay rights, or longer prison sentences, won't reclaim voter affections. If Democrats fail to restore allegiances based on pocketbook affiliation, they will be swamped by social issues.

Clinton's choice of where to block and

where to compromise will also influence the stories that both parties are able to tell two years from now. When the lot of the average person is not improved, the right will doubtless insist that Clinton is to blame for having blocked its program. Clinton needs to be constantly stressing why the Republican Contract will do little for the average person. The worst temptation is to let the shell shock of defeat lead Democrats to accept 1994 as a Republican mandate, and to presume that their task is to become more like the Republicans.

The new political era contains the risk not just of partisan blockage but of deeper social and economic stalemate. At stake is not just who will govern but whether the civic and social fabric will hold. A failed Republican program of laissez faire will intensify the poisonous mix of downward mobility and racial resentment. It will fuel the politics of voter backlash and plain demagoguery. Even worse than realignment, we may see a politics of permanent fury. To discern a liberal high road that can offer both authentic remedies and effective politics is no easy task. ♦

FAX COVER SHEET

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Pages (including this cover) 3

FROM: **DAVID NAIMON**

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MESSAGE:

VP Bagin
Not guy (w/ass)
a position in the administration
He's a piece of J.C. Jones
from Gen. - Main Sun summit interview
mi
Bo

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12.19.94

DAVID A. NAIMON

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WORK EXPERIENCE

Assistant Counsel, House Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Administrative Law and Governmental Relations, 1989-1995.

Organized hearings, briefed Members of Congress, drafted legislation and Committee reports, and otherwise staffed legislative efforts concerning federal ethics laws and tort claims against the United States. Oversight responsibilities included the Office of Government Ethics and the Department of Justice's Environment and Natural Resources and Civil Divisions, and Office of Public Integrity.

- Intensive involvement with House passage of the Lobbying Disclosure Act to reform lobbying registration and gifts rules, including numerous meetings with House leadership. Counseled House Members and staff on implications of voluntary ethics pledges.
- Organized hearings and otherwise staffed efforts leading to passage of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (P.L. 101-426 and amendments in P.L. 101-510), expanded compensation to Japanese-Americans interned during World War II (P.L. 102-371), and extension of Federal Tort Claims Act coverage to federally supported community health centers (P.L. 102-501). Helped secure change in Department of Veterans Affairs compensation for mustard gas victims.

Attorney, Verner, Lipfert, Bernhard, McPherson, and Hand, Washington, D.C., 1987-1989.

Assisted representation of clients before the Federal Communications Commission. Researched and wrote pleadings, legal memoranda and letters in FCC rulemakings and comparative broadcast proceedings. Monitored and analyzed legislation concerning communications, fair housing, product liability, corporate takeovers and other insurance issues. Advised clients about congressional ethics rules.

Columnist, The Montgomery Journal, 1987-1990.

Wrote weekly newspaper addressing education and related legal and policy topics.

Legislative Assistant, Montgomery County Office of State Affairs, 1984.

Reviewed proposed legislation and lobbied on behalf of the County Government before the Maryland state legislature.

EDUCATION

University of Virginia School of Law, J.D., 1987.

Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, A.B., cum laude, 1983.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Member, Montgomery County Democratic Central Committee and Maryland State Democratic Central Committee, 1990-1994.

Co-editor of monthly newsletter for 1,000 party activists. Led three successful voter registration drives. Assisted with Committee's media relations.

Steering Committee Member, Montgomery County Bill Clinton for President Campaign, 1991-1992.

Appeared on Maryland primary ballot in 8th Congressional District as candidate for delegate to 1992 Democratic National Convention. Served on Steering Committee for January 21, 1992 Washington D.C. saxophone fundraiser. Represented campaign at numerous "video coffees" and other events throughout Montgomery County.

Member, Montgomery County Board of Education, 1978-1979.

First student member on nonpartisan school board overseeing 200 schools, 11,000 employees, and 100,000 students. Served with both liberal- and conservative-controlled school boards.

Intern, Rep. Michael D. Barnes (D-MD), 1981.

Member, National Jewish Democratic Council, 1992-present.

Active in numerous Democratic campaigns and organizations, 1972-present.

PERSONAL

Married to Katherine L. Naimon, a Montgomery County special education teacher and Hebrew tutor.

REFERENCES

The Honorable John Bryant
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The Honorable Barney Frank
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202-225-5931

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12.19.94**FAX COVER SHEET**

Number of pages sent including this cover sheet 7

To: Kelly Crawford

Fm: Christopher Ashby

Re: Business Week Article

Date: December 19, 1994

Attached is a copy of a story from Business Week magazine. Last week when I met with the President, I discussed this article but did not have a copy of it with me. Would you please give it to him and mention that it is the one I referred to in our conversation.

He also read an article to me, but I forgot to ask for a copy. Could you ask him to send me one. Remind him that it was the allegory of the Japanese filling station attendant.

Thanks for your help.


Spelling / Blue
Gordon

12/20

Rivlin
Tyson

Cover Story

INEQUALITY

HOW THE GAP BETWEEN RICH AND POOR HURTS THE ECONOMY

When Armando G. de los Santos graduated from Fort Collins (Colo.) High School in 1985, he landed a minimum-wage job bagging groceries in a local market. He has since moved to another store, where he makes \$9.50 an hour in the meat section. But years of searching for something better have taught him a harsh reality: The well-paying blue-collar jobs that gave U.S. workers rising living standards for most of this century are vanishing. Today, you can all but forget about joining the middle class unless you go to college.

That's an economic hurdle de los Santos can't clear. One of eight children,

he couldn't turn for assistance to his parents, a custodian and a homemaker. In 1992, he won a \$1,500 scholarship to Colorado State University, attending class days and working nights. But when his grant and savings ran out after a year, he couldn't afford the \$4,000 annual tuition. So he went back to super-market work full-time and, at 26, began moonlighting as a bartender to save for more schooling. "I want a better job," he says, "but I need a BA."

De los Santos is wrestling with a challenge that confronts millions of Americans—and holds dire consequences for the entire economy. Since the late 1970s, an explosion of income inequality has

occurred along educational lines. Families in the mostly college-educated top quarter—those with annual incomes today of more than \$64,000—have prospered thanks to rising demand for highly skilled workers and tax cuts for the rich (charts). Meanwhile, import competition and the decline of unions have left families in the bottom quarter—whose breadwinners often dropped out or stopped after high school and earn less than \$22,000—stranded in low-wage limbo. This has led to the widest rich-poor gap since the Census Bureau began keeping track in 1947: Top-fifth families now rake in 44.6% of U.S. income, vs. 4.4% for the bottom fifth. As recently as



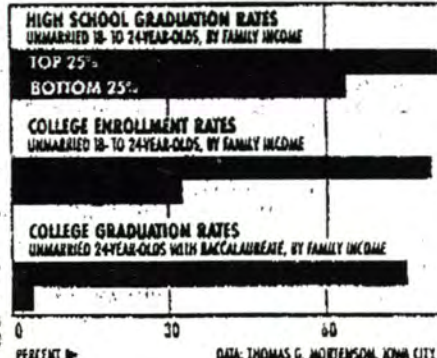
PHOTOGRAPH BY NANCY FINE/STREET IMAGES, CHART BY MATTHEW ROSE

A GROWING GAP BETW

INCOME LEVEL	AVERAGE FAMILY INCOME AS SHARE OF NATIONAL INCOME	
	1980	1994
TOP 25%	48.2%	51.1%
SECOND 25%	26.9	26.1
THIRD 25%	17.3	16.1
BOTTOM 25%	7.6	6.1

DATA: CENSUS BUREAU

...IS DAMAGING EDUCATIONAL LEVELS...



DATA: THOMAS G. MORTENSON, KONA CITY

1980, the top got 41.6%, the bottom 5.1%.

Even as a good education has become the litmus test in the job market, moreover, the widening wage chasm has made it harder for lower-income people to get to college. Kids from the top quarter have had no problem: 76% earn bachelor's degrees today, vs. 31% in 1980. But less than 4% of those in bottom-quarter families now finish college, vs. 6% then. Their troubles start early: Lower-income children, a growing share of the total, do worse in school and drop out more than three times as often as top-half kids.

As distressing as those trends are, a small but expanding cadre of economists argues that they may herald something much worse: lower U.S. growth fueled by inequality. It's already clear that income disparities hurt skills. The share of new workers with college degrees, which soared in the 1970s as baby boomers and women entered the workforce, has leveled off. The national high school dropout rate remains in the double digits. And test scores are flat for junior high and high school students: America ranks No. 13 in math and science skills among 15 industrialized nations. All these averages are pulled down by lower-income students.

This lack of progress comes at a critical moment. In nearly every industry, the spread of new technologies is creat-

ing a need for employees who know how to do more. As companies reorganize, moreover, they're pushing decision-making down the ladder. If U.S. workers can't handle these changes, companies will be less productive than they should be. And that's a prescription for a stunted economy. "A great skill shortage is going to occur that will eat away at our competitiveness," worries John L. Clendenin, chief executive of BellSouth Corp., which interviews up to 50 applicants for each technician job. "And economics has a lot to do with it."

"BIG SHOCKER." Most of the new theory linking inequality and the overall economy is based on mathematical models of growth created by economist Paul Romer at the University of California at Berkeley. Recently, a half-dozen economic theorists have used his methods to show how income gaps hurt gross domestic product by lowering efficiency. At the same time, urban economists have provided some empirical verification by showing that growth in jobs and income is slower in cities with wide wage inequities and faster where incomes are more on a par. "Maybe even the rich can be worse off from inequality," says Romer. "We now must think seriously about something we didn't believe could happen."

Such ideas turn traditional economic thought on its head. The conventional

wisdom holds that the overall economy is largely unaffected by how income is shared. It's total income that matters, the thinking normally goes, since consumers fuel demand—be it for yachts or bread. It's O.K., too, if the rich just save their surplus, since that will finance new investment. Until recently, in fact, most economists thought inequality was a result, not a cause, of slow growth. That view lost its luster in the 1980s, however, when "the big shocker was that the country got richer and those on the bottom didn't," says Northwestern University sociologist Christopher Jencks.

If this trend persists, it could tarnish America's image as a land of opportunity. True, there's still more economic mobility in the U.S. than in most countries. But "a society divided between the haves and the have-nots or between the well-educated and the poorly educated... cannot be prosperous or stable," warned Labor Secretary Robert B. Reich upon the release of a May report documenting rising inequality. Adds Republican strategist Kevin Phillips: "This stratifying starts to make us into a different country. It goes to the American notion of fairness."

Just ask Michelle M. Mouzon, whose lack of education has left her nearly destitute since she lost her \$12-an-hour factory job last year. A high school gradu-

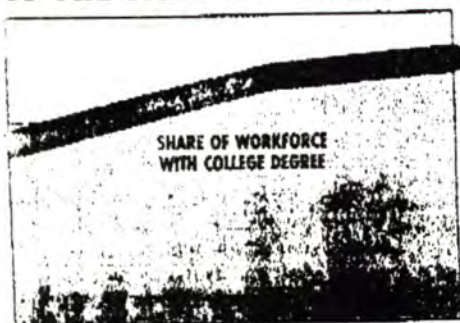
ICH AND POOR FAMILIES...

AVERAGE FAMILY INCOME
IN THOUSANDS OF 1992 DOLLARS

1980	1992	PERCENT CHANGE
78,844	\$91,368	UP 15.9%
44,041	46,471	UP 5.5%
28,249	28,434	UP 0.7%
12,359	11,530	DOWN 6.8%

...SLOWING THE GROWTH OF THE SKILLED WORKFORCE

SHARE OF WORKFORCE
WITH COLLEGE DEGREE



1980 1992 2000
A. PERCENT DATA: BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS; JOHN BISHOP, CORNELL UNIVERSITY; BW



NORMAN MAERZ/PHOTOFEST

Cover Story



INEQUALITY IN THE CLASSROOM

Studies show that poor students face many more disadvantages than more affluent kids, both at home and in school. That's part of the reason why they score so much lower on standardized tests.

WITH MORE LOW-INCOME STUDENTS



*CHILDREN ELIGIBLE IN FAMILY OF EARNING \$10,000 A YEAR OR LESS
DATA: AGRICULTURE DEPT., CENSUS

RICH KIDS

Students at the Valley School in Flint, Mich., all go on to college...

ated to a separation from her husband in January. Unable to afford their apartment by herself, Mouzon lived in a hotel with friends while Amber, her 11-year-old, stayed with grandparents—and paid a price. "Amber has been in three different schools this year," says Mouzon. "It has set her back." Mouzon finally found an inexpensive one-bedroom apartment and landed a \$6.50-an-hour, three-month accounting internship through the college. Now, she works days and goes to school nights to finish her degree.

CORRECTION TIME? There's a theory that inequality may not stay high for long. University of Chicago economist Steven J. Davis says that when wage gaps get too skewed, college enrollments tend to surge, creating a surplus of graduates whose pay then goes up more slowly. For now, though, the baby bust—and inequality itself—are limiting the numbers of BAs, so pay for the educated keeps rising. The result, predicts Anthony P. Carnevale, chief economist at the American Society for Training & Development: "Inequality will get worse as

the economy accelerates, because companies need more skills."

Nor will Washington provide solutions. The Clinton Administration has responded with measures to bolster training and education—promoting apprenticeships and granting more generous college loans. But budget constraints have hampered these efforts. And in any case, they are minuscule compared with strategies Europe uses to fight inequality, such as high minimum wages and mandated corporate-training expenditures (page 82). Unable to win over Congress, Clinton has dropped such ideas, which he embraced in his campaign.

Actually, the rich-poor debate has narrowed considerably since flaring during the Reagan years. "The facts about higher inequality are no longer in dispute," says Davis. One secondary argument centers on which of several factors are paramount: rising imports, the decline of organized labor, an influx of unskilled immigrants, demand for higher-skilled

workers prompted by new technology, or Reagan-era tax cuts, which many studies show to be at least part of the problem. There is also a theory, offered by Northwestern's Jencks and others, that the poor may have held their own to some degree. The evidence is their consumer spending, which some studies find hasn't fallen. Other research, however, such as that by Harvard University economists David M. Cutler and Lawrence F. Katz, has found the opposite. And in any case, note Jencks and others, statistics on consumption aren't as reliable as the income figures the Census Bureau reports.

DOMINO EFFECT. Those show better-off Americans rapidly outpacing the field. Pretax hourly pay climbed 2% after inflation for the top quarter of earners between 1980 and 1992, says Rand Corp. economist Lynn A. Karoly, while the real hourly pay of the bottom quarter skidded 4%. The gap is starker by education level. Pay of dropouts had plunged 20% by 1991, the latest comparable year available, while that of college grads bumped up 4%, according to an analysis of Census figures by the Economic Policy Institute, a Washington research group. The story is similar for family income, which includes two-salary couples plus earnings such as interest and rent. Top-quarter families have beaten inflation by 16% since 1980 and earned \$91,000 on average in 1992, ac-

HOW INCOME GAPS AFFECT JOB GROWTH

A study of the 85 largest metropolitan areas found a strong link between the rate of job growth and the gap between incomes of city residents vs. suburbanites. Here are the cities with the largest city/suburb income gaps and those with the smallest.

JOB GROWTH IS SLOWEST WHERE THE GAP IS WIDEST...

CITY AND SUBURBS	CITY DWELLERS' INCOME (1990)	JOB GROWTH** 1980-90
NEWARK	47%	8%
DETROIT	48	8
CLEVELAND	50	-0.6
BUFFALO	55	5
ST. LOUIS	56	12

*MEDIAN ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME AS A PERCENT OF SUBURBANITES' INCOME

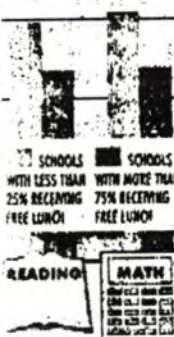
...AND STRONG WHERE THE GAP IS NARROWEST

CITY AND SUBURBS	CITY DWELLERS' INCOME (1990)	JOB GROWTH** 1980-90
LAS VEGAS	99%	39%
W. PALM BEACH	92	38
CHARLOTTE	99	22
NORFOLK	97	25
SAN DIEGO	94	34

** TOTAL FOR CITY AND ITS SUBURBS
DATA: WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

...DOING POORLY ON TESTS...

AVERAGE 12TH-GRADE TEST SCORES (1992)**



...OVERALL PERFORMANCE LEVELS STALL

AVERAGE TEST SCORES FOR ALL 12TH GRADERS**



OF A POSSIBLE 500 POINTS DATA: NATIONAL ASSESSMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS



cording to Census. But the bottom quarter slipped by 7%, to \$11,500.

It has taken economists 60 years to show that such gaps can hinder growth. During the Depression, British economist John Maynard Keynes worried that inequality sapped aggregate demand. But in the 1950s, American Simon Kuznets redirected the debate by arguing that inequality waxed as countries develop and waned after they industrialized. Since this squared with the falling rich-poor gap in Western countries after World War II, experts subsequently focused on how growth affected income distribution, not vice versa.

The new theory finds that the effect can go both ways. It employs concepts pioneered by Berkeley's Romer to show that a company's productivity improvements depend not just on capital investments and the skill of workers but also on the efficiency gains of its competitors, whose better methods spread through an industry. The new theory uses similar equations to show that individual skills depend on more than innate ability: They're also affected by fami-

FRUSTRATED

"I need a BA," says grocery worker Armando de los Santos



ly and neighborhood income. Such ideas are usually presented in highly theoretical papers, which argue that because large income gaps undercut worker skills, employers will face shortages of qualified employees that undermine corporate efficiency.

Some samplings of this work: Brown University economist Oded Galor concludes that productivity suffers when poor families can't borrow enough to educate their kids. In another study, University of Wisconsin economist Steven N. Durlauf concludes that widening inequality hurts education in poor communities deprived of school tax dollars and the role models of professional parents. Beyond that, theorizes Columbia University economist Roberto Perotti, as the rich race ahead, they balk at the high taxes needed to educate poor children better.

That's shortsighted, because inequality may brake growth so much that even the rich lose out over 5 to 10 years, calculates Massachusetts

Institute of Technology economist Roland Benabou in another paper. "If you move to a rich suburb, it will improve your children's education," he says. "But if their co-workers still in the city are left sufficiently deficient in their education, it will more than offset the advantages your children gained," because productivity and growth suffer.

DOWNTOWN SLOWDOWN. There's a mounting, though still largely circumstantial, body of evidence to back up the theory. So far, most of it comes from urban economists, who look at regional rather than macroeconomic trends. Still, they offer some compelling evidence. For instance, central cities' per capita incomes were nearly equal to those of their suburbs in 1973, according to a study of the 85 largest metropolitan areas by Larry C. Ledebur, an urban studies professor at Wayne State University. But by 1989, city dwellers earned 16% less.

And where inequality rose the most, everyone suffered. Employment climbed an average 41% in the 1980s in 13 metropolitan areas where the suburbs' average household income was only 12% more than the city's, according to Ledebur. But job growth was only 14% in the 13 areas where suburban incomes were 40% higher. Ledebur thinks that lagging city incomes generate poverty and fiscal crises, which stunt invest-

POOR KIDS

...While low-income students upstairs are lucky to finish high school

Cover Story



STRUGGLING

Michelle Mouzon has been nearly destitute since losing her factory job

lunch, which means their parents make less than \$18,655 a year. Two have been killed in street violence. To Haffner, success is getting her charges back into 9th grade so some might finish school.

Haffner's kids are

ment and productivity in downtown companies that employ suburbanites.

Hank V. Savitch, an urban policy professor at the University of Louisville, has even quantified how much the well-off lose. Suburbanites forgo \$690 in annual income for every \$1,000 gap between their earnings and the city's, he and three colleagues found in a study of income growth between 1979 and 1987 in 59 metropolitan areas. Like Ledebur, he thinks cities and suburbs prosper or decline together. "As the disparities increased in the 1980s, it dragged down everyone's income," Savitch says.

No one yet has proven similar links between inequality and the entire economy. Most economists agree, however, that education and skills are key to economic growth. And there's lots of evidence that skills suffer when the wealthy go it alone. For example, school districts that mix rich and poor kids have higher reading and math scores than those where each group attends different schools, according to a 1989 study of 475 California districts. Rich kids do score higher when they're all in one school. But with mixing, "low-achieving kids are pulled up more than the high end is dragged down, so the average is higher," says study co-author Mark Dynarski, an economist at Mathematica Policy Research Inc. in Princeton, N.J.

DESPAIR AND REBELLION. Janet Haffner's alternative school in Flint, Mich., embodies this tale of two cities in one building. The Valley School, a prep school that charges \$6,000 a year, occupies two floors of a former junior high. All of its students go on to college. On the third floor, Haffner runs a public program for kids who have failed two grades—and who illustrate how the poor get left behind. More than 85% of her 110 remedial students get a federally funded free

hurt not so much by poverty itself as by despair bred by economic disparities. Indeed, Korean and Taiwanese students outperform Americans in math and science even though their incomes are much lower. But experts say children whose families are losing ground—while the affluent gain—often don't see the point of school. "You feel left out when you're low-income and inequality is rising," says University of Illinois sociologist Jonathan Crane. "Lower-class kids lose a sense of self-worth, which leads many to rebel or lose their initiative." Haffner sees this every day. "Our stu-

dents are really discouraged kids," she says. "They move constantly, change schools, lose friends, and lose hope."

That describes more and more kids. The ranks of low-income students—those who get a free lunch—have risen to 25% of all children from 21% in 1980. And that helps explain why U.S. students aren't gaining on their foreign counterparts. Poor kids score 30 points lower than affluent ones on standardized math tests, for instance. That weighs down the average score of U.S. 12th-graders, which remained at about 300 out of a possible 500 points in the 1980s. The same goes for dropout rates: They're 50% higher for white, 12th-graders in single-parent families—which earn 40% less than two-parent ones—according to a 1993 study led by University of Wisconsin sociologist Robert M. Hauser. By contrast, University of Illinois' Crane found in a 1991 study, poor teens drop out a third less often if they live where enough adults—about 13%—are professionals. He says good neighbors make good role models.

RISKY BUSINESS. The diverging fortunes of the rich and poor have wreaked the most havoc at the college level. Tuition at public colleges, where 80% of students go, jumped an inflation-adjusted 49% in the 1980s, to \$1,900 a year, according to a study by Harvard University economist Thomas J. Kane. With

WHY THE GAP ISN'T SO GIANT IN EUROPE AND JAPAN

The same economic forces that are driving a wedge between America's rich and poor have swept across every industrialized country. But according to dozens of recent studies, inequality has remained in check everywhere except in the U.S. and Britain. Here's why: European policies such as high minimum wages and countrywide (rather than company-level) collective bargaining offset market trends that would otherwise push high-skilled workers' wages up and keep those of the lower-skilled down.

"You can overcome the market forces that have driven up inequality, but you need government intervention to do it," says Harvard University economist Richard B. Freeman. He has edited a new book, *Working Under Different Rules*, which summarizes 54 studies that came to this conclusion by comparing U.S. and European labor markets. The catch is

that government meddling may have priced some low-wage jobs out of the market and hurt Europe's employment growth. Still, the new studies find the damage isn't as severe as many Europeans—and U.S. economists—fear.

There is little question that inequality has remained subdued in most industrialized countries. A study of U.S. men Rand Corp. economist Lynn A. Karz found that those in the top 10% of the bracket earned 5.6 times as much per hour in 1992 as did men in the bottom 10%—a 17% increase in this ratio since 1980 (chart). The gap widened by 3 for men in Britain, which has removed many government-intervention policies. Even so, top earners there still made only 3.4 times more than those on bottom. By contrast, highly paid French and German men earn only three times as much as the lowest-paid, a ratio that didn't change in the 1980s. And inequality only edged up in Australia, Canada, Japan, and Sweden, according to Freeman's book.

These countries offset market forces in various ways. France's higher minimum wages cover 12% of workers, less than 5% in the U.S. And unlike

JOAN SCHWARTZ

room and board, the tab will run to \$5,400—an amount families should be expected to pay only if they earn \$52,000 a year, according to federal guidelines. Meanwhile, Pell grants—the federal program that gives an average of \$1,500 a year to more than a quarter of the country's 14 million college students—trailed inflation by 13% in the 1980s, Kane found. True, there are more loans, which now account for two-thirds of college subsidies, vs. one-third in the 1970s. But loans are dicey. "College is an experiment for most low-income families," says Thomas G. Mortenson, who publishes an education newsletter in Iowa City, Iowa. "Shelling out borrowed money on something so risky doesn't make sense to them."

HARD CLIMB

Raymond Cristelli

works two jobs
but may still need
loans for college

Even many middle-class kids feel this way. Raymond D. Cristelli just finished high school in North Clarendon, Vt., and is aiming for college. But his parents have been unable to help since the recession hit his father's auto-repair shop. And anything the family can spare will go first to his older brother, who left college when the money ran out and wants to return. During school, Cristelli worked nights and weekends at Taco Bell and a record store. Now, he is working both jobs to save for college.



"I'm not comfortable taking loans, though I'm starting to face the idea that I'll have to if I really want to go," he says. Cristelli's story is typical. "The rich go to college more, which causes states to cut grants and raise tuition, keeping out poor students," says Kane.

Will anything reverse the problems inequality is causing? Clinton's attempts to make training and college more available will have some impact. But even in his dreams, he didn't envision the massive effort—such as a G.I. bill—that many experts believe is needed to give

workforce skills a real boost. Nor is the U.S. likely to adopt European-style social programs or labor laws.

Market pressures may still make a difference, some economists argue—pushing more people through college until they glut the labor market, their pay raises slow, and inequality eases. Indeed, the share of high school grads going to college has jumped to 62% from 49% in 1980. Still, the shortage of grads may continue. With bottom-half students stymied by falling incomes, most new enrollment has come from top-quarter students—81% of whom now go to college. The number of college-age youth is rising but only in lockstep with other groups: They'll stay at 10% of the population until 2005, Census projections show. In sum, the number of workers with a BA may edge up 1.5 points by 2000, to 26%—vs. a nearly 7-point hike in the '80s, says Cornell University economist John H. Bishop. He adds: "Even if enrollment rates rise for 10 years, there won't be enough college grads to drive their relative wages down."

Ever since slavery ended, the U.S. has at least partly lived up to the ideal that everyone should have an equal opportunity to prosper. Now, heightened inequality is undermining this concept. The U.S. will continue to suffer socially if the trend continues. And it's likely to suffer economically, too.

By Aaron Bernstein in New York, with bureau reports

he U.S., they rise with inflation. In Austria, groups of unions and employers negotiate national wage settlements that cover most workers. And in Japan, unions ensure that low-skilled workers keep pace in national bargaining. Europe also has more government-mandated protections, such as more generous unemployment, welfare, and child-care payments, which help low-wage workers keep a job or keep afloat.

ADJUSTMENTS. Corporate America has long resisted such measures as too costly. Many economists also argue that they would force companies to hold down hiring—impeding the rapid job growth the U.S. has enjoyed since 1980. Indeed, some European leaders now blame their high unemployment on these policies. Most studies on international inequality agree—but only partly. France's minimum wages probably do contribute to double-digit youth unemployment, although to

what extent is unclear, Freeman says. And Europe's generous welfare and unemployment benefits may ratchet up joblessness by giving some people an incentive not to work.

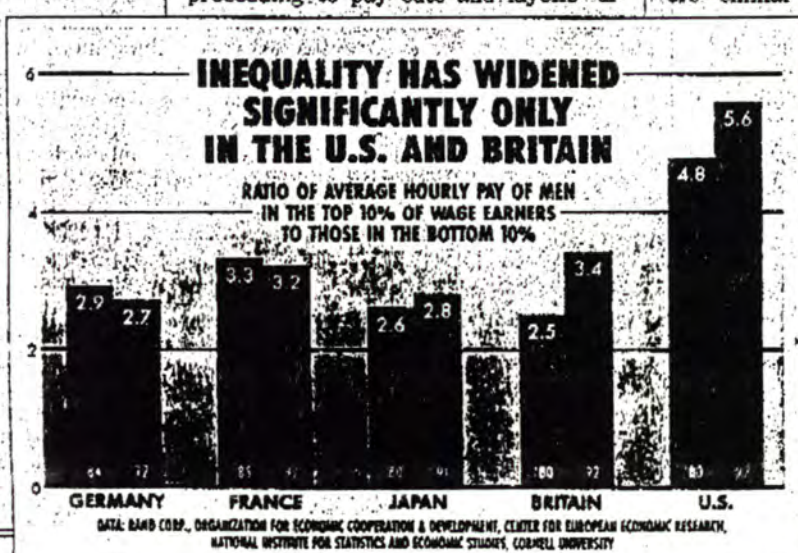
Still, European countries adjust in ways that hold down job losses, the studies find. For instance, French and German job-security laws prompt companies to reduce employee work hours before proceeding to pay cuts and layoffs—al-

though the current recession has triggered many furloughs. Extensive worker training systems in Germany and Japan also offset inefficiencies caused by government intervention by helping less-educated workers become better substitutes for higher-skilled ones. And many European social programs push people to work by placing time limits on welfare or providing day care for single mothers—similar to President Clinton's ideas for welfare reform. The

bottom line on Europe's strategies for fighting inequality is that "in general, the programs do not have major efficiency costs," concludes Freeman.

Of course, the U.S. can't simply copy what other countries do. But Freeman and others argue that it can adapt many European methods to the American context. There's no sign, however, that this is likely to happen anytime soon.

By Aaron Bernstein in New York



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12.19.94

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: NANCYH

RE: TODAY AND OTHER MATTERS

Dec. 19, 1994

The Hybels will attend the press conference and come by afterwards for a photo.

You need to talk to Mack today about your Arkansas trip.

Bill Curry-called on Friday to again say he needs to talk to you. 203-566-5565 (o) and 203-674-1437 (h).

Abby Ginzburg-Do you want to see her at the beginning of Office Time

Counts and Tom B Smith and the Caldwell's would like to come by before they leave at 5:55 today to say hello to you.

Do you need to see Al From this week? ~~Mack~~? All that is left is office and phone time but you do have 4 hours each day. Did you want lunch with Mack? (Maybe you could spend sometime with Mack in Little Rock.)

9-12-94
yes,
Nancy

✓
concur

N.Y. Times Poll

64% favor organized prayer in public Sch

29% no

7% —

Amend. Const. - 29% - yes

59% - no

12% - —

Only 45% of people understand voluntary prayer permitted

35% - Said it was not permitted -

20% - Don't know

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12.19.94

Chas. G. ...
12.19.94
for ...
RE

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES ENDORSING STATEMENT OF COMMON PURPOSE

African Methodist Episcopal Church, Second Episcopal District
Agudath Israel of America
• American Baptist Church
Assemblies of God
Association of Christian Schools International
Christian Brothers Conference
Church of God in Christ
Council of Bishops of the United Methodist Church
Council of Jewish Federations
Council of Spouses of Bishops of the United Methodist Church
Council of Churches of Greater Washington
General Conference of the Seventh Day Adventist Church
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America
• Lancaster Area Council of Mennonite Schools
(The) Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod
• Muslim Public Affairs Council
National Catholic Educational Association
National Council of Churches of Christ, Commission on Family Ministries
National Association of Evangelicals
National Church of God
National Conference
National Baptist Convention
Progressive National Baptist Convention
Rabbinical Assembly
Shiloh Baptist Church
Solomon Schechter Day School Association
Union of America Hebrew Congregations
Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America
United States Catholic Conference
United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism

Very much their statement

STATEMENT OF COMMON PURPOSE
AMONG RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES
SUPPORTING FAMILY INVOLVEMENT IN LEARNING

"Train children in the right way, and when old, they will not stray"
Proverbs 22:6

As members of religious communities from across the land, we join to affirm the vital and enduring role of families in the education of children. We have always regarded families--and parents in particular--as the primary teachers of children. Encouraged by Secretary of Education Richard Riley's concern for all children and his commitment to the role of families in educating children, we call upon all people of good will to stand as one with us in support of families' participation in children's learning.

Parents and guardians need to immerse themselves in the education of their children as never before. Children need the immediate and constant support of their families. But there are other voices at odds with these goals: the voices of poverty, loneliness, and fear. Because of this, there are children who do not attend school regularly, whose test scores and grades falter, who have too much idle time, and whose parents are absent, too overwhelmed or too busy to spend time reading, talking, praying, playing, listening, helping or encouraging them.

Religious communities hear this cry. It is with this knowledge and in our unique roles that we stand united in our commitment to the involvement of family members in the education of children. We believe the participation of family members in the education and spiritual development of young people is fundamental to a child's preparation for adulthood and the responsibilities of citizenship. Our nation's future depends upon a shared concern for the education of young people.

*In 555A
- inner values
- poverty
- respect
- self-reliance*

It is imperative that religious communities join together with governments, community organizations, businesses, and public and private schools in striving to provide families, parents, grandparents, foster parents, guardians, or extended family members with the information, skills, tools, and opportunities that will encourage their participation in the total education of their children, including character education. We are committed to working together to improve children's learning through family involvement partnerships.

We are thankful for the blessings of religious liberty, a sacred trust, stated in the Declaration of Independence and guaranteed by the First Amendment of the Constitution, that enables the members of all faiths to freely and openly work together for the common good. As beneficiaries of this great legacy, we pledge our support in encouraging family involvement in the education of children.

We call upon all citizens, religious communities, community organizations, and businesses to do their share. We urge family members to become actively involved in their children's education, religious communities to work to better understand and meet educational and family needs, community organizations to sponsor meaningful youth- and family-oriented activities, and businesses to adopt family-friendly policies in the workplace. Governments need to promote public policies that encourage greater family involvement in the education of all children. We challenge our society to value and nurture our children of today so that they can be productive citizens of tomorrow.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-19-94



BL-

Fyl

BL

Selection For

PERFORMANCE - DISPOSITION - CONFORMATION

E. B. GEE QUARTER HORSES

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BLYTHEVILLE, ARK. 72316

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BARN (501) 763-6659
OFFICE (501) 763-7027

E. B. Gee, Jr.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-19-94

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 16, 1994

CC. Dee Dee
Evelyn
mark

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SUE SMITH *SS*
Director of Agency Liaison

THROUGH: JAMES DORSKIND *JD*
Special Assistant to the President
Director of Correspondence and
Presidential Messages

SUBJECT: SELECTED CASEWORK

CC: Ushine
Sumner, T. W.

1. Holly Paul of Pennsylvania: "My Grandfather was my greatest influence," writes this eleven-year-old girl. Her grandfather was a decorated World War II veteran who died on January 3. Holly was saddened that a "bad snow and hail storm" had intruded upon the burial service.

We were unable to see his grave services. Noone played Taps for my pap. . . . I would really be exceptionally grateful if you would have someone play taps for him on Memorial Day. . . . P.S. My grandfather would really love it if you happened to show up when they played taps for him. He would love it even more if you were to duet with myself playing my clarinet and you playing your saxophone. . . . We would be glad to take you out to dinner.

Helen Stefanopoulos contacted the Veterans Administration, whose representatives worked with the family in planning a graveside ceremony even though Memorial Day had already passed when Holly's letter arrived at the White House. On November 2, Taps was played, and Holly was presented with the flag.

Holly later told Helen that "the ceremony was really nice." She asked Helen to thank you for helping her because she knows you get a lot of mail.

Attached is a copy of Holly's letter, a suggested response, and a photo for her.

2. Anthony Huntley of California: 73-year-old Annette Merla Huntley had always planned to be buried beside her deceased husband, Thomas, in Sawtelle National Cemetery. Thomas and Annette were both veterans of World War II.

Upon Mrs. Huntley's sudden death, her son Anthony learned that if his mother were buried at the desired site next to Thomas, she

would not be identified as a veteran, but only as "Annette, his wife." The Department of Veterans Affairs informed Anthony that in order to receive military recognition, she would have to be buried in Riverside Cemetery, some 100 miles away.

Anthony and his brother turned to you for help in fulfilling their mother's final wish. Susan Beveridge made contact with the VA, and, within two days, Annette Huntley's status as a veteran was verified. Mrs. Huntley was interred beside her husband, and her grave will have its own headstone reflecting her military service.

Following the funeral, Anthony reported that everything went well. He elaborated by saying, ". . . you love your country; you do what you are supposed to do; you vote in elections. It is gratifying to have this kind of response from government."

Attached is Anthony's thank you letter and a suggested response.

3. Tarnell J. Lewis of Mississippi: The Reverend Robert Handley of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, brought this case to your attention on behalf of one of his parishioners, Karen Thomas. Her mother, Mrs. Tarnell Lewis, suffers from a brain aneurysm and other severe disabilities.

Mrs. Lewis was in dire need of help. When her medical conditions worsened, she could not afford medicine or treatment. Unable to obtain disability benefits, Mrs. Lewis was also in danger of losing her home.

Charlene Cozart called Mrs. Lewis to address the woman's medical needs. The Reverend Handley's Mount Harmony Baptist Church had been providing some assistance to Mrs. Lewis, but he thought that more could be done. Charlene provided information about Indigent Drug Programs, and Mrs. Lewis's doctor was immediately able to get her needed medications at no charge.

Charlene then contacted the Social Security Administration for a status check on Mrs. Lewis' disability application and found that there are provisions for expediting cases of dire need. SSA only needed a letter from Mrs. Lewis -- which she provided -- explaining her circumstances.

Within a few months, Mrs. Lewis was approved for both disability and supplemental security income benefits retroactive to June 1992, making her also eligible for Medicaid. Karen wrote a thank you letter, noting that her mother would now be "receiving money to help care for herself and meet her daily needs."

Attached is Karen's thank you note and suggested responses to both Mrs. Tarnell Lewis and Reverend Handley.

4. Wanda L. Moaveni of Georgia: Ebrahim and Fatemah Moaveni, an elderly Iranian couple, and their daughter Ghamar, believed that all obstacles for relocation in the United States had been cleared. When their visas were finalized, the three intended to travel together.

At the last minute, Ghamar's visa was not processed, and her parents had to leave without her. Worried about their daughter, the senior Moavenis arranged for her to travel to Belgium and to stay temporarily with distant relatives. The United States Consulate in Brussels initially advised Ghamar that her papers would be processed. Unfortunately, this was incorrect; she could not enter the United States from Belgium.

Unable to determine why entry was denied, Wanda Moaveni, Ghamar's sister-in-law, called the White House. Susan Beveridge referred the matter to the Department of State. She learned that because the officials at the United States Consulate in Brussels had assumed that Ghamar was Belgian, they had not informed the Moavenis that Brussels is not an entry port for Iranians.

The Consulate contacted officials in Naples, one of the approved ports. Ghamar entered Italy on a visitor's visa, and she was then cleared to travel to the United States. She was reunited with her parents on November 17.

Wanda wrote to express thanks to you, Susan, and the State Department for reuniting her family. In a letter to Susan, Wanda made the following request: "Could you possibly have one of the President's Christmas cards and a photo sent to Ghamar? I would like for her to have this because I am proud of you, your office, and how my government worked on her behalf at such a high level and in such a personal, one-on-one way."

I have attached Wanda Moaveni's thank you letter to you, a photo for Ghamar, and a suggested response to Wanda. We will also send a holiday card to Ghamar on your behalf.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 16, 1994

Miss Holly Paul
538 Pottsville Street
Wiconisco, Pennsylvania 17097

Dear Holly:

Thank you for writing to tell me about your grandfather. He must have been a very special person and was lucky to have someone like you care so much about him.

I wish you and your grandmother a very Merry Christmas.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

A-100
VA

388046

Dear Mr. President,

My name is Holly Paul. I am 11 years old and live in Wisconsin Pennsylvania with my grandmother and before his death my grandfather. Like many other children I lived with my grandparents for almost my whole life. They raised me. But my grandfather was my greatest influence. He died on January 3 of this year. He was 79. He was a United States veteran. He served in Germany during World War II. He was awarded a purple heart. Before he died he asked to be buried in the National Cemetery at the Indian town Gap. That is what we did. But on the night before and morning of the graves services there was a bad snow and hail storm. The roads were horrendous. We were unable to see his grave services. No one played Taps for me. pop Memorial day is only a few weeks away. I would really be exceptionally grateful if you would have someone play taps for him on Memorial Day.

Thank you for taking time
to read this. Thank you!

Sincerely,
Holly Paul
Holly Paul

P.S. my grandfather would really
love it if you happened to show up
when they played taps for him.
He would love it even more if you
were to duet with myself playing
my clarinet and you playing your
saxophone. If you were to do either
we would be glad to take you out
to dinner. Please write back or call.
My phone number is 717-453-7609.
My address is 538 Pottsville St.
Wiconisco, PA
17097