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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3/11/95

ENVIRONMENTAL GAME PLAN

OBJECTIVE: Use the environment politically to establish values, and to reach out to swing voters while mobilizing the base. We can establish that we're standing up for people and their families by preventing a roll-back of environmental laws, establish that we're reforming government, and create a distinction between ourselves and our opponents -- who would compromise public health.

BACKGROUND: Proposals by some members of the new GOP Congress would result in dramatic rollbacks of health and environmental standards -- a clear distinction with the Administration, which is focusing on common sense reforms for those programs.

Environmental issues are considered values issues by Americans; they are associated with God, family and personal responsibility. Environmental issues are popular with centrist middle-America as well as with core activists. Moreover, this is an issue that people associate with democrats. People care most about health issues such as safe drinking water and cleaning up toxic dumps. They support stronger standards and are deeply opposed to rolling them back. These issues matter most in populous areas such as the Northeast, industrial Midwest and West Coast.

The environmental debate will be played out on several fronts. These are described in depth in the detailed operating plan. They include:

- 1) **The Contract** -- with the Contract, Members are not yet attacking environmental laws directly. Rather, they are proposing procedural overhauls that will have the effect of gutting them, including: 1) Risk/Cost Benefit/Regulatory Impact Analysis provisions, 2) Anti-Enforcement provisions, 3) Takings provisions and 4) Reg Budget provisions in the "Job Creation and Wage Enhancement Act."¹
Timeline: first 100 days.
- 2) **"Unfinished Business" legislation** -- Superfund and Safe Drinking Water.
Timeline: starting as soon as several weeks into the session, second 100 days.
- 3) **Congressional attacks on existing standards** -- Clean Air, CWA/Wetlands, ESA, Mining, ANWR, etc. *Timeline: early this year, probably starting with appropriations.*
- 4) **The Administration's reforms** of environmental programs.
Timeline: Underway, continuing throughout term.

¹ For the purposes of this memo "Contract" means only these provisions that affect health and environmental programs, not any of the other 9 bills. Unless otherwise noted it also does *not* include Unfunded Mandates, which is considered separately.

BASIC RECOMMENDATIONS

- o **Focus on reforms** to make government work better and cost less
- o **Contrast our reforms with the Contract's** provisions to roll back standards
- o **Keep the focus on health issues** where we have strong proposals for reform. These matter most to the largest number of people (e.g., Superfund, SDWA)
- o Continue to pursue flexible, fair and balanced approaches for other issues (e.g., ESA, land use)

MESSAGE

- o We're standing up for people:
 - We're standing up for our families' health
 - We're fulfilling our responsibility to our children and future generations
 - We're working to see that our economic future is secure
- o We're for common sense reforms of environmental programs -- so they work better & cost less
- o They're working to roll-back public health and environmental standards -- we'll stand up to them, on behalf of people

ORGANIZATION

o Communications.

- **Form a general communications work-group.** (WH Comm, Waldman, CEQ, OIRA, agency designees)
- **Dedicate people to staff this effort (virtual war room)** -- in order to handle phoning, faxing, materials preparation, etc. (This staff should be composed of WH and agency staff who are fluent in policy and communications.)
- **Strong link to policy groups** (below) and **Legislative Affairs**
- **Each policy group (below) has communications subgroup** that works under this general communications work-group (above)

o Vice President's government reform effort

- **Risk** (chaired by OIRA & OSTP)
- **Takings** (chaired by CEQ)
- **Unfunded mandates** (chaired by DPC)
- **Reform** (environmental portion chaired by CEQ)

o Work groups and rapid response teams. CEQ, with agency CoS group, have established work teams to prepare for the main battles. In addition to the 4 listed above, they are:

- "Unfinished business" legislation -- **Superfund and Safe Drinking Water**
- Congressional attacks on existing standards -- **Clean Air, CWA/Wetlands, ESA, Mining, ANWR**

Deliverables include:

- Principles,
- Attack packs
- Outreach plans
- Communications strategies
- 2nd degree amendments

(The status of these is included in a detailed operating plan)

ROLES

POTUS role:

Key decisions: Whether to make a statement and when? How to talk about reform but not rollback -- standing up to Congress? How to talk about Superfund and SDWA?

- o **Level of involvement.** The plan does not require a great deal of the President's time. However, he should articulate his principles on the environment.

Timing. Go on record early (early February?)

Message. POTUS sticks to high ground, articulates themes. Does not haggle over details.

- Thematic statement emphasizing the middle-class values such as faith, family, responsibility and community that people associate with the environment.
- Reference 25th anniversary of Earth Day, EPA, Clean Air Act, etc. -- a great American success story.
- Emphasize reform of government to make it work better and cost less.
- [Allude to standing up for people to stop roll-backs -- "we won't go back to the days when rivers burned..." (reform yes, rollback no)]
- Take some firm administrative action that demonstrates these principles.
- [Reference Congressional responsibility to act on Superfund/SDWA bills]

See sketch of this speech. It includes options for how to say "Reform Yes, Rollback No" and how he might reference Congressional responsibility to act on Superfund and Safe Drinking Water.

o **Venues:**

- 1 **State of the Union** -- a passage encapsulating the above themes.
- 2 **One or more of the following:** (between State of the Union & Earth Day)

✓ Free standing speech -- perhaps in a church (many churches have made environment a top priority)

✓ At site of a reform success story, in a target location
(e.g., Bay/Delta in CA or "great printers" pollution prevention in MI)

- At a Prayer Breakfast
- Statement after a lunch with the President's Council on Sustainable Development (coalition of CEOs, environmentalists, social activists and the Cabinet)
- REGO II environmental announcement, with VPOTUS

3 **25th Anniversary of Earth Day** -- Kennedy Center gala -- April 22. This is also about the end of 100 days.

VPOTUS:

with country

- o **Message.** Public role similar to President -- sticks to themes, principles. Heavy emphasis on reforms to make government work better and cost less.

*Approach Superfund & SDWA the same way as President?
Some more direct criticism of items in the Contract?*

- o **Role of government speech.**
- o **Reform announcement.** With Cabinet, announcing REGO II reforms of environmental policies (also listed as a potential venue for POTUS, above). February.

CABINET:

- o **Lead spokespeople.** Members of the Cabinet are the primary vehicles for this effort.
- Contrast Contract with our reform agenda
 - Focus on positive health issues (e.g., Superfund & SDWA).
 - More coordination so they all can focus on key issues, not just those in their agencies.
- o **Timing.** January, elevate the level of attacks on the Contract, with Cabinet members.

- After that, they might embark on a nationwide series of speaking engagements to contrast our attempts at reform to their attempts at roll back.
- o **Sub-cabinet.** Assistant Secs/Administrators very active. Utilize the Regions.

OUTSIDE THE ADMINISTRATION:

- o Coordinate with **Members of Congress** who share our principles.
- o Ramp up coordination with **stakeholders**.

ISSUES

Coordination of Administration spokespeople, timing, message and work with outside groups handled by the general communications group and "war room" (above).

THE CONTRACT:

- o **Arm people with the facts.** Start ASAP. Verbally, and on paper where appropriate.
First targets:
 - Key people in the Administration, including the regions,
 - Key stakeholder groups,
 - Key members of Congress (at the appropriate time, through Leg Affairs), and
 - Opinion leaders in the media (coordinated with WH Communications).
- o **General message:** (draft)
 - We agree that major reforms of government are needed
 - We support much of the action in the TV guide version -- which includes things we support like better risk assessment and protection of private property. But the actual legislation *DOESN'T DO WHAT THEY SAID* it would do.

What does it do?

- It would require *MORE TAXPAYER MONEY* and *NEW LAYERS OF BUREAUCRACY* in order to get *LESS DONE* -- exactly the opposite of what's needed
- It will create a *LITIGATION EXPLOSION*
- It will *CRIPPLE ENFORCEMENT*
- It will *COST TAXPAYERS BILLIONS OF DOLLARS*

- It will *COMPROMISE PUBLIC HEALTH*
 - *It rewards polluters, big businesses and special interests who take advantage of the system and punishes people who work hard, pay their taxes and play by the rules.*
- o **Takings.** Takings will likely be the issue on which we draw the clearest distinction. A communications strategy is in draft.

SUPERFUND:

- o **We should not get ahead of ourselves.** Something like the following:
- **Point to the need:** 1 in 4 live near a Superfund site. It costs more than it should -- more money should go to cleanups and less money to lawyers just seeking to clean up.
 - **Continue to emphasize our efforts:** We put together a strong reform package that would have made it faster, fairer and cheaper. A very broad coalition supported us -- from the Chamber of Commerce to the Sierra Club.
 - **Say it should be a priority for this Congress.**
- o As the situation develops, we might articulate basic principles that Congress should follow (e.g., polluter pays, protecting public health, cutting waste, increasing community involvement)

SDWA:

- o **We should not get ahead of ourselves.** Like Superfund, we should do something like the following:
- **Point to the need:** All Americans should have a right to drink from their tap water from fear -- but last year thousands got sick, and more than a hundred died. It costs too much and it's too inflexible.
 - **Continue to emphasize our efforts:** We put together a strong reform package that would have made it work better and cost less.
 - **Say it should be a priority for this Congress.**
- o As the situation develops, we might articulate basic principles that Congress should follow (Protecting people's health, more flexibility and assistance to states and local governments.)

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FOR DISCUSSION ONLY

1/25/95

REGIONAL ANALYSIS OF ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

OVERVIEW

This analysis identifies the top 20 target states for an environmental game plan. Selection was determined mainly by: (1) the environmental rating of the state based on voting records of representatives in Congress; and (2) whether the state was carried by Clinton-Gore in 1994. Arkansas, Tennessee, and D.C. were excluded from the analysis. In order of their environmental ranking, these 20 states are: VT, MA, NJ, RI, ME, CT, HA, MD, WI, MI, CA, WV, OH, MN, IL, WA, PA, NY, DE and OR. Altogether, these states total 278 electoral votes.

This analysis also divides the country into five regions, identifies environmental issues of interest, and recommends different regional approaches. The five regions are the Northeast, the industrial Midwest, the West Coast, the Rocky Mountains/Plains, and the Southeast. Of the states on the target list, 10 are in the Northeast (115 votes), six are in the Midwest (87 votes), four are on the West Coast (76 votes), and none are in the Rocky Mountains/Plains or Southeast regions.

This analysis points to two striking conclusions:

- o The most environmental states tend to cluster in three specific regions -- the Northeast, the industrial Midwest, and the West Coast; and
- o The environmental issues of greatest importance in those regions tend to be related to health -- especially clean water, toxic wastes, and clean air.

RECOMMENDATION

These conclusions support the recommendation that the overall game plan should have three parts:

- ✓ (1) a national message geared to emphasizing family, future, and values;
- ✓ (2) a focus on issues related to health, especially in the 20 target states in the three environment regions; and
- ? (3) a defensive posture in other regions, responding to criticism while supporting responsible reforms.

THE NORTHEAST REGION

The Northeast is the most environmental region overall. Because of the heavy concentration of pollution from industrial sources, environmental health issues related to clean water, toxics, and clean air are especially important. In addition, the Northeast is host to numerous pollution control and alternative energy industries. States of particular interest are VT, MA, NJ, RI, ME, CT, MD, PA, NY, and DE.

General Approach

In general, the Administration could follow an approach in this region built around reauthorization of Superfund ("more money for cleanup, less money for lawyers"), reauthorization of the Safe Drinking Water Act (SDWA), and prevention of a weakening of Clean Air standards. Principal Administration representatives on these issues would be the EPA Administrator, the appropriate EPA assistant administrators, and the regional administrators.

Issues

- o Toxic wastes -- The Northeast is the host to a disproportionate share of national Superfund sites. A tour of major Superfund sites by EPA representatives could be paired with calls for support for reauthorization before financing authority expires. Key states include New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania.
- o Clean water -- This issue is especially important as it relates to drinking water in general, water quality in the Great Lakes, and the health of Atlantic fisheries and beaches. EPA representatives should take the lead on clean water, for example by visibly promoting Great Lakes health initiatives and the Save-the-Bay effort in NY, PA, DE, and MD. However, EPA needs to develop a strategy to address concerns of state and local governments about financial burdens of the SDWA.
- o Clear air -- The clean air issue is significant because of the large number of urban areas failing to achieve health standards, and is especially appealing in New England and New York. (However, note that the Northeast blames some of its pollution on air blowing in from the Midwest.) Concerns center on transportation issues including auto inspection and maintenance and the Ozone Transport Commission petition for cleaner cars. EPA needs a major public education campaign on the benefits of clean air to be joined by electric vehicle producers (especially in VT, MA and NY), public health group, and makers of reformulated gasoline.

THE INDUSTRIAL MIDWEST REGION

The Industrial Midwest also ranks generally high as an environmental region, although not as high as the Northeast. Environmental concerns of the Industrial Midwest are similar to those of the Northeast, focusing on health matters. States of particular interest are WI, MI, WV, OH, MN and IL.

General Approach

In general, the Administration could follow an approach in this region built around reauthorization of Superfund ("more money for cleanup, less money for lawyers"), reauthorization of the SDWA, and prevention of a weakening of Clean Air standards. The principal Administration representatives on these issues would be the EPA Administrator, the appropriate EPA assistant administrators, and the regional administrators.

Issues

- o Toxics cleanup --The Industrial Midwest is the host to a disproportionate share of national Superfund sites. A tour of major Superfund sites by EPA representatives could be paired with calls for support for reauthorization before financing authority expires. Key states include Michigan, Illinois and Ohio. Ohio is also host to several contaminated DOE facilities requiring major cleanups. DOE representatives could appear here as part of a touring defense of the Administration's clean up budget.
- o Clean water -- This issue is especially important as it relates to drinking water in general and water quality in the Great Lakes. EPA representatives should take the lead on clean water, for example, by promoting a Great Lakes health initiative. In addition, EPA could do a water event such as a Safe Drinking Water Act (SDWA) reauthorization kick-off in Milwaukee, WI. However, EPA needs to develop a strategy to address concerns of state and local governments on financial burdens of the SDWA.
- o Clear air -- The clean air issue is significant because of the large number of urban areas failing to achieve health standards, and is especially appealing in Minnesota and Wisconsin. However, the region splits on air issues because it is also home to high-sulfur coal mining (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, West Virginia) and the auto industry (Michigan, Ohio, and Missouri). EPA needs a major public education campaign on the benefits of clean air to be joined by public health organizations and makers of reformulated gasoline. Opportunities also exist for reclassifying certain cities as achieving attainment under the CAAA in Ohio and Michigan.

THE WEST COAST REGION

The Pacific states of CA, WA, OR, and HA combine an interest in environmental health with support for the environment as a quality of life issue. In addition, there are several issues related to resource development that are particularly important, especially fish and forest issues in the Pacific Northwest and the control of water throughout the region.

General Approach

In general, the values message should be put uppermost but should be supplemented with communications initiatives on specific issues pertaining to water, air quality, fish, and forests. Representatives from EPA and Interior should be the principal message bearers, although DOE can help promote clean energy industries in CA and toxic waste cleanup in Wa.

Issues

- o Water -- Water quality is a popular issue throughout the region. Further attention can be brought to it during reauthorization of the SDWA. In addition, in California the Administration can emphasize its success in the comprehensive Bay-Delta water agreement. However, in Washington and Oregon water issues are closely tied to protection of fish populations. The Administration is currently developing an approach to the fish population crisis, focusing especially on salmon.
- o Clean Air -- Clean air issues are especially important in southern California where air quality is seriously impaired. The most challenging issue is getting the state to prepare an acceptable State Implementation Plan so that a Federal plan will not be needed. In addition, there are numerous industries in CA that benefit from clear air policies, including pollution control manufacturers and alternative energy industries (solar, wind, and geothermal).
- o Forests -- The Administration has developed a Northwest Forest Plan that has been upheld (and praised) so far by the courts for its ability to balance successfully environmental protection and economic needs. However, efforts to communicate its virtues will need to be stepped up as pro-industry members of Congress attack it in the next year.
- o Endangered Species Act (ESA) -- The ESA has become very controversial in parts of the West Coast. In addition to the Spotted Owl and the coho salmon, examples include the kangaroo rat in San Bernardino and the Fairy Shrimp in the Sacramento Valley. Reinventing (and eventually reauthorizing) the protection of species under the ESA will need to be a defensive priority for Interior and Commerce.

THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN AND PLAINS REGION

The Rocky Mountain and Plains region contains few states that rank high on the environment and many that rank at the very bottom. Here environmental concerns focus mostly on issues related to resource development such as mining, grazing, timber, and control of water. This region is the heart of the property rights movement that feels a certain way of life is threatened. There are no states in this region on the target list.

General Approach

Few of these states are likely to be very supportive of any set of environmental policies. Therefore, the best overall approach is to take a defensive posture on environmental issues while focusing more attention on other regions. A possible exception could be those areas where significant urbanization has occurred such as Colorado and New Mexico leading to a desire to protect community quality-of-life by preserving "greenspace".

↳ Wb, Ww, Az

Issues

- o ESA -- The ESA and related wildlife management activities are very controversial in much of the Rocky Mountains/Plains region. Examples include the Mexican spotted owl in New Mexico and Arizona, the golden-cheeked warbler in Texas, Grizzly Bears in Idaho and Montana, and the reintroduction of wolves in Idaho, Wyoming, and Colorado. Reinventing (and eventually reauthorizing) the protection of species under the ESA and related activities to achieve more defensible balance will need to be a defensive priority for Interior.
- o Grazing -- Due to successful opposition from Western Senators to raising grazing fees, Interior has decided to split the issue of grazing fees from issue of reforming grazing practices. Implementation of reforms of grazing practices would proceed administratively after a six-month delay allowing for consultation with Congress. Meanwhile the Administration would drop its proposal to raise fees, although Congress could deal with the issue on its own.
- o Mining Reform -- In the past, the Administration has supported mining reform legislation that contains several reforms of the current law including collecting a fair royalty for hard-rock minerals and adopting stricter environmental standards. Despite widespread support for mining reform even in most Western states (except Nevada), Western Senators were able to block passage of legislation last Congress. Pro-industry members of Congress are expected to push weak reform legislation this year with passage likely. As a result, the Administration needs to decide what is the best way to seek to save true reform.
- o Toxic Wastes -- One area in which health issues could be

emphasized is the clean up of certain contaminated DOE sites (many of which are also Superfund sites) that include former weapon facilities, and mining and milling sites. These programs could be subjected to serious cuts in funding, especially by the new House. DOE and EPA could show support for these sites by touring during budget season, especially in Colorado and New Mexico.

Yucca Mt - THE SOUTHEAST

In the Southeast, environmental concerns tend to be subordinate to New South development interests with the exception of a few urban areas such as Atlanta. As a result, the Southeast is similar to the Rocky Mountain and Plains region in lending support to the property rights movement. There are no Southeastern states on the target list. However, a few states in which narrow but popular environmental messages could be developed include Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, and Louisiana.

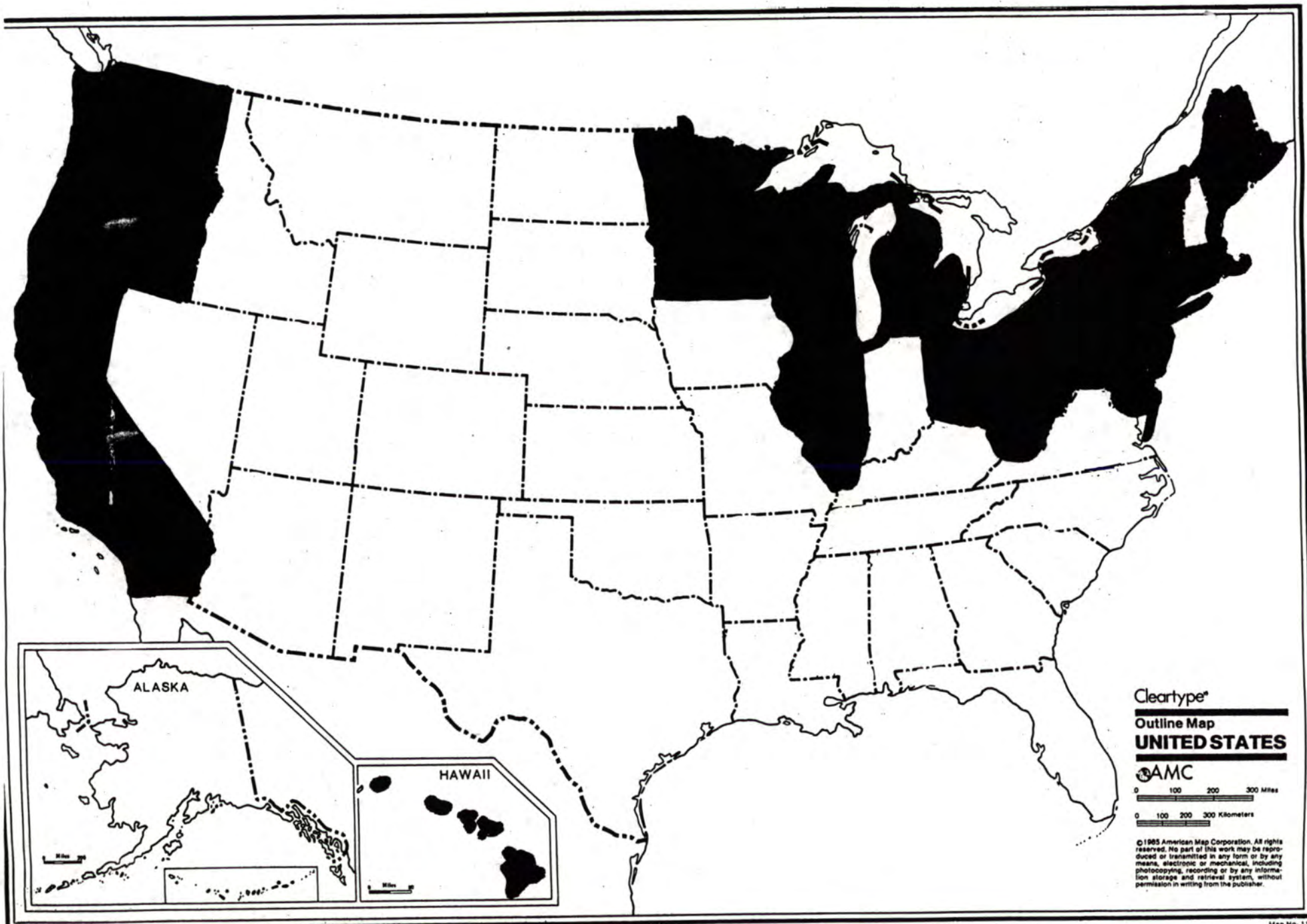
General Approach

Few of these states are likely to be very supportive of most environmental policies. Therefore, the best overall approach is to take a defensive posture on environmental concerns while focusing more attention on other regions. However, the Southeast could respond favorably to issues that are framed in terms related to family or religion. Accordingly, this a good region for the articulation of the general environmental values themes.

Issues

- o Water -- The water issue that has attracted the most vocal attention is the reform of wetlands policies under the Clean Water Act. The Administration has developed an overall approach to wetlands and should use it as a guide if this legislation is brought up for reauthorization. In addition, the Administration could focus attention on its efforts to protect the health of the Gulf of Mexico and to save the Everglades.
- o Clean Air -- In general, the region does not seem deeply concerned about the potential health benefits of clean air. However, the natural gas producing areas the Administration through the DOE could promote the economic benefits from the increased use of natural gas as a cleaner, alternative fuel.
- o Toxics -- The region is home to several DOE facilities requiring major cleanups. Budgets for these programs could be subjected to serious cuts in funding, especially by the new House. DOE could show support for these sites by touring during budget season, especially in Tennessee, South Carolina, and Florida.

TOP TWENTY TARGET STATES FOR ENVIRONMENTAL MESSAGE



Rank	State	Environmental Rating	Clinton Margin
1	VT*	90.25	15.7
2	MA*	88.00	18.5
3	NJ*	83.75	2.4
4	RI*	82.00	18.0
5	ME*	79.25	8.4
6	CT*	78.50	6.4
7	HA*	76.75	11.4
8	MD*	75.75	14.2
9	WI*	72.50	4.3
10	MI*	68.25	7.4
11	CA*	68.00	13.4
12	WV*	68.00	13.0
13	OH*	65.75	1.9
14	IL*	64.50	14.3
15	MN*	64.25	11.6
16	WA*	61.50	11.4
17	PA*	58.75	9.0
18	NV	57.75	2.7
19	NE	56.50	-17.2
20	NY*	55.00	15.8
21	AR	54.25	17.7
22	ND	53.75	-12.0
23	SD	52.75	-3.6
24	DE*	52.25	8.2
25	OR*	49.50	10.0
26	TN	49.00	4.7
27	MT	48.00	2.5
28	VA	47.25	-4.4
29	FL	47.25	-1.9
30	SC	43.50	-8.1
31	AZ	42.75	-2.0
32	IA	40.25	6.0
33	NM	39.00	8.6
34	GA	38.25	0.6
35	CO	35.75	4.2
36	NH	35.50	1.3
37	LA	35.00	4.6
38	KA	33.75	-5.2
39	OK	33.50	-8.6
40	IN	33.00	-6.1
41	KY	31.00	3.3
42	NC	29.25	-0.7
43	AL	28.50	-6.7
44	MO	27.25	10.2
45	UT	23.75	-18.7
46	TX	22.75	-3.5
47	MS	21.25	-8.9
48	ID	17.75	-13.6
49	AK	5.00	-9.2
50	WY	4.75	-5.6

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3/11/95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 6, 1995

95 MAR 8 A 8:29

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

CC: Vice President; Leon Panetta; Erskine Bowles; Harold Ickes

FROM: *DT* Laura Tyson, *BE* John Emerson and *GB* Gene Sperling

SUBJ: Regional Economic Conferences: Format and Content

We are nearing consensus on the format and content of the Regional Economic Conferences, and are finalizing the list of invitees. The list will be sent to you under separate cover. Our recommendations regarding format and content follow.

Purpose: The Republican Congress is currently driving the debate on the economy from Washington. The Regional Economic Conferences will allow you to move this debate out of Washington and to the people; they will provide an opportunity to restate the Clinton view of the economy--both in terms of who we are fighting for and the appropriate role of government.

Accordingly, the Conferences must communicate that you are on the side of working people; build popular support for the ideas embodied in the Middle Class Bill of Rights; and dramatize that the Clinton economic plan is working.

Format: Four regional conferences, in the South, West, Midwest and Northeast, focused around the theme: making the economy work better for working families.

Each Conference would feature the President, the Vice-President, and several members of the economic/domestic policy team at a roundtable composed of selected participants from the Little Rock Conference (many of whom are regional employers) and working people from the region. Other Little Rock attendees and key local leaders would be invited to observe the session. [We need to resolve whether the host Mayor or Governor should be invited to sit at the table, or limited to giving welcoming remarks.] The entire Conference would be open to the press.

Ideally, the day preceding each Conference, the President would visit another state in the same region, attending an event consistent with the Conference theme. (He could integrate that experience into his remarks during the next day). The day

preceding or the day after, the Vice-President and each participating Cabinet member would do a similar event in different markets throughout the region. Media Affairs would pivot off these events to blanket the region during that week.

The evening before each Conference, we would ask a friendly host governor or mayor to hold a reception for attendees and any folks from that state we would want to be included. (Gov. Zell Miller has agreed to do this at the Mansion in Atlanta.)

The four conferences should be spaced six weeks apart, with the first being the Southern Regional Conference in Atlanta on March 29; the second in the Mid-west (Minneapolis, which should - 1 Q this allow us to reach into Iowa, Illinois and Wisconsin markets, is why proposed) in mid-May; the third in Northern Massachusetts or New Hampshire in late June/early July; and the fourth in California (San Bernardino-Riverside or San Jose) in August. [An 1 hour alternative would be to hold the Western Conference in Colorado, followed by a separate California-only conference.] This would allow us to complete the series before Labor Day, after which the Conferences would likely be seen as too "political." then 3 hr

Content: Each Conference would feature four roundtable discussions, with participants rotating as we did in Little Rock. While we need to further discuss the substantive content, the emerging consensus is as follows:

Introduction: The President welcomes everyone and sets the tone for the Conference: Two years ago we confronted a national economy in serious trouble. We put a plan in place. Today the recession is over, inflation is down, growth is up, and we've created nearly 6 million jobs. But despite all that, many working people are not feeling the impact of this increased prosperity. The purpose of this Conference is to focus on what still needs to be done to raise living standards and increase security for ordinary middle-class Americans. (10 min.)

I. Overview (1 hour 15 min.)

- A. National Economy (Rubin or Tyson; 5 min.)
- B. Regional Economy (Regional Expert; 5 min.)
- C. Roundtable Discussion

II. Strains on Working Families in the New Economy (90 min)

- A. Wages.
- B. Transitions from job to job (lifelong learning; job training).
- C. Cost of higher education.
- D. Child care and health care costs.
- E. Wages (Reg. Issues)

III. Solutions: Private Sector Initiatives (90 min.)

What private sector initiatives can do to ameliorate

these strains. Discussion would include worker productivity and sharing in growth.

IV. Solutions: Role of Government (90 min.)

Discussion would stress the importance of the Middle Class Bill of Rights (and Responsibilities) and could also include deficit reduction, creating global opportunities, reinventing govt., and health care reform.

As in Little Rock, we would select individuals for each round-table who could contribute to the subject matter, and pose some questions to focus the discussion. We could modify the agenda from conference to conference, taking into account regional differences and the battle du jour over the budget in Congress.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3/11/95

February 2, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Melinda Bates *MB*

RE: National Prayer Breakfast

Congratulations on wonderful remarks this morning. Your prayer for yourself and other leaders is almost exactly what I pray for you and them every morning - that God will pour out His wisdom on you and reveal His plans and purposes, and that having seen the right thing to do, you will all have the courage to do it.

I'm reminded of what Mark Twain said: "Always do right. This will gratify some people and astonish the rest..." (President Truman kept this on his desk.)

President Madison must have been prescient when he said: "A zeal for different opinions...divided mankind into parties...and rendered them much more disposed to vex and oppress each other than to cooperate for their common good."

Did you see these remarks from Theresa Heinz about hate-driven partisans who are "critical of everything, indifferent to nuance, incapable of compromise. They laud perfection but oddly never see it in anybody but themselves. They are right all the time, eager to say I told you so, and relentlessly unforgiving... They corrode self-confidence and goodwill, they rule by fear and prejudice." I hope everyone who heard the remarks this morning will turn away from such behavior!

*Don Bates
Night in words
Sawing for the night time*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3/11/95

March 10, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BILL GALSTON ^{WAG}
VIA: LEON PANETTA
CAROL H. RASCO
SUBJECT: TRANSRACIAL ADOPTION

I called Bunning and told him you were working on this - that stuff may contact you - see my note at end of your memo - BC

After our conversation last night, I directed HHS to conduct an intensive review of the transracial adoption issue, focusing on two questions: (1) the legislative history of Sen. Metzenbaum's bill and (2) the substantive similarities and differences between that bill, the bill eventually adopted by the House/Senate conference committee last October, and the recent Republican proposals. The product of that review--a memorandum from the HHS General Counsel's Office with supporting documentation--is attached to this cover memorandum.

I would summarize the key points as follows:

1. Sen. Metzenbaum never introduced a pure "color-blind" bill. His purpose was to prohibit any agency that receives federal funds from denying a foster care or adoption placement solely on the basis of race, color, or national origin. As he said in his July 14, 1993 floor speech introducing his bill:

I believe that same race placement is always desirable, if possible and if the prospective parents are appropriate. For that reason, my bill states that race, national origin or color may be one of many factors to consider in determining the placement that is in the best interest of the child. However, my bill will also make it clear that race, national origin, or color cannot be the only consideration in making foster care and adoptive placements. Policies prohibiting racial and ethnic mixing have no place in determining what is in the best interests of any child.

Eliminating race as a sole factor or categorical bar to adoption was the fundamental purpose of Sen. Metzenbaum's legislation, and of the administration's efforts throughout. The bill ultimately adopted achieves precisely this result.

2. The bill as finally adopted includes language (not originally proposed by Sen. Metzenbaum) specifying the manner in which race can be taken into account:

An agency or entity to which [the prohibition on delaying or denying adoption] applies may consider the cultural, ethnic, or racial identity needs of the child and the capacity of the prospective foster or adoptive parent to meet those needs as one of a number of factors used to determine the best interests of the child.

This language, proposed by HHS and approved by Sen. Metzenbaum's staff, was crafted to address constitutional concerns expressed by the Department of Justice and to render the statute precise enough to be enforceable if enacted.

The new Republican (Bunning) legislation contains no language concerning permissible ways of taking race or ethnicity into account. It appears to be a pure color-blind approach. In this respect, it diverges not only from the bill adopted in October 1994, but from every version of the bill that Sen. Metzenbaum introduced as well.

basis of child

3. Sen. Metzenbaum went back and forth on the question of delaying adoption to achieve same-race placement. As originally introduced, his bill stated that adoption agencies "may not delay" for this purpose. Later in 1993, he introduced a revised version of the bill specifying that agencies may not "unduly delay" for this purpose. Still later, in 1994, he introduced a third version without the modifier "unduly." The bill as finally adopted removes "unduly" and returns to Sen. Metzenbaum's original 1993 language.

[Delay is one of the issues that will have to be addressed in whatever interpretive guidelines the administration chooses to issue. But I know of no basis for Al Hunt's assertion that a delay of up to one year is even under consideration.]

4. The enforcement provisions of Sen. Metzenbaum's original bill called for the cutoff of Social Security Act funds to noncomplying agencies. HHS believed that such a draconian penalty would be almost unenforceable and would lead (at best) to years of resistance and litigation from the states. They recommended shifting to the penalties provided under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, a suggestion adopted in the final bill. This is a nontrivial shift, but it reflects disagreements of administrative practicality rather than fundamental principle.

The Bunning bill goes back to the funding cutoff suggested in the original version of the Metzenbaum bill.

Let me offer two concluding observations.

1. I talked again this afternoon with Secretary Shalala. She emphasized that she personally intervened with several members of the House to resurrect this bill from the dead last October. House leaders such as Bill Ford, Major Owens, and Harold Ford had deep substantive reservations about Metzenbaum's bill; they resented the procedural irregularity of the manner in which Sen. Metzenbaum had moved his bill forward; and they were angry at Metzenbaum over some unrelated issues. If we had insisted on the Senate version of the bill during the conference and had rejected all modifications proposed by the House, it would have died.

2. The final bill mandates the Secretary of HHS to publish interpretive guidance for public and private agencies within six months of final passage--that is, by April 22, 1995. Since last November, Joel Klein and I have convened a series of meetings involving HHS, Justice, and OMB to create a framework for, and then draft, this guidance.

There are indeed significant differences between Justice and HHS on constitutional issues. Justice believes that the legislative language concerning permissible consideration of race must be construed narrowly to comport with established court cases and pass constitutional muster. HHS disagrees with the Justice Department's interpretation of the lead cases. Joel and I have made it clear that we will resolve these differences in a manner that reflects your values and promotes your purposes.

The first draft of the guidance should be completed by the end of next week, and we will meet the legislative deadline. I will keep you informed of all relevant developments.

① I would like to issue a statement on this W in a week and well before 4/22 in any case
② I have a suggestion on poss. language—

This memo reviews the legislative history of the Multiethnic Placement Act from the time it was first introduced by Senator Metzenbaum and details the involvement of the Administration in suggesting changes to the bill and helping secure its passage.

The Multiethnic Placement Act was first introduced on July 14, 1993 as S. 1224, the "Multiethnic Placement Act of 1993." In its original form, the Act had three provisions of relevance to the current debate about its intent and effect. Section 3 was the main substantive provision. It provided:

(a) ACTIVITIES

(1) PROHIBITION- An agency, or entity, that receives federal assistance and is involved in adoption or foster care placements may not delay or deny the placement of a child for adoption or into foster care, or otherwise discriminate in making a placement decision, solely because of the race, color, or national origin of the adoptive (or foster) parent or parents or the child.

(2) PERMISSIBLE CONSIDERATION- An agency or entity to which paragraph (1) applies may consider the race, color, or national origin of a child in arriving at placement decisions if such factors are relevant to the best interests of the child involved and are considered in conjunction with other factors.

(b) LIMITATION- The Secretary of Health and Human Services shall not provide adoption assistance funds under section 474(a)(3) of the Social Security Act to an agency or entity that is not in compliance with subsection (a).

When introducing the bill, Senator Metzenbaum indicated that he had two goals: to remove barriers to the adoption of minority children based on considerations of race; and to allow States to place children with same race families when this did not involve delay. On the later issue, Senator Metzenbaum said that he believed that same race placements were the preferred alternative. (Attachment 1) His desire to achieve these two goals, which are in tension, is reflected in the provisions forbidding denial or delay on the basis of race but allowing race as a permissible consideration.

Later in 1993, Senator Metzenbaum, along with Senator Coats, introduced an amended version of the bill. The main change was to the prohibition section which was amended to read:

(1) PROHIBITION-An agency, or entity, that receives Federal assistance and is involved in adoption or foster care placements may not-

- (A) disqualify any person from initial consideration as an adoptive parent or a foster parent solely on the basis of the race, color, or national origin of the adoptive or foster parent, or the child, involved; or
- (B) unduly delay or deny the placement of a child for adoption or into foster care, or otherwise discriminate in making a placement decision, solely on the basis of the race, color, or national origin of the adoptive or foster parent, or the child, involved.

The term "unduly" was added to modify delay, which had been unmodified in the original bill. No change was made to the permissible consideration section.

The penalty section was also changed to:

- (b) LIMITATION- The Secretary Of Health A Human Services Shall Not Provide Placement And Administrative Funds Under Sections 474(A) Of The Social Security Act...to an agency or entity that is not in compliance with subsection (a).

This change increased the amount of funds that could be taken away. The full penalty is mandatory.

During 1993, at Senator Metzenbaum's request, HHS provide technical assistance to his staff. In addition, the Department of Justice sent the attached letter to OMB indicating that it thought that the permissible consideration section was constitutional. (Attachment 2)

On March 25, 1994, Senator Metzenbaum attached another amended version of the bill to S. 1569, on the Senate floor. (S. 1569 was legislation to reauthorize minority health programs.) The prohibition section was changed to eliminate the word unduly before delay. The amended version stated that an agency may not:

- (A) categorically deny to any person the opportunity to become an adoptive parent or a foster parent solely on the basis of the race, color, or national origin of the adoptive or foster parent, or the child, involved; or
- (B) delay or deny the placement of a child for adoption or into foster care, or otherwise discriminate in making a placement decision, solely on the basis of the race, color, or national origin of the adoptive or foster parent, or the child, involved.

In July 1994, two suggested bill letters on S. 1569 were sent to OMB, one from DOJ and one from HHS. The DOJ proposed letter indicated that, contrary to its previous letter, DOJ now thought that the permissible consideration section, which had not been changed since the bill was originally introduced, was unconstitutional. (Attachment 3) The HHS letter proposed a number of changes, primarily to the permissible consideration section and the penalty provision.

Following a meeting with representatives of DOJ, HHS, and the Domestic Policy Council, the HHS bill letter was approved and the proposed DOJ letter was withdrawn. On August 19, 1994, the approved bill letter was sent to the House and Senate conferees, who were meeting on S. 1569. (Attachment 4) HHS was given the lead in working with Members of Congress to secure passage of the bill.

As reflected in the bill letter, HHS' suggested changes had been discussed with, and approved by, Senator Metzenbaum's staff. The bill letter suggested amending the permissible consideration section to read:

" An agency or entity to which (the prohibition) applies may consider the cultural, ethnic, or racial identity needs of the child and the capacity of the prospective foster or adoptive parents to meet those needs as one of a number of factors used to determine the best interests of a child."

This suggestion was made for two reasons. First, it was thought that the proposed language would meet the constitutional concerns expressed by DOJ and some other groups. Since the President was supportive of passage of the bill, it was essential to find constitutional language. Second, the Department felt that the proposed language made it clearer than the existing language how race might be relevant to placement decisions, which would make it easier to enforce the statute if it was enacted.

HHS also suggested changing the penalty from a disallowance of Social Security Act funds to the penalties provided under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. HHS felt that this was likely to be a more effective and administratively feasible penalty structure.

On August 2, 1994, the same version of the Multiethnic Placement Act that Senator Metzenbaum attached to S. 1569 was also added to legislation to reauthorize the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (HR 6), on the Senate floor. Later that day, the Senate approved HR 6, as amended.

While the Senate had approved Senator Metzenbaum's provisions as attachments to H.R. 6 and S. 1569, the House had not held any hearings on the Multiethnic Placement legislation, nor taken any action on the measure. Further, the chairmen of the two House

Subcommittees with jurisdiction over adoption issues -- Harold Ford (D-TN), Chairman of the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Human Resources; and Major Owens (D-NY), Chairman of the Education and Labor Subcommittee on Select Education and Civil Rights -- were not supportive of the Multiethnic Placement Act and were particularly resistant to approving the measure without hearings or full legislative review.

Nevertheless, as the House Education and Labor Committee and the Senate Labor and Human Resource Committee met in conference to consider HR 6, the Multiethnic Placement Act provisions were on the table, along with numerous major education issues. On September 21, 1994, HHS sent a letter to the Conferees expressing the Administration's strong support for the Metzenbaum provisions. (Attachment 5) The letter, similar to the letter sent to the House-Senate Conferees on the Minority Health bill, outlined the Administration's suggested changes to the Multiethnic Placement Act explained above, and urged the Conferees to adopt the measure with the changes.

Representative William Ford (D-MI), the Chairman of the full House Education and Labor Committee Chairman, as well as Representative Owens, initially opposed including the Metzenbaum provisions in the conference agreement -- citing their own opposition, as well as the concerns expressed to them by Ways and Means Subcommittee Chairman Harold Ford. HHS urged Chairman William Ford to reconsider the measure, citing its importance to the President, and Secretary Shalala placed a call to him in the conference room. At HHS' urging, Representative George Miller (D-CA) also specifically asked the House conferees to reconsider their initial opposition.

Finally, the House Democratic conferees agreed to accept the Metzenbaum provisions as long as they included the Administration's recommended changes, and submitted a written offer to the Senate conferees to this effect. Rather than accepting the House offer, Senator Metzenbaum -- together with House Republican conferee staff (and the staff of the National Council for Adoption) -- pushed to change the provisions. Brief but intense negotiations took place, and slight changes were made to the permissible consideration language contained in the House offer. The House and Senate conferees then approved the Multiethnic Placement Act as part of HR 6.

The approved permissible consideration section reads:

(2) PERMISSIBLE CONSIDERATION--An agency or entity to which paragraph (1) (the prohibition) applies may consider the cultural, ethnic, or racial background of the child and the capacity of the prospective foster or adoptive parents to meet the needs of a child of this background as one of a

number of factors used to determine the best interests of a child.

The House and Senate then passed the final version of HR 6 and sent it to the President. Prior to the President's signature, the DOJ forwarded another bill report to OMB regarding the bill. The President signed HR 6, with the Multiethnic Placement Act on October 20, 1994 -- PL 103-382.

The Republicans now propose to repeal the Multiethnic Placement Act. The changes are found in H.R. 1157, the Ways and Means Committee welfare reform bill. That bill repeals the Multiethnic Placement Act. In its place, it proposes the following approaches to the issues of prohibited activities, permissible considerations, and penalties.

(1) PROHIBITION-A State or other entity that receives funds from the Federal government and is involved in adoption or foster care placements may not-

(1) deny to any person the opportunity to become an adoptive parent or a foster parent solely on the basis of the race, color, or national origin of the adoptive or foster parent, or the child, involved; or

(2) delay or deny the placement of a child for adoption or into foster care, or otherwise discriminate in making a placement decision, solely on the basis of the race, color, or national origin of the adoptive or foster parent, or the child, involved.

This is essentially the same prohibition as provided for by Multiethnic Placement Act from its introduction to its final passage.

It provides the following penalty:

" A State that violates (the prohibition) during a period shall remit to the secretary all funds that were paid to the State under this part (the Child Welfare Block Grant) during the period."

This proposed penalty would mean that a State would lose all Federal funds provided to the State for use in supporting foster care, adoption, and child protection activities based on a single act of discrimination. This is similar to the original penalty in the Multiethnic Placement Act. It differs from the final penalty provision in that Act, which allows HHS more flexibility in assessing penalties, ranging from compliance actions to full termination of funding.

Finally, the Republican bill, unlike every version of the Multiethnic Placement Act, contains no permissible consideration. Senator Metzenbaum had included such a provision because he believed that same race placements generally were a preferable way of meeting children's needs, provided that there is no delay based on race. While the permissible consideration language in the final version of the Act varied somewhat from the original language, in practice the language difference was not likely to be significant. The Republicans appear to want no consideration of race, a position quite different from Senator Metzenbaum.

The administration has not stated a position on these provisions.

July 14, 1993

This is truly a bipartisan effort and I am delighted that my colleagues, the junior Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. CHAFER) and the junior Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KERRY) are joining us in introducing this important measure.

When I testified in 1986 in support of the original authorization, which was sponsored by my colleague, Senator CHAFER, I noted that the Blackstone River is our link not only to the past, but to the future.

That, I think, is the most important point we can make about the Blackstone River Valley Heritage Corridor. By preserving and highlighting our pioneering industrial past, we can foster a better future and an increasing sense of pride for our citizens.

That was the vision I had back in the spring of 1983. It was then I initiated the first meeting of the National Park Service, the Rhode Island and Massachusetts Departments of Environmental Management, and representatives of congressional delegations from both Rhode Island and Massachusetts to coordinate plans for the Blackstone River.

The birthplace of the American Industrial Revolution is well worth preserving and we, on the Federal level, should continue to do what we can to support that effort.

We are in extremely difficult economic times, but that should serve to underscore for us the lessons to be learned from the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor. When we look at historic battlefields throughout America, we should not overlook one of our most important battles—the economic battle of the industrial revolution.

There is another, more modern lesson to be learned: The Blackstone NHC is an extraordinary bargain for the taxpayers. With only a modest Federal contribution, the corridor has leveraged funds by sometimes as much as a 20-1 match.

We continue to look for examples of imaginative, efficient, and cost-effective concepts. We need to look no further than the Blackstone Valley—not only for where those concepts were born but where they continue to be practiced and developed to this day.

By Mr. BREAUX (for himself and Mr. HOLLINGS):

S. 1223. A bill to extend the existing suspension of duty on power-driven weaving machines for weaving fabrics more than 49 meters in width; to the Committee on Finance.

DUTY SUSPENSION LEGISLATION

• Mr. BREAUX. Mr. President, I am pleased to introduce a bill which would renew until December 31, 1994, a prior duty suspension bill for certain wire weaving looms. These looms manufacture machine clothing which itself is ultimately used in the production of paper products.

Wire weaving looms are critical to the production of various kinds of

paper products. Different kinds of paper require machine clothing of differing specifications. Wire weaving looms produce these varying machine cloths and are an important step in an important value added process. In fact, the entire process of converting wood into paper would not be possible without the looms which produce the paper machine clothing. Forming fabrics, press felts, and dryer felts, and fabrics fulfill the essential function of carrying and supporting the paper sheet when it is formed, pressed, and dried.

Because these looms are not manufactured in the United States, they must be imported. The looms themselves cost in excess of \$2 million each. Costs associated with the 4.7-percent duty rates on these looms are eventually passed onto consumer of the finished paper products and consequently affect the competitiveness of our U.S. paper industry.

I urge my colleagues to support this critical component of our world class paper industry and renew the duty suspension on these wire weaving looms. I also ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1223

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. EXTENSION OF EXISTING SUSPENSION OF DUTY ON POWER-DRIVEN WEAVING MACHINES FOR WEAVING FABRICS MORE THAN 49 METERS.

Heading 902.84.45 of the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States is amended by striking "12/31/90" and inserting "12/31/94".

SEC. 2. EFFECTIVE DATE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—This amendment made by section 1 shall apply with respect to goods entered, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, on or after the 15th day after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(b) RETROACTIVE PROVISION.—Notwithstanding section 814 of the Tariff Act of 1930 or any other provision of law, upon a request filed with the appropriate customs officer on or before the 180th day after the date of the enactment of this Act, and entry, or withdrawal from warehouse for consumption, of goods described in heading 902.84.45 of the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States that was made—

- (1) after December 31, 1990; and
- (2) before the 15th day after the date of the enactment of this Act;

and with respect to which there would have been no duty or a lower duty if the amendment made by section 1 had applied to such entry or withdrawal, shall be liquidated or reliquidated as though such entry or withdrawal had occurred on the date that is 15 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

By Mr. METZENBAUM (for himself and Mr. MOSKOWITZ-BRAUN):

S. 1224. A bill to prohibit an agency, or entity, that receives Federal assistance and is involved in adoption or foster care programs from delaying or denying the placement of a child based on the race, color, or national origin of the child or adoptive or foster parent

or parents involved, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

MULTIETHNIC PLACEMENT ACT OF 1993

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about children, not all children but some children. Make no bones about it. One of my great passions in life has to do with children. To me, it is something wonderful. They are fresh and have open minds. They have the whole world to conquer before them. They represent the best in all of us and our best hope for the future. All of my life I have found myself sharing that concern about children, no matter the circumstances of their birth. I believe that those children need to be treasured and nurtured.

Not all children are born well. Not all children are born in the families of means. Many children have real challenges facing them as they are born. Whether it is a baby born with AIDS and addicted to crack or my own wonderful grandchildren, I, frankly, want to do everything in my power to make sure that every child grows up in a loving, caring, stable, and safe environment.

Sadly, children in America today are in more danger than ever before. Poverty, crime, substance abuse are tearing families apart. The number of children in the foster care system has exploded from 276,000 in 1986 to 450,000 in 1992—an unbelievable expansion. Children are entering foster care at a younger age, in record numbers, and are staying in the system for far longer periods of time.

The Government's goal for most children is foster care should be reunification with their families. We must also increase the funding for programs that prevent the breakup of families in the first place and help them to stay together once they are reunited. However, family reunification is not always possible nor is it appropriate. As a result, thousands of children of all races and colors are presently waiting to be adopted in America. The vast majority are living in foster care homes, some of which are good, some of which are horrible—just terrible, terrible conditions.

I believe that every child who is eligible for adoption should have the right to be adopted by parents of same race if that is possible. Teaching a child to embrace his or her racial and cultural heritage is more easily accomplished when parents and children are the same race or ethnic group. I strongly support efforts to recruit prospective adoptive parents of all races.

Despite these efforts, same race placement is not available for the overwhelming majority of children in foster care homes—and I repeat—although it is desirable, although I think it is optimum, the fact is same race placement is not available for the overwhelming majority of children in foster care homes. This unfortunate situation is made even worse when State agencies prevent foster care children

from being adopted by available and qualified adults solely because the child is of a different race than the prospective parents. Several State and local child welfare agencies virtually prohibit multiethnic and transracial foster care in adoption placements. Indeed, some agencies prevent the adoption of children by prospective parents of a different race, even after the child and parents have bonded through years of living together in a loving foster care home.

For example in Minnesota, a biracial couple was being forced to give up their 4-year-old black foster son who they are trying to adopt, solely because of a State law that discourages transracial adoptions. For shame, I say, for shame. The child's concern should be the primary concern. The little boy and his foster family have shared a caring and nurturing interracial home for more than 8 years. In Arizona, a white couple is seeking to adopt a 3-year-old black foster daughter who came to live with them when she was only 3 months old. Although this couple have been wonderful foster parents, they face an uphill battle to preserve their loving family because of State policies where race is the controlling factor in placement decisions.

In instance after instance there are cases where there are wonderful opportunities for black children to be adopted by white parents—no black adoptive parents being available, being in a position to make the adoption, and that little child has a chance to grow up in a healthy home, get a decent education, and have a loving and caring family. But now some welfare agencies think that that is wrong, that there is some reason to oppose it.

Something must be done to help these and other children of all races and colors and national origins who are being denied the opportunity to be part of stable and caring interracial family when placement with a same race family is not available.

Today I am introducing a bill to strengthen the Federal Government's commitment to improving the lives of children and fighting harmful discrimination. I believe that same race placement is always desirable, if possible and if the prospective parents are appropriate. For that reason, my bill states that race, national origin or color may be one of many factors to consider in determining the placement that is in the best interest of the child. However, my bill will also make it clear that race, national origin, or color cannot be the only consideration in making foster care and adoptive placements. Policies prohibiting racial and ethnic mixing have no place in determining what is in the best interests of any child.

I fully understand that transracial homes present special adjustments and problems for all those involved. But I have also seen firsthand they can provide the loving care and stable home that all children deserve. Moreover, I

strongly oppose that which is too often the case today. Too many social workers prefer warehousing children in foster care homes and institutions over their placement in loving, permanent interracial homes. They are wrong in their policy and in their acts.

I expect that my bill may initially be of some concern to some who are committed to increasing the numbers of same race placements for children of color. I also prefer same race placements of children of all colors. But the unfortunate reality is that the number of children of color needing adoptive homes far exceeds the available number of persons of color seeking to adopt. I hope that someday there is an appropriate same race foster care or adoptive placement for every child who needs one.

But while we work toward that important goal, our bill simply restates the basic principles of title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. This well settled law bans discrimination on the basis of race, national origin, or color in any program or activity that receives Federal funding. In addition, our bill provides for the same remedies that are allowed for title VI violations. HHS is directed to deny adoption assistance administrative funds to any agency found to be in violation of this law. Our bill also allows victims of discrimination to seek relief in Federal court.

All of us who profess a love for children and laudable values of this country must put aside our politics and prejudices. Our commitment to children in the fight against institutionalized bigotry must come first.

I urge my colleagues to support this legislation which I now send to the desk on behalf of Senator CAROL MOSLEY-BRAUN and myself.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

By Mr. BINGAMAN (for himself, Mr. MCCAIN, and Mr. SIMON):

S. 123. A bill to authorize and encourage the President to conclude an agreement with Mexico to establish a United States-Mexico Border Health Commission; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

UNITED STATES-MEXICO BORDER HEALTH COMMISSION ACT

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I rise today to introduce the United States-Mexico Border Health Commission Act. Joining me in this bipartisan effort are the distinguished Senators from Arizona and Illinois, Senator MCCAIN and Senator SIMON. We are pleased to be working on this initiative with our colleagues in the House, the chairman of the House border caucus, Representative COLEMAN, and the members of the House border caucus.

Through this legislation, I believe we can begin to lay the foundation for effectively addressing the serious and far-reaching border health challenges that face our nation and Mexico. This is an issue that should be of tremen-

dous concern to all of us. Developing solutions will require that we work together, in a bipartisan and binational manner, toward common goals.

Before discussing our legislation, I first want to commend the House Border Caucus, the American Medical Association and the Texas Medical Association in particular for their efforts to increase awareness nationally about border health issues and to develop long-term solutions to the many problems we face.

I was born a short distance from the United States-Mexico border, and I grew up in a small New Mexico town less than 80 miles north of the border. My father still lives there, in Silver City, today. Over the years, I have seen the border area change and grow. I have seen the problems first-hand, and I know we face an enormous task. I also know that our task will grow in urgency and importance as the United States and Mexico continue to open their borders and increase international trade and development. That is why I am committed to working to enact the United States-Mexico Border Health Commission Act.

Mr. President, in October 1991, the Texas Medical Association hosted a Border Health Conference in McAllen, TX. The idea for the legislation Senators MCCAIN, SIMON, and I are introducing today—and which Representative COLEMAN introduced last month—was born at that conference. In McAllen, a commitment was made by the medical societies of the border States—Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California—to draft legislation that would lay the groundwork for a high-level, binational commission which would work in coordination to protect the health and well-being of the residents of both countries. The Commission's key duty would be to develop a comprehensive, long-term plan of action. The plan would include goals, priorities, and methods for measuring and reaching those goals.

My home State of New Mexico was still in its infancy with respect to border health problems and border awareness in 1991, but we knew it was time for action. We knew we needed to develop strategies for dealing with the future. We knew that if we acted quickly and rationally, our State could avoid many of the environmental and health problems that already threatened our neighboring border States. New Mexico, if we acted quickly, would be a national experiment for economic development. And it could become a national model for success.

New Mexico—like the other border States—has grown and changed in the year and a half since the McAllen conference. Today, the need for this legislation and the binational commission is greater than ever.

In New Mexico, the border region is one of the State's fastest growing areas. Dona Ana County which is our State's most populous border county, grew by 40 percent between 1980 and



U. S. Department of Justice

Office of Legislative Affairs

Office of the Assistant Attorney General

Washington, D.C. 20530

November 1, 1993

Honorable Leon E. Panetta
Director
Office of Management and Budget
Washington, D.C. 20503

Dear Mr. Panetta:

This presents the views of the Department of Justice on S. 1224, the "Multiethnic Placement Act of 1993," as ordered reported as amended by the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources. The Department strongly supports the goals of the bill, which are to shorten the waiting time for children ready for adoption and to prohibit discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin in the placement of children. In our view, the bill is constitutional, but we urge consultation with HHS to determine whether it is consistent with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. We also defer to others to evaluate the roles that race, color, and national origin should play in determining whether a placement is in the best interests of a child.

The bill would prohibit any entity that receives federal assistance from discriminating on the basis of race, color, or national origin in making child placement decisions. Section 3(a)(2) provides, however, that such an entity "may consider the race, color, or national origin of a child" in arriving at a placement decision if such a factor is relevant to the best interests of the child involved and is considered in conjunction with other factors. This exception suggests that race may be a factor, though not the sole factor, in determining whether a placement is in the best interests of the child. Thus, an agency could not adopt a rule against placing children with adoptive or foster parents of another race, color, or national origin. It could, however, consider these factors among others in determining where to place a child.

So interpreted, the bill strikes a balance that finds support in Palmore v. Sidor, 466 U.S. 429 (1984). There, the Court held that the state could not take a child away from a natural mother solely because of the race of the man with whom she cohabited. The Court acknowledged that "[t]here is a risk that a child living with a stepparent of a different race may be

subject to a variety of pressures and stresses not present if the child were living with parents of the same racial or ethnic origin." *Id.* at 433. The Court held, however, that it would violate the Fourteenth Amendment to conclude that "the reality of private biases and the possible injury they might inflict are permissible considerations for removal of an infant child from the custody of its natural mother." *Ibid.* The Court's recognition that race is relevant would likely make consideration of race acceptable in the placement of a child with foster or adoptive parents (as opposed to the removal of a child from natural parents) where race was only one of the considerations in the determination that a placement was in the best interests of the child.

The legislation would apply to any entity that receives federal assistance. Presumably, therefore, its reach would be coextensive with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits racial discrimination by recipients of federal assistance. We do not know whether the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) has made a determination regarding the applicability of Title VI in the adoption context. At the very least, we assume that Title VI would prohibit a flat rule against interracial adoption. It may be that the prohibition of the bill is already in place through Title VI. Conceivably, the bill may permit greater consideration of race than is appropriate pursuant to Title VI. Before endorsing the legislation, the Administration should be certain that HHS has had an opportunity to consider the impact of Title VI in this area.

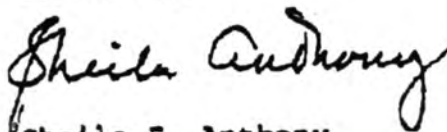
We note one concern regarding the means by which the bill pursues its goals. To the extent that the bill contemplates that actions may be brought against States, state agencies, or state officials under the provisions of subsection 3(c), the language of that subsection is not sufficiently explicit to abrogate Eleventh Amendment immunity under the standards of *Delmuth v. Muth*, 109 S. Ct. 2397 (1989), and *Atascadero State Hosp. v. Scanlon*, 473 U.S. 234 (1985). These cases establish that, even when legislating pursuant to section five of the Fourteenth Amendment, "the evidence of congressional intent [to abrogate Eleventh Amendment immunity] must be both unequivocal and textual." *Delmuth*, 109 S. Ct. at 2401. Section 3(c) of the bill provides only a general authorization for suit in federal court, but that "is not the kind of unequivocal statutory language sufficient to abrogate the Eleventh Amendment." *Atascadero*, 473 U.S. at 246. Accordingly, if the bill is intended to authorize suits against States, agencies, or officials notwithstanding any applicable Eleventh Amendment immunity, it should explicitly provide that it abrogates such immunity.

The Department of Justice, therefore, supports the goals of speeding child placements and eliminating discrimination from that process. We are concerned about the way in which the bill

would affect existing prohibitions regarding racial discrimination by recipients of federal assistance. Initially, we defer to HHS on that issue. We would be happy to continue to consult with the sponsors of the legislation as it is developed.

Please call on us if you have any questions about our position on this legislation.

Sincerely,



Sheila F. Anthony
Assistant Attorney General

3

07/29/94

10:18

OMB LRD/LWP

023



U. S. Department of Justice

Office of Legislative Affairs

Office of the Assistant Attorney General

Washington, D.C. 20530

Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
Chairman
Committee on Labor and Human Resources
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

This presents the views of the Department of Justice on S. 1569, the "Disadvantaged Minority Health Improvement Act of 1994," as passed by the Senate, and the House-passed version, which is called the "Minority Health Improvement Act of 1994." While we have some comments to offer regarding the House version, our main concern is with the Senate version, one of whose provisions is, we believe, unconstitutional.

Section 603(a)(2) of the Senate version would permit adoption or foster care agencies that receive federal funding to "consider the race ... of a child as a factor in making a placement decision if such factor is relevant to the best interests of the child involved"

The Supreme Court examined race-based decisionmaking in the context of family law in Loving v. Virginia, 388 U.S. 1 (1967); see also McLaughlin v. Florida, 379 U.S. 184 (1964) (striking down statute prohibiting interracial cohabitation). The Loving Court ruled that strict scrutiny would apply in such cases and struck down a Virginia anti-miscegenation statute. 388 U.S. at 11. More recently, the Court held that the Equal Protection Clause prohibits states from basing child custody decisions on race. Palmora v. Sidoti, 466 U.S. 429 (1984). There, the state had removed custody from the mother and awarded it to the father after the mother married a man of another race. Prior to Palmora, many public and private adoption agencies, often under compunction of state law, prohibited interracial placements while others permitted agencies to consider this factor. The justification offered for taking race-matching into account had been that interracial adoption entails the "inherent difficulty" of community prejudice against interracial families and therefore could be contrary to the best interests of the child. See, e.g., Compos v. McKeithen, 341 F. Supp. 264, 266 (E.D. La. 1972) (three-judge panel). After Palmora, however, this justification

is constitutionally impermissible. The Court recognized that the government has a compelling interest in protecting the best interests of children and recognized the risk that, due to prejudice in members of society at large, children in an interracial family would be subject to pressures and stresses that children in same-race placements would not. However, the Court refused to regard it as necessary to take into account the "reality" of "racial and ethnic prejudices." Palmora, 466 U.S. at 433. As the Court stated,

Private biases may be outside the reach of the law, but the law cannot, directly or indirectly, give them effect. "Public officials sworn to uphold the Constitution may not avoid a constitutional duty by bowing to the hypothetical effects of private racial prejudice that they assume to be both widely and deeply held."

Id. at 433 (citation omitted).

Lower court decisions since Palmora have been inconsistent as to whether and how race may be used as a factor in making placement decisions. The only federal court to address the question squarely held that not only may race not be treated as determinative, it may not be used as a factor at all. See McLaughlin v. Pernsley, 693 F. Supp. 318, 324 (M.D. Pa. 1988). The court did rule that consideration may be given to the prospective parents' ability adequately to "provide for a foster child's racial and cultural needs." Id. This assessment must be made without resort to conclusions drawn from the race of the prospective parents. Id.; cf. In re D.L., 479 N.W.2d 408 (Minn. Ct. App. 1991) (holding unconstitutional a statute requiring, only with respect to minority children, that preference be given to same-race placements), aff'd, 486 N.W.2d 375 (Minn. 1992). Other courts have held that race may be taken into account but may not be given determinative weight, without indicating how considering this factor is necessary to the substantial advancement of a compelling interest. See Gloria G. v. Dep't of Social and Rehabilitative Servs., 833 P.2d 979 (Kan. 1992); In re Moorehead, 600 N.E.2d 778 (Ohio Ct. App. 1991); cf. J.H.H. v. O'Hara, 878 F.2d 240 (8th Cir. 1989) (holding that the law at the time of the state action was not sufficiently clear to permit § 1983 damages after indicating that race may be taken into account as long as it is not determinative).

If it is permissible to take race into account in making placement decisions, there must be some other justification -- some other reason that the consideration of race is necessary to protecting the best interests of children. It does not seem that any of the traditional rationales that have been held validly to support affirmative action measures -- eliminating the effects of prior discrimination, eliminating the need for race-conscious decisionmaking in the future, and promoting integration -- are

available. See Elizabeth Bartholet, "Where Do Black Children Belong? The Politics of Race Matching in Adoption," 139 U. Pa. L. Rev. 1163, 1226-45 (1991).

In general, "[m]aking decisions about persons according to their race is more likely to reflect racial prejudice than legitimate public concerns." McLaughlin v. Parnaley, 693 F. Supp. 318, 324 (E.D. Pa. 1988). As a result, the races of the prospective foster or adoptive parents and of the child may be used as a factor only if this passes strict scrutiny; that is, if it is necessary to substantially advance a compelling governmental interest. See id. at 323-24. Even if an adequate nexus between using race as a factor and protecting the best interests of children exists, the factor may not be used to take into consideration the reaction of the community to the formation of an interracial family. Palmore, 466 U.S. at 433. With respect to the proposed legislation, we are not aware of any nexus that would both satisfy the requirements of Palmore and the compelling interest test. Consequently, we conclude that the proposed provision would be unconstitutional.

With respect to the House version, section 102 would add a new section 1707A to the Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. § 300u et seq., establishing Offices of Minority Health within the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the Agency for Health Care Policy and Research, the Health Resources and Services Administration, and the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. The Directors of these Offices would be appointed by the head of the Health and Human Services component within which their respective Offices are located. Proposed section 1307A(c) appears to contemplate that these Directors will be officers. If this is the intent of Congress, the Directors may not be appointed by the component heads because the Appointments Clause, U.S. Const. art. II, sec. 2, cl. 2, permits inferior officers to be appointed only by the President, a department head, or a court of law. None of the heads of these components is a department head within the meaning of the Appointments Clause. See Freitag v. Commissioner of Internal Revenue, 111 S. Ct. 2631 (1991). We note that the bill would not vest the Directors with significant authority within the meaning of the Appointments Clause. See proposed section 1307A(d). Therefore, if Congress does not intend to enable the Directors to otherwise receive and exercise significant authority, such as through a delegation from the Secretary of Health and Human Services, Congress may regard the Directors as employees rather than officers, in which case they need not be chosen by one of the means set forth in the Appointments Clause.

Section 208 of the House version would permit the Secretary of Health and Human Services to make grants to qualified entities that will offer comprehensive services under the Healthy Start for Infants program. To qualify, an applicant must obtain the

approval of the political subdivision within which it would offer services. We note that this may entail some litigation risk. A District Court recently ruled that a similar requirement violated the Appointments Clause as well as the principle of separation of powers. Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians v. United States, No. Civ. 92-1621-BU (D. Ore. Jan. 21, 1994). The risk should be minimal as this case stands alone against numerous precedents, including Supreme Court precedents, that uphold similar approval requirements. See, e.g., Curran v. Wallace, 306 U.S. 1 (1939). Further, this Department regards Siletz as having been wrongly decided. We write only to note the possible litigation risk.

We look forward to continuing to work with you on this legislation. Please call on us if we may be of further assistance.

The Office of Management and Budget has advised this Department that there is no objection to the submission of this report from the standpoint of the Administration's program.

Sincerely,

Sheila F. Anthony
Assistant Attorney General



THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

August 19, 1994

Dear Conferee:

We understand you may shortly be meeting to consider S. 1569, the minority health bill that has passed both houses of the Congress. As passed by the Senate, title VI of the bill contains the text of S. 1224, and that title would be cited as the "Multiethnic Placement Act of 1994". While we generally support title VI and the objectives it seeks to achieve, we have concerns about some of the specifics. Therefore, we urge that, as the conference committee considers this portion of the bill, you address the issues discussed below and adopt the amendments we recommend to better carry out the purposes of title VI. We understand that Senator Metzenbaum is generally supportive of these recommendations.

Our concerns fall into five general categories:

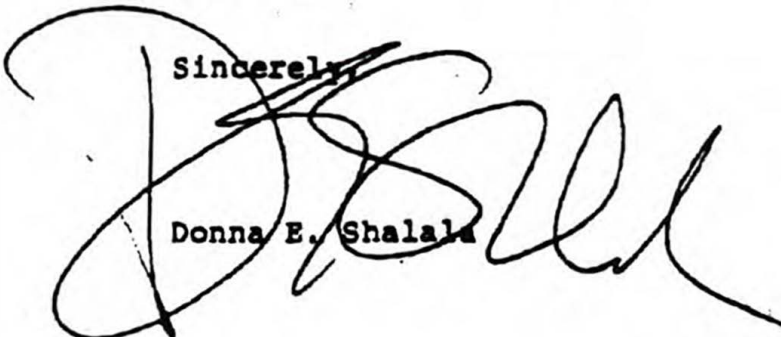
1. While section 602(a) declares the importance of efforts to recruit foster and adoptive parents from every ethnic group, the substantive provisions do not address this need, and might even be interpreted by affected agencies as prohibiting or severely limiting specialized recruitment efforts in African-American and Hispanic communities.
2. The bill does not clearly articulate that the goal of the Act is to make the child's best interest the guiding principle in placement decisionmaking in the types of cases addressed by the Act.
3. As presently worded, section 603(a)(2) does not clearly fit within existing judicial precedents on this issue.
4. The penalty proposed (elimination of all Federal financial participation in administrative costs of a State's foster care and adoption assistance program under part E of title IV of the Social Security Act) is severe and inflexible, and could undermine the efforts of States to build and expand adoption programs for special needs children.
5. Finally, as drafted, title VI would take effect immediately upon enactment. However, public and private agencies will need additional Federal guidance about the extent to which they must alter their current practices to comply with this legislation. Also, they must have sufficient time to make appropriate adjustments and, where necessary, to amend State laws.

In order to assist the Conferees, staff has prepared the enclosed language for specific amendments to address these concerns. With these amendments, we believe that the "Multiethnic Placement Act of 1994" would better achieve the purposes its sponsors intend and serve to advance the best interests of the children affected.

We are advised by the Office of Management and Budget that there is no objection to the submission of this report from the standpoint of the Administration's program.

Sincerely,

Donna E. Shalala



Enclosure

**HHS Recommended Amendments to the
"Multiethnic Placement Act of 1994"**

1. **Findings:** Amend section 602(a)(5) to read: "active, creative, and diligent efforts are needed to recruit foster and adoptive parents of every race, ethnicity, and culture in order to facilitate the placement of children in foster and adoptive homes which will best meet each child's needs."; and
2. **Purposes:** Amend section 602(b) to read: "It is the purpose of this Act to promote the best interests of children by--
 - "(1) decreasing the length of time that children wait to be adopted;
 - "(2) preventing discrimination in the placement of children on the basis of race, color, or national origin; and
 - "(3) facilitating the identification and recruitment of foster and adoptive families that can meet children's needs."
3. **Prohibition:** Amend section 603(a)(1)(B) to read: "(B) delay the placement of a child into a foster family or adoptive home, or otherwise discriminate in making a placement decision, solely on the basis of the race, color, or national origin of the adoptive or foster parent, or child involved."
4. **Permissible Consideration:** Amend section 603(a)(2) to read: "An agency or entity to which paragraph (1) applies may consider the cultural, ethnic, or racial identity needs of the child and the capacity of the prospective foster or adoptive parents to meet those needs as one of a number of factors used to determine the best interests of a child."
5. **Limitation:** Section 603(b) would require the Secretary of Health and Human Services to deny "placement and administrative funds under part B of title IV of the Social Security Act" to any State not in compliance with this Act. However, such a heavy penalty would be difficult, if not impossible, to apply, and thus, as a sanction, would carry little credibility. We recommend instead that a sentence be substituted stating that noncompliance with this Act constitutes a violation of

title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This will allow application of the remedial provisions of current civil rights law, rather than requiring the establishment of new penalties, with the possibility of confusion because of overlapping applicability. It has the added advantage of using long established procedures.

6. Conforming Amendment to Title IV-B Child Welfare Services Program: We also recommend amending section 422(b) of the Social Security Act (which specifies the title IV-B State plan requirements) by replacing the period at the end of subsection (8) with a semicolon and adding the following new paragraph:

"(9) provide for the diligent recruitment of potential foster and adoptive families that reflect the ethnic and racial diversity of the population of children in the State for whom foster and adoptive homes are needed."

This will make clear that States have the same responsibilities in both of the Federally assisted programs for foster and adoptive placements.

7. Effective Date.

We recommend that the bill be amended to provide the following implementation timetable:

- a. require the Secretary to publish guidance to concerned public and private entities not later than 6 months after enactment;
- b. require compliance by public and private entities not later than 1 year after publication of HHS guidance (subject to item 3.); and
- c. provide a grace period, ending a reasonable time after the closing of the first State legislative session beginning after the Federal guidance is published, in cases where a State demonstrates to the Secretary's satisfaction that a particular practice cannot be changed without amending State law.



THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

SEP 21 1994

Dear Conferee:

We understand you are currently considering H.R. 6, "Improving America's Schools Act of 1994" that has passed both houses of the Congress. As passed by the Senate, title VI of the bill contains the text of S. 1224, and that title would be cited as the "Multiethnic Placement Act of 1994". The Administration strongly supports the Multiethnic Placement Act and the objectives it seeks to achieve. We have, however, concerns about some of its specific provisions, as outlined below. Therefore, we urge you to adopt the "Multiethnic Placement Act of 1994" with the enclosed amendments which we believe address our concerns and strengthen the overall bill.

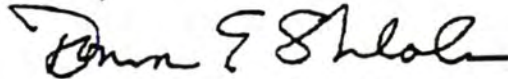
Our amendments address five general areas:

1. While section 602(a) declares the importance of efforts to recruit foster and adoptive parents from every ethnic group, the substantive provisions do not address this need, and might even be interpreted by affected agencies as prohibiting or severely limiting specialized recruitment efforts in African-American and Hispanic communities.
2. The bill does not clearly articulate that the goal of the Act is to make the child's best interest the guiding principle in placement decision-making in the types of cases addressed by the Act.
3. As presently worded, section 603(a)(2) does not clearly fit within existing judicial precedents on this issue.
4. The penalty proposed (elimination of all Federal financial participation in administrative costs of a State's foster care and adoption assistance program under part E of title IV of the Social Security Act) is severe and inflexible, and could undermine the efforts of States to build and expand adoption programs for special needs children.
5. Finally, as drafted, title VI would take effect immediately upon enactment. However, public and private agencies will need additional Federal guidance about the extent to which they must alter their current practices to comply with this legislation. Also, they must have sufficient time to make appropriate adjustments and, where necessary, to amend State laws.

We believe that, with the suggested amendments, the "Multiethnic Placement Act of 1994" would better achieve the purposes its sponsors intend and serve to advance the best interests of the children affected.

We are advised by the Office of Management and Budget that there is no objection to the submission of this report from the standpoint of the Administration's program.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Donna E. Shalala". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Donna" being more prominent.

Donna E. Shalala

Enclosure

**HHS Recommended Amendments to the
"Multiethnic Placement Act of 1994"**

1. **Findings:** Amend section 602(a)(5) to read: "active, creative, and diligent efforts are needed to recruit foster and adoptive parents of every race, ethnicity, and culture in order to facilitate the placement of children in foster and adoptive homes which will best meet each child's needs."; and
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"(1) decreasing the length of time that children wait to be adopted;

"(2) preventing discrimination in the placement of children on the basis of race, color, or national origin; and

"(3) facilitating the identification and recruitment of foster and adoptive families that can meet children's needs.".

3. **Permissible Consideration:** Amend section 603(a)(2) to read: "An agency or entity to which paragraph (1) applies may consider the cultural, ethnic, or racial identity needs of the child and the capacity of the prospective foster or adoptive parents to meet those needs as one of a number of factors used to determine the best interests of a child.".
4. **Limitation:** Section 603(b) would require the Secretary of Health and Human Services to deny "placement and administrative funds under part E of title IV of the Social Security Act" to any State not in compliance with this Act. However, such a heavy penalty would be difficult, if not impossible, to apply, and thus, as a sanction, would carry little credibility. We recommend instead that a sentence be substituted stating that noncompliance with this Act constitutes a violation of title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This will allow application of the remedial provisions of current civil rights law, rather than requiring the establishment of new penalties, with the possibility of confusion because of overlapping applicability. It has the added advantage of using long established procedures.

5. Conforming Amendment to Title IV-B Child Welfare Services program: We also recommend amending section 422(b) of the Social Security Act (which specifies the title IV-B State plan requirements) by replacing the period at the end of subsection (8) with a semicolon and adding the following new paragraph:

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This will make clear that States have the same responsibilities in both of the Federally assisted programs for foster and adoptive placements.

6. Effective Date.

We recommend that the bill be amended to provide the following implementation timetable:

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DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES

Chief of Staff

Washington D.C. 20201

FACSIMILEDATE 3/7

TO: (NAME, ORGANIZATION, CITY/STATE AND PHONE NUMBER):

Betty Currie

FROM: (NAME, ORGANIZATION, CITY/STATE AND PHONE NUMBER):

Kevin Turner 690-6133RECIPIENT'S FAX NUMBER: () 456-6703NUMBER OF PAGES TO SEND (INCLUDING COVER SHEET): 3

COMMENTS:



THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3/11/95

MAR 9 1995

Ned Krabb
Letter To The Editor
Wall Street Journal

In his column yesterday Al Hunt accuses the Department of Health and Human Services and the Clinton Administration of failing to support policies and legislation designed to insure the swift adoption of minority children. I am truly puzzled that he could make such a charge.

The record is absolutely clear that this Administration and the Department are strongly committed to moving all children in loving homes as quickly as possible, regardless of the race of the child or family. We believe that the best interest of the child should be the sole consideration in making placements. We have consistently taken the position that people should not be denied the opportunity to adopt a child of a different race or ethnicity and that placement of children in adoptive homes should not be delayed in order to find same race placements. This Department has never considered adopting any policies that would allow delay in placing children; we want agencies to move vigorously in finding homes.

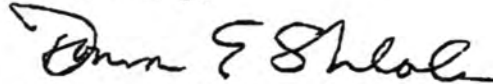
All of our actions have been designed to support these commitments. The Department devoted considerable energy to working with Senator Metzenbaum in securing passage of the Multiethnic Placement Act. It was the Department that built in enforcement under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, which authorizes severe sanctions, including termination of funding, against any federally-funded agency engaging in race discrimination.

The Department also sought to insure that the provision in Senator Metzenbaum's bill that permitted race as a consideration in decision-making was drafted in a way that was constitutional. Of course, the Department will comply with all constitutional requirements when issuing its guidance for implementing the statute.

The final version of the Act was supported by the North American Council on Adoptable Children, an organization founded by families who primarily had adopted transracially, and many other national child welfare groups. It is true that a few groups representing positions at both extremes on this issue opposed the bill, since they were wedded to absolutist positions.

The Administration continues to support all policies that facilitate adoption. We find it ironic that the Republicans are claiming that they favor more rapid adoption when their bill repeals the Adoption Assistance Act, which guarantees states funds to support adoptions. Those truly committed to more adoptions ought to make certain that states are provided the funds necessary to make this possible. The Administration opposes the Republican effort to repeal the Adoption Assistance Act and will continue to fight to make adoption a reality for all children needing families.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Donna E. Shalala". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Donna" and last name "Shalala" clearly distinguishable.

Donna E. Shalala

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3/10/95

95 MAR 9 P6:41

SUBJECT: WALL STREET JOURNAL POLL

Job Performance

Economy

The public confidence in your handling of the economy has dropped since January. 50% of those polled approved of your handling of the economy in January, today 43% approve. Disapproval of your handling of the economy rose from 38% to 46%.

Republican Political Figures

Bob Dole - Despite the balanced budget defeat, Dole polls strong. His positive number is at 51%, up from 42% in January. His negatives were 20%.

Newt Gingrich - The more the electorate is exposed to Gingrich, the less they like him. In January 31% had a negative view of him, today his negatives are at 41%. Only 27% have a positive view of Gingrich. 43% disapprove of the job he is doing as Speaker, just 37% approve of his job performance. The pollsters believe Gingrich has been hurt both by the ethics charges lodged against him, as well as the by the cuts he has proposed in social spending.

GOP Priorities

We are starting to do a better job of defining the Republicans. In January 22% of those polled disagreed with the Republican agenda, today 35% disagree.

Following is a breakdown of issues that play well for us versus issues that play well for them.

STRONG DEMOCRATIC ISSUES

School lunches

58% think it is a step in the wrong direction to move the school lunch program to the states. 34% support such a move.

Public Television

By a margin of 53% to 34% the public supports public funding of television and radio.

National Service

52% of the voters support national service, 36% think it is a move in the wrong direction to eliminate this program.

Star Wars

Over 60% of the public opposes the funding of Star Wars.

Education

79% of the electorate oppose a cut in Education Department funding.

STRONG REPUBLICAN ISSUES

By a 54% to 33% margin the American public wants the Congress to set the national agenda, rather than the President. 41% of those polled approve of the way Congress is doing its job, compared to a 31% approval rating in January and a 27% rating in October (when Democrats were still in charge.)

U.N.

A majority of the voters think the Republicans are right to reduce U.S. involvement in the U.N. and peacekeeping efforts. (No numbers were given.)

Balanced Budget

71% of the voters generally support a balanced budget amendment, but 64% of the voters say Democrats did the right thing in opposing a version that did not specifically protect Social Security.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN
3/10/95

95 MAR 9 10:51

MARCH 8, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PAT GRIFFIN AND STEVE RICCHETTI

SUBJECT: SENATOR CAMPBELL

I am enclosing a letter to you from Senator Campbell's chief-of-staff, Ken Lane. Ken wants you to know that, regardless of Senator Campbell's party affiliation, the Senator's staff strongly supports and believes in you and Vice President Gore. You should also know that a number of Senator Campbell's staff members, including Ken, have tendered their resignations because of the switch.

*Please do not
forward to
JRC*

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0605

March 6, 1995

Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20500

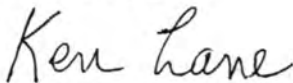
Dear Mr. President:

I know this is most unusual for a congressional staffer to write a letter to you directly, but I think you will agree that what this particular Senate office has just gone through is an event warranting unusual action.

I write merely to state that while the senator has switched parties, his staff, including me, hasn't. I just wanted you to know, for what it's worth, that I've admired your courage, your activism, and your principles, despite the unjustified criticisms. As a citizen, I don't agree with the Administration's positions 100% of the time, just as I never agreed with Sen. Campbell all of the time, but I believe in you and Vice President Gore.

I'm heartbroken by my senator's change in party affiliation. The rest of my staff is as well. As we go our separate ways, we will fondly remember that we did work for a Democrat. Continue to give 'em hell, Mr. President.

Sincerely,



Kenneth L. Lane
Chief of Staff

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0605

March 6, 1995

Mr. Steve Ricchetti
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Legislative Affairs
The White House
West Wing
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20500

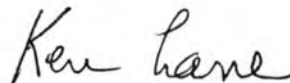
Dear Steve,

As I mentioned to you on black Friday, and it should come as no surprise anyway, it is my intention to leave the senator's office.

Contrary to some press reports, I didn't resign "immediately", primarily because I feel an obligation to provide some support and assistance to the staff (not the senator) for the next couple of weeks. Nevertheless, I am actively seeking other employment.

You were kind enough to offer assistance in my job search and, if the offer still stands, I would very much like to be considered for some position in the executive branch. I'm also going to explore the Ramspeck applicability to my situation, but if you keep me in mind, I'd appreciate it. I'm enclosing a hastily prepared resume for your reference and hope to be talking with you in the near future.

Sincerely,


Ken Lane

cc: Harold
M. Scott
Dixon
Dixon letter
(POTUS
request)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc
Harold
M Scott
Supporter
file -
w/others

March 6, 1995

Brandie Dixon
St. John Neumann High School
3000 53rd Street, S.W.
Naples, Florida 33999

Dear Brandie:

Thank you for writing to me. I was delighted to meet with your parents, and I appreciate your kind invitation to visit your home in Naples.

As Honorary Chairman of the Red Cross, I have the opportunity to meet many dedicated Americans who volunteer their time to support this wonderful organization. Without the efforts of people like your mom, the Red Cross could not fulfill its essential mission.

I hope that you will follow her fine example and look for ways to become involved in your community. You and your generation represent the future of this country, and with your help, I know we can look forward to an era of great hope and prosperity.

Best wishes for much happiness and success.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

February 25th 19
Pam/Jm

Dear President Clinton,

Congratulations on your appointment as Honorary Chairman of the American Red Cross! My mom volunteers her time to help raise money for this worthy cause.

My name is Brandie Dixon and I am a freshman at St. John Neumann High School in Naples, Florida. My friends and I wish we could hear more about your daughter Chelsea and how she likes living in the White House. It would be great to hear from her.

My family owns Haynes Corporation, a manufacturing company, and we enjoy the Florida lifestyle very much.

It would be a great pleasure for you and your family to come visit and take a ride on our boat. Thank you for taking the time to meet my parents, and serve as Honorary Chairman of the Red Cross. If you can't arrange a visit to Naples, please call me at school at (813) 455-3044

Sincerely, Brandie Dixon

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 7, 1995

Ms. G. Kay Jacks
Executive Director
Enrollment Services
Colorado State University
Administration Annex
Fort Collins, Colorado 80523

Dear Kay:

I was delighted to receive your letter from Brian Snow. I appreciate your thoughtful reflections on the success of the Direct Student Loan Program at Colorado State University.

As your experience demonstrates, the Direct Student Loan Program is helping to make college more affordable and accessible for numerous Americans. Through its efficient use of resources and common-sense approach to relieving administrative and financial burdens, this program has helped to expand opportunities for students and institutions across the country.

With the support of educators like you, we can ensure that this program benefits college-bound Americans for years to come. I'm grateful for your efforts, and I look forward to your continued involvement.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

10
Pol file
(via NH)

Pam / Ym

**Colorado
State
University**

Polu Sign

Kay Gick

Letter

Office of the General Counsel
202 Administration Building
Fort Collins, Colorado 80523
(303) 491-6270
FAX: (303) 491-2118

February 20, 1995

February 20, 1995

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Enrollment Services
Administration Annex
Fort Collins, Colorado 80523
(303) 491-2127
FAX: (303) 491-2283

Dear President Clinton:

Brian Snow, University General Council, has asked that I share with you the success of the Direct Student Loan Program at Colorado State University. Rarely do the taxpayers benefit from a program which is both administratively superior and saves them \$4.3 billion dollars. In only six months, institutions, students, Congress, and the Administration collaboratively reengineered a model higher education financing program for the next century. On behalf of the entire Colorado State University community, I wish to thank you for your continued support of student financial aid programs which are so vital to the contributions to society, to be made by college graduates in future generations.

Professionally, I marvel at the improvement this single piece of legislation has made on the entire administrative infrastructure of higher education finance. As an individual who dropped out of the University of Arkansas in 1968 because I was too poor to attend and too afraid of the financial aid office to ask for help, I am humbled and personally gratified to have been a part of history in promoting the passage of the legislation for direct student loans.

Through this program, policy makers have placed authority, accountability and responsibility for service in the hands of the primary service providers and recipients. Each participant (Congress, Department of Education, private industry contractors, institutions, states, students, and taxpayers) shares in the overwhelming success of Direct Lending.

Colorado State University assumed an early leadership role in support of Direct Lending. We supported the concept because we so strongly believed the complexities of the Federal Family Educational Loan Program (FFELP) increased our administrative overhead and consequently our tuition requirement. Direct Lending seemed essential to improving service to students and controlling tuition costs caused by unnecessary bureaucracy.

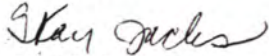
I share with you some measures of success at Colorado State University:

- ▶ By the end of the first week of classes in Fall 1993, we had disbursed \$5.3 million in Federal Family Educational Loans. With Direct Lending, that figure for Fall 1994 was \$14,980,500. The difference is attributable to changes in the loan process. Needless bureaucracy stood between students and \$9.6 million in student aid which they needed and were eligible to receive.
- ▶ Of that \$14,980,500, nearly \$9,000,000 was available for students for educational expenses not paid directly to the University. Merchants and property owners in Fort Collins (a community of 100,000) indirectly benefitted from Direct Lending. For the Spring semester, the \$9,000,000 had grown to \$13,879,989.
- ▶ Students and their parents comment with amazement at the timeliness and administrative ease of obtaining their loans. They fear the return to the delivery methods of the Federal Family Educational Loan Program.
- ▶ By decreasing the required time for processing loans, the program has given our financial aid staff more time to devote to advising and counseling students having financial problems and needing assistance.
- ▶ Our student traffic for loan processing is down from last year by 43 percent for telephone assistance and 38 percent for help in person.

President William J. Clinton
February 20, 1995
Page 2

We respect your courage in supporting a 100% conversion to Direct Lending. To return to FFELP or deny opportunity for school participation in Direct Lending access would undermine the hopes and dreams for educational opportunity for America's students, who are the trustees of our future.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "G. Kay Jacks".

G. Kay Jacks
Executive Director

GKJ:sl

*Cabinet
figure*

Give It a Chance

Congress threatens to limit the president's new student-loan plan

BY JANE BRYANT QUINN

A CLINTON INITIATIVE VULNERABLE TO A REPUBLICAN bombing run is "direct lending"—his new approach to student loans. The president praised the fledgling program in the State of the Union Message. It's cheaper for taxpayers, he said, and saves weeks of bureaucratic time. But key Republicans hated the law when it passed in 1993, and hate it still. A bill just introduced by Rep. William Goodling of Pennsylvania caps at 40 percent the volume of student loans permitted under direct lending. That's OK, if Goodling wants only to wait and see how well the program works. It's not OK if his prime intent is to shoot it down.

At present, most loans are made by banks or other private lenders, administered by state or private guarantors and insured by the federal government. The Feds pay the banks and the guarantors for their services. If you default, the taxpayers typically cover 98 percent of the loss. So lenders earn their comfortable profits at small risk. Estimated cost to the government this fiscal year: \$6.3 billion.

Make money: The president's new direct-lending program cuts out the middlemen. You get your loan directly from your school, which draws the money from a government-funded account. Repayments go to the Treasury. Private contractors administer the loans and handle collections. The government expects to make money on the program the same way the banks do—by borrowing at a low interest rate and lending to students at a higher one. The Feds also think they'll pay less in administrative costs.

Fierce resistance to direct lending, by the lenders and guarantors that now handle the business, almost snuffed the program at birth. With opponents in the ascendancy, the lobbyists are again in full cry. Controversy surrounds the question of how much money, if any, direct lending saves. Doubters say that the government wouldn't know how to run a stocking, although schools already using the system say it works fine. There are successful federal programs, such as social security. The question is whether direct lending can be one of them and whether the administration will be given a chance to find out. What students need to know:

■ **Should you take a direct loan if your school offers them?** Of course. It's the same loan, with the same borrowing terms, that other students get at banks. Fees were lowered in 1994 and loan amounts raised. Dependent undergraduates can borrow up to \$23,000 for their education—one third more than was formerly allowed. If you show financial need (a complex formula, comparing family income with college costs) the government pays the loan interest while you're in school. Otherwise you owe the interest although your payments can be deferred.

Around half of all undergraduates borrow today; they graduated last year with an average debt of \$10,500, according to Jerry Davis, director of research for Sallie Mae, a prime player in the private-loan market. Due to rising tuitions and increased loan availability, last year's entering freshmen will probably graduate \$13,600 in debt, Davis says—a 30 percent increase. Average payments will rise to \$163 a month, from \$126 today.

■ **Are direct loans better for you?** Probably so, in two major ways. You get the loan right at your school, which saves you a couple of steps. Even late applicants can get paid before school starts, because their request doesn't wind through the banks. The portion of student loans processed by the fall semester rose 35 percent last year at Colorado State University, reports Kay Jacks, head of financial aid—thanks largely to direct lending. If a student's eligibility changes, the loan amount can be adjusted overnight. By contrast, getting a change through a private lender can be a bureaucratic headache, Jacks says. Direct loans also save the schools from coping with each lender's separate forms.

Ironically, free-market competition wasn't fixing these problems. But government competition has been "a wake-up call," says Susan Conner of the USA Group, which guarantees and services student loans. USA now delivers loans faster and can give schools a speedy update on an application's progress, she says.

Eighteen institutions with major loan programs—including Citibank, Chemical Banks and Bank of America—plan to create a common electronic lending system. Sallie Mae and USA Group are doing something similar. One reason that Duke University isn't offering direct loans, says James Belvin Jr., head of financial aid, is that private lenders are falling all over themselves to improve.

■ **How will you repay that daunting debt?** The vast majority of students pay within the normal 10-year term. But as loans mount, longer terms may become more common. Direct lending offers an "income contingent" repayment plan that pegs your payments to the money you earn and how many dependents you have. Typically, you'll owe from 4 to 15 percent of your adjusted gross income.

Private lenders will compete in this arena, too—the first being Sallie Mae, which will announce an income-sensitive plan this week. But there's a downside. Stretching out payments always increases

your interest costs. In the government plan, your payment may not even cover all the interest due. Any missing amounts will be added to your loan, increasing your debt by as much as 10 percent. So use this program only as an alternative to default.

■ **What if you can't afford the student loans you have now?** You can refinance them through the direct-loan program or its private competitors. The U.S. Education Department hopes to take over large numbers of current loans, and says that will save the government money. But private lenders are screaming and the new program is unproven. Congress may dig in its heels here.

■ **Can costs be cut anywhere else?** One thought is to quit giving government-backed loans—direct or otherwise—to high-income families. For the past two years, student loans have been open to everyone, regardless of wealth. When interest rates are low, the well-to-do pay their own way. But no student is charged more than 8.25 percent. When student-loan rates go higher, as they may in July, taxpayers absorb the extra cost. If Goodling's prime concern is the federal budget, he ought to be looking at this issue, too.



*Colleges like
direct lending,
but bankers
are lobbying
to get the
business back*

Reporter: TEMMA EHRENFELD

LOCAL

SECTION



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SUNDAY, Feb. 19, 1995

Financial aid future clouded

By DAN HALEY
The Coloradoan

As congressional Republicans look for ways to slice big government, some Colorado State University students are hiding their pocketbooks.

There's a growing fear in academia that words such as "balanced budget" and "budget trimming" mean cuts to financial services, said Kay Jacks, director of CSU's enrollment service that handles financial aid.

"The Congress has an awesome task of trying to control the deficit," Jacks said. But, she added, so many areas of the federal budget,

Education

such as Social Security and the military, are sacred.

"In domestic spending, one of the only areas left is federal student aid."

One of the biggest concerns for students and colleges is the suggestion that federal student loan subsidies could be eliminated to save what Jacks believes to be several billions of dollars.

Now, the government typically gives banks an extra five percent on loans they provide to students.

But if that subsidy is cut, students will have to pay that interest on their loans out of their pockets.

For example, if a student borrows \$10,000, the amount will jump to \$12,500 because of accumulating interest upon graduation if the loan is unsubsidized, Jacks said.

Tom Wyatt, president of Associated Students of Colorado State University, called the possibility of cuts "pure insanity."

Jacks said there has been speculation that work-study programs, funded through the federal government, could be cut.

"That was the interpretation of the (Republican) Contract With America," she said. If the program were cut, about 1,500 CSU students would be forced to find other work. Work-study students can be found doing jobs from office work to research, she said.

One 29-year-old graduate student, who did not want to be identified, said dropping the program would only add to the \$20,000 in loans he has already racked up.

"It's helping me pay the bills as I try to get my Ph.D. without having to borrow," he said. "I could probably get through the program, but my loan debt would go

up."

It also could force him into a job that would do little to further his communication skills. He's now a phone counselor in the financial aid office.

One bill that has been proposed in the U.S. Congress, House Resolution 530, would cap the percentage of schools allowed to participate in direct lending at 40 percent. CSU is part of the five percent of schools now participating in the first year of direct lending. Under the Student Loan Reform Act passed last year, the program was supposed to slowly be in-

See LOANS, Page B2

Loans

Continued from Page B1

creased to 100 percent of all universities.

Direct lending eliminates the middleman in student loans, such as banks.

Instead of getting a loan through a bank, the money comes directly from the government.

Wyatt said the program is "faster, cheaper and easier" for

students.

But supporters of House Resolution 530 in Washington, D.C., contend the program steals from the private sector.

"But what it is is welfare for banks. It's bank subsidy," he said. "The whole reason for freezing (direct lending) is trying to kill it."

Those in favor of keeping direct lending and expanding it to all universities say it eliminates ex-

pensive bureaucracy.

Jacks argues that direct lending can save the government money, especially since it should be easier to track deadbeats who default on loans and cost taxpayers money.

ASCSU plans on setting up three computers in the Lory Student Center to give students the opportunity to e-mail their representatives on changes to the loan program.

THE DENVER POST

Universities must teach both facts and values to stave off barbarism



ALBERT YATES

SOME FORTY years ago, as a boy of 10 or 11, I strayed some distance from my home. The unfamiliar surroundings seemed like an unknown, safe place where I could do as I pleased — and so I misbehaved. Unknown to me, I was watched. By the time I arrived home, my mother knew of my whereabouts and behavior — and I paid.

During those times, our neighborhood manifested and nurtured the values we learned at home. There were accepted community standards of behavior which children were expected to uphold. We learned that if we crossed the line — if we strayed too far — there was a community of adults who had their eyes on us and were willing to step in and reinforce our parents' values.

The world for most of us is quite a different place now, changed by a redefinition of family, an increasingly mobile society and the contracting boundaries of our neighborhoods. Community standards are more ambiguous, less easy to define.

As a result of these dramatic cultural shifts, expectations of and demands on elementary and secondary schoolteachers have changed over the past two decades as well. A few decades ago, teachers accepted the reinforcement of parents' standards as part of their responsibility. Now, teachers often are expected to introduce children to the values and standards of behavior requisite to membership in a civil society.

At the same time, changes of a different kind have occurred in our system of higher education. Once, under the philosophy of *in loco parentis*, universities acknowledged an obligation to monitor and discipline students as their parents might — a practice correctly abandoned during the social upheaval of the 1960s.

Since that time, higher education has evolved effectively to meet the needs of a changing world in a host of important areas — technology transfer, educational access, research, economic development, extended studies and more — but with one notable exception. We have failed to address as well as we might questions critical to the shaping of our humanity. What, for example, is the academy's role in directing, or reacting to, the changing social fabric of our country? What level of responsibility should be assumed by our colleges and universities in inculcating and refining values? In preparing our graduates for citizenship? As higher education strives to regain the public trust,

our institutions must become more certain of their responses to such questions. I don't pretend to have the answers, but some things are clear: We must resurrect the notion that universities play a critical role in developing human beings, and that our institutions themselves have an active part to play in determining the course of future societal events.

In a 1981 essay, Colorado State Professor Willard Eddy warned of the danger of universities graduating students who are highly skilled in technical fields but lack an essential humanity. "Decency, civility, respect for others, are not stored in libraries or computers," he wrote. "Each generation comes into the world with more potential for becoming barbarians than for becoming saints. Consequently . . . a decent society is not easily sustained."

No institution is better positioned to sustain such a society than a university. These are places which, by their very nature, are expected to model the highest values of civilization.

For the public university, discussion and expression of values seem to occur in two contexts: The first is within the academic program itself; the second is within the example set by the university through the general conduct of its activities. These two settings are not unrelated and often at odds. But this tension between them — brought on by our quest for objectivity and dispassionate discourse on the one hand and our need to stand for something on the other — is a necessary part of the university's search for truth.

Students come to college, in large measure, unshaped and uncertain. But they come with strong beliefs and assumptions, looking to the university for knowledge and guidance. Just as we expect a kindergarten teacher to educate young children in those simple rules that teach discipline and good behavior — say "please" and "thank you," don't cut in line, respect others' belongings — we should expect college professors to help students achieve understanding at a higher level of the finest attributes of a civilized society: the ability to act fairly, reason plainly, express oneself gracefully,

behave honestly, define a position worth defending, and accept responsibility for actions taken.

As well, our society expects university graduates to be intelligent people. J. Martin Klotsche, former chancellor of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, once described an intelligent person as "one who has learned 'to choose between'. One who knows that good is better than evil, that confidence should supersede fear, that love is superior to hate, that gentleness is better than cruelty, forbearance (more noble) than intolerance, compassion (greater) than arrogance, and truth more virtuous than ignorance."

A university's job is to help its students acquire the knowledge to choose wisely and to understand the consequences of their choices. In our classrooms and on our plazas, we must permit all manner of thought and debate, no matter how controversial or offensive. And within such forums we must be especially guarded in

our advocacy of one position over another.

But we still can do our very best to say, "Here are the results of choosing one set of actions over another. Here is what happened when someone embraced this course, and here is what happened to someone who chose a different path."

In educating people to choose wisely, the true mettle of a college or university is gleaned through the aspirations of its general education program. Father Theodore Hesburgh, former president of Notre Dame University, captured the ideal in characteristic eloquence as he reviewed the possibilities of the curriculum:

"Language and mathematics stress clarity, precision, and style if well-taught; literature gives an insight into that vast human arena of good and evil, love and hate, peace and violence as real living human options. History gives a vital record of mankind's success and failure, hopes and fears, the heights and the depths of human endeavors pursued with either

heroism or depravity — but always depicting real virtue or the lack of it. Music and art purvey a sense of beauty seen or heard, a value to be preferred to ugliness or cacophony. The physical sciences are a symphony of world order, so often unsuccessfully sought by law, but already achieved by creation, a model challenging man's freedom and creativity. The social sciences show man at work, theoretically and practically, creating his world."

Such values, expressed and debated throughout the academic program, offer the substance to permit an assessment of how the university itself chooses to conduct its business. Any university has a set of values it embraces and displays in decision-making, aesthetics, concerns about safety, about people and about funding — even in the programs and courses of study it offers.

The emphasis universities place upon qualities such as service, community, integrity and decorum are manifestations of the things we treasure.

Interpreted in this way, our universities model (or should) for their students — and others — principles and standards deserving of preservation and emulation. In the ideal, faculty and staff elaborate the culture broadly articulated by the institution. Through their behavior in the classroom and laboratory, as well as through personal contact with students, faculty can encourage students to embrace simple truths, like those which Klotsche named, which we know to be right and good.

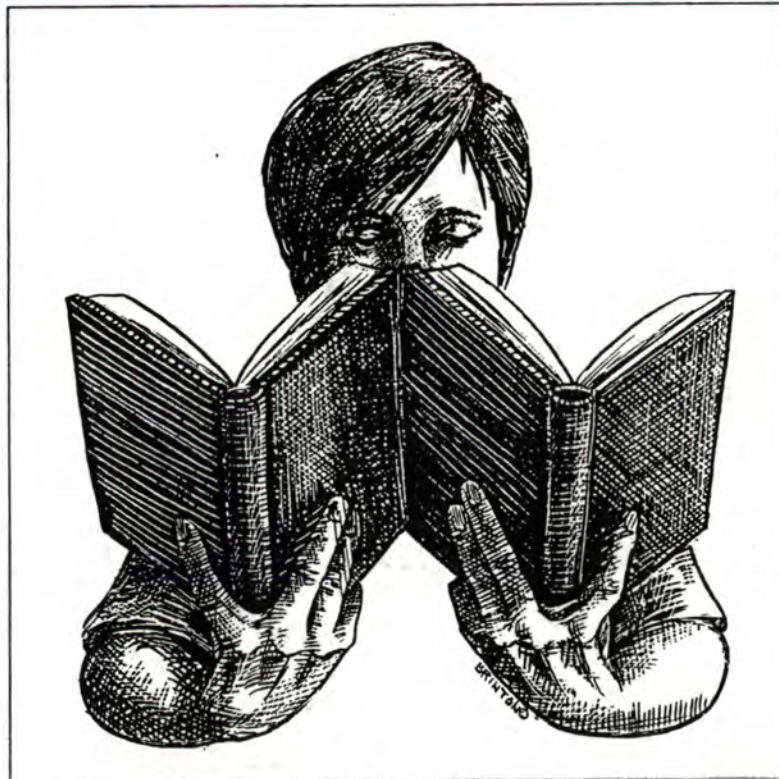
It is most important that the university be preserved as a forum for speech and debate that is unconstrained and unabashed. During their time on campus, students need to feel safe to venture into unknown territory, to push against the boundaries of what they know and draw conclusions based on their judgment and experience.

But they should do so within the context of an environment which is itself secure and well-founded.

The world is a different place from that in which many of us grew up. Those neighbors who watched me wander from home and get into mischief were part of a system of needed oversight and reinforcement of important things learned, but not yet owned.

Much has now changed and new systems must be invented: Our colleges and universities surely must play a crucial role.

Albert C. Yates is president of Colorado State University and chancellor of the CSU system.



Building bridges

Diversity on campus demands new responses

By Albert C. Yates

Traditionally, the United States has regarded itself as a melting pot — a society in which all cultures simmer and blend into one homogeneous stew. And yet, when some groups don't swirl easily into the mix, they often are simply excluded, cut off from opportunity because they are not part of the cultural mainstream.

The myth of the American melting pot is that it builds unity from diversity. In truth, the result has been a fractured society characterized increasingly by fear and anger. No greater challenge faces our nation — and its system of higher education — than the question of how to build a unified, binding society from the many, vastly different cultures it comprises.

Our universities have become a microcosm of the rest of the nation, complete with all the struggles and conflicts of any multicultural community, as well as its richness and vitality: How do we create a welcoming and supportive environment for all students on a predominantly white campus? How do we engender sensitivity in the campus media, faculty and more without imposing inappropriate standards of political correctness and violating individual rights to speak and think freely? And most important, how do we build a unified community in a stratified society?

Despite decades of well-meaning programs, protests and marches, we seem but little closer to the ideal of a society of both unity and diversity.

I don't pretend to have the answers. It may also happen that, because I am black, many readers may find it easy to discount or even dismiss my remarks as being emotional, biased and self-serving. But consider this: Unless the United States finds a way to include increasing numbers of the disaffected and excluded in the mainstream of society, we will, as Pulitzer Prize-winner David Halberstam tells us, "become evermore a nation of social disharmony with a few rich and a great many poor people who are not only a burden to themselves but a burden on society."

The difficulty lies in finding ways to celebrate differences while still cultivating and emphasizing the ties that bind us as a people. We seem to have forgotten that our similarities are greater in number than are our differences. Even if we are divided by barriers of race, class, economic status and heritage, we are still bound by our love of freedom, our respect for the individual, our common history as citizens of the United States and our dependence on each for the survival of all. As writer Elliott Liebow said, "I don't want to overlook the differences among us, but ... I think it's the samenesses that really needs pointing out."

These, then, are some of the challenges faced by our college and university campuses. There are others. Colorado statistics show that minority high school graduates go to college at the same rate as their peers in the majority population. The problem is, they don't stay. Indeed, minority graduation rates drop dramatically as the level of the degree increases. And these students have told us their primary reason for leaving is a lack of comfort at Colorado's colleges and universities.

Many students — white students included — are not comfortable on the large, sprawling campuses they enter as freshmen. They often feel lost, unnoticed, unable to bond successfully with their peers and faculty members to achieve a sense of belonging.



OTHER voices

ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS

Board of Editorial Contributors

Albert C. Yates is president of Colorado State University and chancellor of the Colorado State University System.



For minority students on predominantly white campuses, this sense of discomfort is amplified when few similar faces are seen in their classrooms and laboratories, when they are unable to find role models of their own ethnic heritage, when they can't find a barber who knows how to cut their hair, when there's no place they can go on a Saturday night without feeling conspicuous.

We know the success of our students correlates strongly with their level of comfort and sense of belonging in the community. We also know that many of our students of all racial and ethnic backgrounds do not

feel at ease.

So how should we respond? Do we seek ways to make all our students feel accepted and appreciated, thereby increasing their chances of success in earning an education? A recent *Rocky Mountain News* editorial supports an institutional posture of "disinterested benevolence," implying we should treat all students equally, ignore the discomfort of some, and refuse to supply any special services to ethnic minorities or others whose needs differ from the majority. This, indeed, was the response before the student unrest of the 1960s and the lessons of subsequent decades. It doesn't work.

A university is obligated by its nature and mission to serve all students — to educate and train them; to allow their humanity to unfold; to provide them with the knowledge to choose wisely throughout their lives; and to listen to their concerns and complaints and attempt honestly to resolve them.

Concern about the comfort of our students has always been a priority for higher education: the nature and complexity of this concern have changed as the needs of students have changed. In the past, this expression of concern resulted in creation of married student housing, the presence of fraternities and sororities, the development of international student centers and so on — all services provided to students with similar interests and circumstances to enhance their sense of belonging.

Minority students on a predominantly white campus seek only what the majority of students and others in the community take for granted — a sense of ownership and security. How is this to be achieved in this era of fear, anger, retaliation and backlash? No institution seems yet to have crafted the perfect answer, but we do know something about the terrain to be traversed. We know our eventual approach must be "owned" by the full community, must withstand the affronts of all points of view, must be sincere in its intent and open in its adoption.

Special attention must be given to the cultural and social needs of students — especially minority students. We should explore untested avenues such as the possibility of creating some sort of gathering place for students who, for whatever reason, are ill at ease. It could be a multiethnic "way station," where cultural identity is preserved, or a "campus house" that offers empathy for the black student from south central Los Angeles, the white student from rural Colorado or the Hispanic student from the San Luis Valley.

As the *Rocky Mountain News* said, there is "something wrong with the notion that students should be encouraged on racial grounds to lead lives separate from their fellow students." If, in our eagerness to provide services to minority students, we further isolate them, creating "ghettos" on our campuses, then we have failed. If we bend standards and lower expectations, then we also have failed.

But higher education — like our society — will not survive if we rely on the myth of the "melting pot." Colleges and universities do not fulfill their obligation to students merely by enrolling them in classes. We are challenged to explore and realize the full measure of human potential — intellectually, culturally, socially and professionally. This cannot be accomplished through "disinterested benevolence." The issue of diversity is, and always has been, a question of balance and fairness. We cannot achieve our ideal by building artificial shelters — but we can build bridges.

SPEAKOUT

Colorado universities aren't letting anything slide

By Albert Yates

Last month, *Rocky Mountain News* readers were greeted with the alarming news that "CU, CSU let teaching slide." Certainly, the state's two leading universities would dispute this claim, but even more disturbing is that the *News* offered no real evidence to support this glaring, subjective assertion.



Albert Yates

The stories were generally well-researched and written, if incomplete. Colorado research universities are not letting teaching "slide" in favor of other pursuits, nor is it true that professors spend too little time in the classroom. In fact, the great majority of university professors work very hard at teaching — in the classroom, the laboratory and numerous other educational settings. But the conclusions drawn from these stories by the *News'* editorial board and the headline writer missed the key point.

The true challenge facing research universities is different and far less simplistic than the one identified by the *News*. It is this: Universities have tried for the last half a century to be all things to all people — and they no longer can afford to do so.

This situation has resulted from a sequence of events spanning more than four decades — each event exerting pressure on universities and demanding a response. World War II and Sputnik, for example, created great needs for scientific discovery and technical innovation in the interest of national defense and industrialization. The G.I. Bill, civil rights movement and "baby boom" opened public universities and fueled their explosive expansion. The Vietnam War, accompanied by campus uprisings, dramatically changed the structure and culture of universities. And, now, global economic conflict and competition are demanding still a different role for the research university.

These pressures have combined to produce a university more open and accessible, more focused on research, more flexible and less structured, and with an extraordinary array of academic courses and services. There also have been negative consequences: an overabundance of course options that too often compromise academic rigor and curricular coherence; a more distant and impersonal relationship between students and faculty; rapidly increasing costs; and, often, the loss of campus community and tradition.

Colleges and universities are guilty of responding to the needs and demands of the public. But have they gone too far? And do we, as a general public, expect too much of higher education?

We cannot respond to such questions simply by calling on universities to de-emphasize research in favor of teaching. Research should be a top priority for our research universities — that's one of the reasons such universities were created. Colorado's research universities contribute impressively to the state's economic vitality, nurture an educated and highly skilled workforce, support the creation of jobs and are an essential factor in drawing new, clean industries to this region.

As well, research grant and contract income, along with out-of-state tuition, has long subsidized the cost of in-state undergraduate education. The importance of this subsidy becomes evident on noting the historical levels of support for Colorado higher education. The 1993-94 national report by Research Associates of Washington notes that in higher education general fund appropriations per student, Colorado ranks 49th out of 50 states and the District of Columbia. Our state also ranks 49th in the combination of general fund appropriations and net tuition per student — having slipped five places since the 1992-93 report.

In this fiscally constrained environment, research income has helped fund faculty salaries, support staff, building maintenance, educational equipment purchases, laboratory opportunities for students, and many other things that enrich the learning experience. At Colorado State and the University of Colorado-Boulder, research facilities are mainly improved and maintained through research grants and indirect cost recoveries from research programs — thus improving the educational environment without placing additional burden on state taxpayers or students.

Despite the many benefits, our institutions have been quite frank in noting that the incentives and rewards for teaching excellence no longer match those for achievements in research. Yet it is naive to believe that increasing the teaching loads of a few faculty at the expense of research will make much difference in institutional productivity or the quality of education. The issue now is not how much or how well faculty teach, but how much and how well students learn. This has been the focus of the intensive educational reform efforts under way at Colorado State. Indeed, all of the state's research institutions have placed great emphasis on teaching and students in recent years.

One useful indicator of the status and progress of our research universities can be gained from the most recent annual ranking of some 1,400 American colleges and universities by *U.S. News & World Report*. The rankings are intended as a guide to prospective college students seeking information on the comparative merits of colleges and universities. In a single year, two of Colorado's three research universities — Colorado School of Mines and Colorado State — moved up an entire tier in the academic

rankings. All three of the state's research universities now rank among the country's top 114 national universities — a distinction held by few other states.

And though we may be flattered by such recognition, we also know we must change still further. At Colorado State, we have embarked on a comprehensive program of "change and reform." Our on-campus discussions pertaining to students and teaching appear equally applicable to other research universities:

- For many students, the number and variety of courses result in choices too broad and diffuse to serve as an adequate basis for further study. A return to an integrated common core of classes in key subjects could result in an education that is both better and more affordable.

- Too few students are aggressive learners. Universities should expect more of their students, finding ways to convert them from passive to active learners and demanding they accept greater responsibility for their education.

- Early data show that students who choose majors as freshman take longer, on average, to complete their degrees. Greater emphasis should be placed on academic advising, perhaps requiring most students to defer selecting a major until the third or fourth semester of study.

- Large classes and the use of teaching assistants are needed to meet the high demand for certain courses in a cost-effective way. However, such classes can be made more effective and engaging by requiring that teaching assistants receive training in pedagogy and oral language skills.

- The teaching/learning process can be assisted greatly through the use of communications technology. Enhanced use of new technologies allows the university to deliver information more rapidly, reduces costs and helps accommodate the growing number of students whose schedules require greater flexibility than the traditional academic schedule allows.

These points illustrate just a small part of the debate and changes occurring on most college campuses. But such efforts are not always made plain in sensational newspaper headlines — and no one is well-served by attempts to pit university research against undergraduate education at schools that are charged to do both.

If universities expect continued public support, we must demonstrate that our research is worthwhile, that students receive the education they deserve and that the state sees an appropriate return on its investment in colleges and universities. No one has been more aggressive in making this point than universities themselves.

Albert Yates is president of Colorado State University and chancellor of the Colorado State University System.

The Washington Post Writers Group

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Clarke on the Budget

*cc: Laura/Gus
cc: Neelley (GS)*

^bc-yoder-column adv08<

^EDWIN YODER COLUMN<

^(Advance for Wednesday, March 8, 1995, and thereafter)<

^(For Yoder Clients Only)<

^By EDWIN M. YODER, JR.=

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3/10

WASHINGTON--Of the many ruses that mark the continuing debate over balancing the federal budget, none is more deceptive than the pretense that Social Security can escape the cutting knife.

Given the sheer size of the yearly Social Security payout, that is a fiscal impossibility. When increases in Medicare and the compound effect of yearly inflation adjustments are added to the growing cost, you needn't be an Einstein to figure it all out.

Yet in the recent Senate showdown, the pretense became a handy trump card for foes of the balanced budget amendment--especially after a late poll showed that the 70 percent to 80 percent of Americans claiming to support the amendment melted to 30 percent when asked if they would back budget balance if it meant cutting Social Security.

Two North Dakota Democrats, Kent Conrad and Byron Dorgan, became instant celebrities when they made the protection of the Social Security "trust funds" a precondition of their vote for the amendment. The Senate sponsors refused to pay their price and the amendment went down.

While this charade proceeded, I kept waiting for someone to break through the pettifoggery and tell the truth. No one did. So here it is:

The story begins in 1983, with the Social Security system seriously underfunded. A blue-ribbon commission chaired by Alan Greenspan worked out a rescue plan, featuring a new schedule of steep payroll tax increases. Congress quietly enacted the plan--one of the few occasions in recent years when sensible congressional action on entitlements wasn't queered by demagoguery. The new tax schedule took effect and in combination with the Reagan income tax cuts, higher FICA taxes have

(more)

X (effected a sizable shift of the federal tax burden from progressive to regressive taxation--and from affluent to middle-income taxpayers. A majority of taxpayers now pay more in Social Security than in income taxes.

Meanwhile, Congress devised the idea of Social Security "trust funds," since for a foreseeable period the new FICA tax levels would generate more revenues than would be paid out in Social Security benefits.

But these trust funds are accounting devices. The Social Security trustees may, by law, invest these surplus collections only in U.S. securities. Hence, the "trust fund" accumulations serve, irony of ironies, not to restrain the crazy rate of federal borrowing but to facilitate it by serving as a sort of loan cow.

From the start, these "trust funds" have financed federal borrowing and helped disguise the true extent of the revenue shortfall. They continue to do so--appropriately, it might be argued, since Social Security payouts--especially for Medicare--drive the deficits and in most cases exceed the accrued value of what pensioners have paid into the system.

Only if Congress completely severed Social Security financing from the consolidated budget could it be specially protected from the budget-paring knife. That won't happen since, again, few Social Security recipients pay enough into the system to generate their level of inflation-proof benefits.

Is this alarming? No more so than most features of our rather wacky infatuation with government entitlements. As it always has been, Social Security is an intergenerational social contract. We who work now support current retirees, on the understanding that when we retire oncoming generations of active workers will support us. The solvency of the system has little to do with the trust fund accumulations and other paper assets, which are merely IOUs from one federal agency to another and are no more or less reliable than any other government obligation.

(more)

It has everything, however, to do with economic growth and productivity. As America grays and the ratio of retired to active workers grows, new measures to assure the integrity of the generational contract will need devising. Calling Social Security (and its offshoot, Medicare) ``entitlements,`` and pretending that their solvency rests on evanescent ``trust fund`` surpluses, sounds reassuring. But labels can't make a shaky system sound.

That is one reason why the tendency to treat Social Security and other entitlements as untouchable sacred cows is far more dangerous to the American future than we imagine or than anyone in Congress is willing to admit.

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The Republicans Seize the High Ground on Transracial Adoption

Here's a twist: House Republicans, under the aegis of the Contract With America, are coming to the aid of defenseless little African-American children while the Clinton administration sits on the sidelines.

The issue is transracial adoption. A bill sponsored by liberal Democratic Sen. Howard Metzenbaum last year was supposed to prevent discrimination in adoption cases because of race. But Mr. Metzenbaum, now retired, laments that his effort—endorsed by President Clinton—was hijacked by the Department of Health and Human Services, apparently to placate black social workers who have



Politics & People

By Albert R. Hunt

long opposed transracial adoption as "racial genocide."

House Republicans, led by Rep. Jim Bunning of Kentucky, leapt into the breach and, as part of the big welfare bill approved by the House Ways and Means Committee yesterday, would make it illegal for adoption agencies that get federal funds to discriminate. Although this would overturn the legislation that bears his name, Sen. Metzenbaum may support it.

The whole issue crystallizes larger problems the Democrats confront with race-based decisions. The efforts by the Clinton administration's Department of Health and Human Services to weaken transracial adoptions raise serious constitutional concerns, according to the Clinton administration's Justice Department.

This is precisely what enables critics to depict affirmative action as race-based special treatment rather than as an effort to fight past discrimination and promote diversity. In fact, affirmative action has been more successful

than the current debate suggests.

Few areas, for example, have been more controversial than integrating police and fire departments. But it's undeniable that in a lot of cities, it's safer today for the fire department to go into certain areas because the trucks aren't manned only by whites, and that community policing in high crime areas is more successful because of an influx of minorities.

The impact on the private sector has been real and beneficial. A personal example: When I joined this newspaper almost three decades ago there were precious few women or minorities on the news staff. Today about one out of five Journal news staff employees is a member of a minority group; and about 40% of the staff is female. As recently as 12 years ago there were no minority reporters in the Washington bureau and not that many women; today more than 10% of the Washington reporters are minorities and almost a third are women. Some more-qualified—on paper—white males may have been passed over. But The Wall Street Journal is a far better newspaper today because of a more diverse staff.

Yet opponents continue the canard about reverse discrimination, with ludicrous assertions like white males are an "endangered species." For all the racial progress we've made in America, can any sensible person say, with a straight face, that many white males would trade places with many blacks or women?

But it's also true that some affirmative action has outlived its usefulness and too often has been turned into politically destructive quotas. When race-based considerations become the dispositive factor, it offends most Americans.

That's the history of transracial adoption for the past 20 years. Because of the black social workers, thousands of black children have been disadvantaged: There are as many as 100,000 children in foster

care today waiting to be adopted, and 40% are African-American. These black children, on average, wait twice as long as white children to be adopted.

Howard Metzenbaum's view was simple: When there are two equally qualified prospective parents, preference can be given to same-race adoptions, and where there are special factors—a child who has been in several foster homes of the same race—racial factors can be considered. Otherwise, race never should be used to

The Clinton administration's Health and Human Services' efforts to weaken transracial adoptions raise serious constitutional concerns, according to the Clinton administration's Justice Department.

delay finding, or to deny, a baby or a young child caring parents.

But by gutting this legislation in the closing days of the last Congress, HHS threatens not only to create lousy social policy but to cause constitutional problems too. Walter Dellinger, who heads the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel, privately has expressed "serious concerns" that the transracial adoption measure may permit race to play a broader role than is constitutionally allowed.

The courts have consistently held that race-based governmental decisions are impermissible except in the context of affirmative action, specifically meaning they either must redress prior discrimination or promote integration. Obviously, government sanctioned, race-based decisions on adoptions wouldn't qualify.

Mr. Dellinger has argued that guidelines should be adopted that very narrowly limit the use of race in any child-placement decisions. For instance, race could be considered only in the context of specific needs for a specific child. But privately HHS is considering guidelines that would allow delays of up to a year in order to find a adoptive parent of the same race. "That would be a cruel abomination and is totally contrary to what I, and President Clinton, intended," thunders Mr. Metzenbaum.

Jim Bunning, meanwhile, was not only following the GOP Contract but reflecting a personal experience too. His daughter's recent adoption of an African-American baby was delayed, apparently because of race-based considerations. He and Mr. Metzenbaum talked on Tuesday for the first time and are in basic agreement.

One legitimate concern of some African-Americans has been that adoption can be so expensive—\$5,000 to \$10,000 is not unusual—that it amounts to economic discrimination. But another part of the GOP Contract promises a \$5,000 refundable tax credit for adoption for anyone making up to \$60,000. Although some tax experts worry that the refundable credit invites fraud—early indications suggest ominous levels of fraud in the heralded earned-income tax credit—Rep. Bunning insists "we'll keep the refundable part" of that tax break in subsequent legislation.

The congressional Republican agenda is largely oblivious to the plight of black children. Moreover, as the National Council for Adoption complains, the separate GOP plan to turn foster care and adoption assistance into block grants to the states inadequately protects the interests of some of these innocent children.

But on the symbolic issue of transracial adoption, Jim Bunning has put the GOP on the high ground, as President Clinton is undercut by his own Department of Health and Human Services.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL THURSDAY, MARCH 9, 1995

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McLeary

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 8, 1995

Dear Stacy:

I was very touched to read your letter that Representative Gephardt forwarded to me. I was glad to learn that you listened to the State of the Union address and can only hope that you will continue to keep yourself informed of our nation's government.

I appreciate your very kind words about me. One of the greatest joys I have is reading letters that are sent from all over the country, from writers of every age. I continue to find great strength from these words, and I will add yours to my stack of favorites.

America needs your energy, creativity, vision and determination. I challenge you to imagine the best future you can and then make it happen. You can make our nation stronger and better than it ever has been.

The future belongs to you. Hillary and I send you our best wishes for your continued success.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Miss Stacy Lloyd
46542 East Church Road
Sterling, Virginia 20164

3/9/95
cc: Cong.
Gephardt

cc: Executive
files

cc: NH
AKC

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Radio Address

Gephardt
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(Pres. Support)



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

RICHARD A. GEPHARDT
DEMOCRATIC LEADER

February 6, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President:

I received this letter from a student at my daughter's high school and I promised her that I would give it to you.

Thank you for your attention to this matter and I am sure that I will be seeing you soon.

Yours very truly,

Dick Gephardt

Richard A. Gephardt

January 29, 1995

Dear President Clinton,

Hello! My name is Stacy Lloyd. I'm from Sterling Virginia. I just wanted to let you know that I listened to your State of the Union Address and you really touched my heart. Your idea on minimum wage is absolutely wonderful! No one in America can live for four-twenty-five an hour and I'm glad you let America realize the reality of it all.

I am an African American and I was talking with an African American male about you. He said you are the "closest black President America will ever see." President Clinton, I wanted to

share this with you because
this is a symbol of how
we feel you care about everyone
in this country; you don't
single and focus on one group
of people; you make everyone "feel"
important! Especially me.

There is one thing that
you said in your speech that
I have kept close to me. "We
cannot change today, but we can
change tomorrow." This statement
is so very true and it helps
me get through each day of my
life.

Well President Clinton, I
want to tell you I admire (2)

the fact you stand strong
to your convictions and I
want you to remain that way.
Do Not give in to anything
that you are not 100% sure
of, ok? If there is anything
I can do to help you I will
because you have helped me
to make a difference in my
life. Next election, you have
my vote. (It will be my first chance to vote. I'm only 16 now.)

Love
Always,
Stacy Lloyd

P.S. IF THERES ANYTHING I CAN DO TO HELP YOUR
DREAMS COME TRUE (BECAUSE THEY ARE MINE) PLEASE
LET ME KNOW. THIS IS NOT A JOKE. I MEAN IT
FROM THE BOTTOM OF MY HEART.

my family
loves
you!

STACY LLOYD
46542 EAST CHURCH RD
STERLING, VA 20164
(4703-4016-0538)



(2)

STATE OF THE UNION

ADDRESS TO THE 104th CONGRESS • FIRST SESSION



*To Stacy Lloyd
with best wishes
Bill Clinton*

President William J. Clinton

January 24, 1995

Washington, D.C.