

1

Chron

ok

You are cordially invited to attend a
Retirement Party

for

Maury Guberman

given by Syl Guberman

at

Smolen's

472 Huntington Turnpike, Bridgeport, Connecticut

Sunday, June 14, 1998 - 1:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.

Buffet Dinner and Music

R.S.V.P. a Must

by June 5th - (203) 375-2506

5-7-98

Phil -

Should we send
to Scheduling?
Yes ☒ No ☐

B.

Sylviaselma Guberman
Maury Guberman
582 Nichols Ave.
Stratford, CT 06497



President & Mrs. Billy Clinton
1600 Penn'a Ave
White House
Washington, D.C.
20006

Attn.
Betty Currie





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

*My Sec
should prob.
do letter*

MEMORANDUM

TO: Nancy Hernreich
FROM: Carol Rasco
DATE: May 6, 1998
RE: Somoza Family

98 MAY 7 PM 5:10

I am forwarding to you a letter to the President and Mrs. Clinton written by Walter H. Weiner of the Republic National Bank of New York. This letter is an invitation for them to attend the Celebration for Independent Living sponsored by the Consortium for Independent Living. The 1998 Awards for Lifetime Achievement are being presented to the Somoza family, who the President and Mrs. Clinton have had the good fortune to know over the past few years.

One of the Somozas' children participated in President Clinton's 1993 Presidential Town Meeting for Children, and stated her wish for her sister to be in a "regular" classroom (her sister had been labeled special education). This prompted the Clinton Administration to take bolder steps toward improving education for all children with special needs, and the Somoza family has been an inspiration to many others across the country.

When I was notified that this letter would be coming to me, I promised that I would have it delivered to your office with the understanding that I stay out of scheduling matters and would have little control over the outcome. I was then told that if the President or Mrs. Clinton is unable to attend the celebration, they would more than welcome a letter from either of them commending the Somozas for their achievements. If a letter will be forthcoming, the celebration planners would like to know by May 12 so they can reserve a page in their program. The actual letter would be due June 1.

Thank you very much for your attention to this matter.

5-7-98

To Burkhardt for reply?

Yes ☒ No ☐

*message/letter
coord with
Scheduling P.*

REPUBLIC NATIONAL BANK OF NEW YORK

FIFTH AVENUE AT 40th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10018 (212) 525-5000
TELEX 234967
CABLES: BLICBANK NEW YORK

WALTER H. WEINER
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

April 21, 1998

President William J. Clinton
First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President and Mrs. Clinton:

On behalf of the New York City Consortium for Independent Living, I am writing to respectfully request your presence at the Celebration of Independent Living where the 1998 Awards for Lifetime Achievement will be presented to Mary and Gerardo Somoza and their children: Oliver, Anastasia, Alba and Gabriella; as well as actress Nanette Fabray. The Celebration will be held on Tuesday, June 23 1998 from 6-8:30 PM at Republic World Headquarters on 5th Avenue and 40th Street.

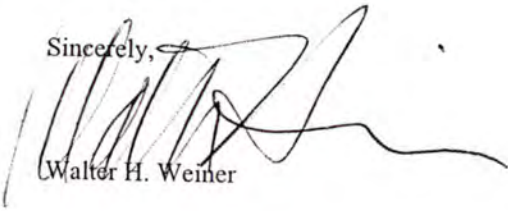
Your support and interest in the Somozas has consistently been a source of strength and pride for the family. I share your affection for Anastasia and Alba. As their godfather, it has been a joy to watch the twins grow, and support in whatever way I can, their pursuit of inclusion and a full life.

Your participation would bring needed attention to the goals for which the Somozas have dedicated their lives - that each child be allowed to pursue the American Dream according to their full potential. The event will provide the opportunity to follow up your 1993 Presidential Town Meeting for Children, and show the nation how much can be achieved when all children are given the opportunity to excel. It would also make this well deserved award a memory that the Somoza Family will cherish always.

The Celebration of Independent Living has been hosted by Republic National Bank of New York for the past 10 years. It is our way of acknowledging the many contributions of the six New York City Independent Living Centers to our society. As you may already know, Independent Living Centers are run by and for people with disabilities to assist others with disabilities establish independent, productive and fulfilled lives. Their work on behalf of individuals with disabilities and their families represents your administration's goal of helping communities to assist all its members become self-reliant.

It would be a great honor for Republic to host your visit with the Somoza Family, Nanette Fabray and the Independent Living Centers. We hope you will be able to attend and look forward to your response.

Sincerely,



Walter H. Weiner

5-7-98

To Burkhardt for reply?

Yes ☒ No ☐

Coordinate with NSC?

Yes ☒ No ☐

B.



*5080
Gru*

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

Office of the President

April 28, 1998

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

The many accounts of your recent tour of Africa were both moving and inspiring. Your visit with President Nelson Mandela was, of course, stirring for all of us who followed your journey, as were your remarks about Rwanda and your stop on Goree Island. And what a delight to see how warmly the people of Africa welcomed you and the First Lady.

As you spoke at various stops about the growth of democracy and the promise of economic prosperity, and particularly of the ways in which community building initiatives such as the FINCA/Uganda microcredit program and the TechnoServe/Ghana microenterprise education and business development services program are succeeding, I thought about some of the microcredit projects we are launching here at Georgetown. Given your administration's pledges to advance community development through microenterprise, and the First Lady's leadership as chair of the Microcredit Summit in 1997, I thought that some information about Georgetown's efforts might be of interest to you.

A little more than a year ago, a Georgetown student and faculty delegation attended the Microcredit Summit as members of the Council of Educational Institutions. They returned determined that Georgetown would do its part by teaching students about the practice and values of microcredit and about microcredit's effectiveness in reducing poverty in numerous societies.

These students and faculty formed a Microcredit Working Group and launched a new service-learning course titled "Microcredit Development." The course, offered through the School of Business, is taught by Lawrence Yanovitch of FINCA, who assisted in arranging a portion of your visit to the Village Bank in Uganda. In keeping with Georgetown's Catholic and Jesuit traditions, the

The President
April 28, 1998
Page Two

emphasis of the course is on microenterprise development as a tool for poverty alleviation, and it gives particular attention to the poor of Washington, DC. The course focuses on building community partnerships, and enrolled students complement classroom discussion and academic assignments with volunteer service work in organizations such as TechnoServe and FINCA, as well as other international and domestic community organizations engaged in microenterprise development work. The subject of microcredit development has found considerable enthusiasm among students and faculty across the disciplines on our campus.

Domestic initiatives such as the establishment of the Community Development Financial Institutions Fund, which has played a transformative role in the District community, likewise have enriched our University community by enabling Georgetown to become an integral part of the city's community-building activities.

Three faculty members in our School of Business are collaborating on a research initiative in which they work with Washington's Community Development Corporations to determine what types of investments and technical support are most needed at the local level. Based on their findings, we plan to expand Georgetown's role in providing technical support to non-profit organizations in the District.

We also are in partnership with Howard University to promote a business improvement district in Washington's Shaw neighborhood to enhance that area's environment for small businesses. In addition, Georgetown has become a founding depositor at the Community First Bank, which targets inner-city reinvestment in the District.

We are proud of these initiatives and hopeful that through them we can make a meaningful contribution to our neighbors as well as to our students and faculty's understanding of how they can apply their knowledge and skills to improve their community. Although these are small steps, I wanted to let you know that the words and work of you and Mrs. Clinton have inspired us to play an active role in efforts to transform the local economic structure and foster greater economic justice through microcredit initiatives.

The President
April 28, 1998
Page Three

I would be pleased to provide any additional information about Georgetown's microcredit programs that you would find helpful. We stand ready to assist you in your leadership on this important front, and of course would happily provide a forum should you wish to discuss microcredit initiatives or announce further related measures or policies.

With best spring wishes, and fond prayers,

God bless.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Leo".

Leo J. O'Donovan, S.J.

LJO'D/sm:alb

*I look forward immensely
to the reunion!*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/1/98

'98 MAY 6 PM 2:34

May 6, 1998

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT ✓
FROM RAHM EMANUEL ✓
SUBJECT HOTLINE POLL

Attached is the Poll Update from today's Hotline that I thought you would find interesting.

Copied
Emanuel
Bowles

ousted state Rep. **Willie Logan** (D), who would have been the first black house speaker had the Dems recaptured the majority, as their leader-designate in January. Now Logan has "mounted a campaign encouraging black voters to consider voting" for GOP candidates (5/6). Since '92, Dem registration dipped under 50% statewide. Losing control of both chambers in the Legislature and dropped two Cabinet seats. Even with Gov. **Lawton Chiles** (D) narrow victory in '94, **Clinton** carried FL in '96 (first time since Pres. **Carter**) the Dems "have been powerless to punish at least" 5 Dem legislators who have switched parties during Brady's tenure (*Tallahassee Democrat*, Kling, 5/6). [\(Back to Contents\)](#)

► POLL UPDATE

✓ 35 HARRIS: GOPers Job Ratings Slip

1,011 adults surveyed 4/22-27; margin of error +/- 3% (release, 5/6).

Clinton Job

	Now	3/98	2/98	1/98	11/97
Positive	64%	60%	65%	59%	58%
Negative	35	39	34	40	41

Most Important Issues

Education	20%
Taxes	17
Social Security	15

Cong. Dems Job

	Now	2/98	1/98	11/97	10/97
Postive	47%	47%	44%	40%	39%
Negative	48	50	53	55	56

Cong. GOPers Job

	Now	2/98	1/98	11/97	10/97
Postiv	37%	44%	42%	34%	32%
Negtiv	57	53	56	61	62

Lott Job

	Now	2/98	1/98	11/97	10/97
Postive	30%	36%	26%	26%	27%
Negative	35	33	36	38	37

Gingrich Job

	Now	2/98	1/98	11/97	10/97
Postiv	31%	36%	32%	28%	25%
Negtiv	62	56	60	65	67

[\(Back to Contents\)](#)

✓ 36 ZOGBY: FDR Tops List Of Mostly Highly Rated Presidents

1,012 likely voters surveyed 2/98; margin of error +/- 3.2% (release, 5/5).

Rating The Presidents

	Near		Great+		Below		Below Avg+	
	Great	Great	Near	Great	Avg	Avg	Failure	Failure
F. Roosevelt	49%	17%		66%	17%	1%	2%	3%
Truman	31	23		53	27	3	1	4
Kennedy	29	23		52	32	8	2	10
Reagan	19	25		44	36	14	5	19
Eisenhower	22	21		43	40	5	1	6
Bush	12	23		35	46	13	4	17
Clinton	16	19		35	32	17	15	32
Carter	10	16		26	46	18	7	25
Nixon	6	10		16	39	26	13	39
Johnson	5	10		15	46	23	8	31
Ford	4	10		14	54	22	4	26

Ranked Highest

(combined great/near great)

- 1) Roosevelt
- 2) Truman
- 3) Kennedy
- 4) Reagan
- 5) Eisenhower

Ranked Lowest

(combined below avg/failure)

- 1) Nixon
- 2) Clinton
- 3) Johnson
- 4) Ford
- 5) Carter

6) Bush	6) Reagan
7) Clinton	7) Bush
8) Carter	8) Kennedy
9) Nixon	9) Eisenhower
10) Johnson	10) Truman
11) Ford	11) Roosevelt

5-7-98

President John F. Kennedy Rating Trend

	Near Great		Great+		Below Avg		Below Avg+
	Great	Great	Near Great	Great	Avg	Avg	Failure
Now	29%	23%	52%	33%	8%	2%	10%
6/97	33	26	59	28	6	2	8

The public's rating of Pres. **John F. Kennedy** "dipped slightly last year, implying that publication of" **Seymour Hersh's** book "critical of Kennedy may have altered opinion. Most affected were people too young to remember the Kennedy years." Hersh's "critical look at the public and private life of Kennedy, 'The Dark Side of Camelot,' was published last fall, and received extensive media coverage" (release, 5/5). ([Back to Contents](#))

✓ 37 MARKET STRATEGIES (R): Their Monthly Poll

655 regis. voters surveyed 4/20-26; margin of error +/- 4% (release, 5/5). Notes: "LDB" = Liberal Democratic Base; "SWN" = Swing voters '98; "CRB" = Conservative Republican Base.

Clinton Job

	All	Wom	Men	LDB	SWN	CRB	3/98
App	65%	66%	64%	91%	64%	32%	66%
Dis	32	31	33	6	32	65	30

Direction Of Country

	All	Wom	Men	LDB	SWN	CRB	3/98
Rgt	45%	41%	48%	65%	43%	29%	46%
Wrg	45	49	43	25	45	63	49

Cong. GOPers Job

	All	Wom	Men	LDB	SWN	CRB	3/98
App	46%	41%	51%	22%	49%	69%	47%
Dis	42	42	40	71	41	23	39

Cong. Dems Job

	All	Wom	Men	LDB	SWN	CRB	3/98
App	51%	49%	51%	72%	46%	21%	51%
Dis	37	33	42	24	44	67	36

More Confidence In Policies And programs Of Dem/GOP Party?

	All	Wom	Men	LDB	SWN	CRB	9/97
Dem	40%	41%	36%	81%	31%	4%	37%
GOP	35	27	38	1	36	81	32

Vote For Dem/GOP Rep. For Congress If Election Today?

	All	Wom	Men	LDB	SWN	CRB	3/98
Dem	40%	43%	33%	82%	32%	2%	40%
GOP	37	30	40	4	37	81	35

How Much Of Time Trust Federal Govt To Do What Is Right?

	All	Wom	Men	LDB	SWN	CRB	11/97
Just about always	3%	3%	3%	4%	2%	2%	2%
Most of the time	26	25	24	44	21	17	27
Only some of the time	67	67	67	50	72	75	65

How Would You Describe Your Economic Situation?

	All	Wom	Men	LDB	SWN	CRB	3/98
Living comfortably	56%	52%	56%	59%	59%	66%	54%
Just getting by	33	34	32	35	30	24	35
Barely making ends meet	10	12	10	5	10	9	11

([Back to Contents](#))

38 ARAB AMERICAN INSTITUTE: Mid-East Peace

969 U.S. adults surveyed 4/19-22 by Zogby International; margin of error +/- 3.3% (release, 5/4). Note: "PA" = Palestinian Authority.

April 14, 1998

5-7-98

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL FOR THE PRESIDENT

TO: **JOHN EDWARDS**, trial attorney

RECOMMENDED BY: Craig Smith and Cynthia Jasso-Rotunno, Political Affairs

PURPOSE: To congratulate John Edwards (D) on winning the North Carolina Democratic U.S. Senate nomination.

Note: Edwards may ask YOU to participate in a fundraiser for him in Washington, D.C. this fall. Please acknowledge that YOU and the Vice President want to be helpful, but YOU should not commit to anything specific.

BACKGROUND: Edwards, 44, is a wealthy trial attorney best known for successfully prosecuting a swimming pool manufacturer on behalf of 4-year-old Valerie Lakey whose intestines were eviscerated by a faulty swimming pool drain. The outcome of the suit resulted in the largest personal injury settlement in the state's history.

On May 5, Edwards (D) garnered 51% of the vote in a 6-way Democratic senate primary and topped the 40% required to avoid a runoff. Other candidates received the following: former Charlotte lawyer D.G. Martin 29%; former Charlotte City Council member Ella Scarborough, 10%; others 10%. Edwards dedicated his victory to former Senator Terry Sanford (D), who lost to Lauch Faircloth (R) in 1992. Sanford died last month.

Edwards will face Senator Lauch Faircloth (R) in November. A Mason-Dixon poll conducted March 27-30 found that a Faircloth-Edwards general election match up was 43%-32%, with 25% undecided. Faircloth's favorable/unfavorable ratings were 42%/17%.

Edwards' family includes his wife, Elizabeth, daughter Kate (16), and a new baby girl, Emma Claire (10 days old, born April 24). Edwards' 16-year-old son, Wade, was killed in a car crash in April 1996. But before he died, Wade won a scholastic contest in Spring 1996 which brought the whole family to the White House where they met **the First Lady**. The Edwards family founded the Wade

copied
Smith
Jasso-Rotunno
Bowles

16 year old son
Wade killed - 4/96

Edwards Learning Lab which is open to all Wake County schools so that students can learn how to use computers and the Internet. His campaign platform focuses on education and he visits a school every week.

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION:

1. To congratulate John Edwards (D) on his impressive primary victory and the start of this general election against Senator Lauch Faircloth (R).
2. To acknowledge that North Carolina is very important to **YOU** and the Vice President, and that **YOU** want to be helpful (but don't commit to anything specific).
3. To congratulate him and his wife, Elizabeth, on the birth of their new baby girl, Emma Claire, and to inquire about how the family is doing. [She was born April 24 and is 10 days old.]

CONTACT PERSON &

TELEPHONE NUMBERS:	•	Edwards' home	•	919-787-8325
	•	Campaign HQ		919-834-3300
	•	Edwards' law office		919-881-2111
	•	Edwards' cell phone	•	919-280-9810

Submitted: May 6, 1998

ACTION:

Tab B copied w/ cover, to VP, COS

Tab E ✓ 1) (Dodd) original & POTUS for
personal file

✓ 2) (Reid) copy to Burkhardt for reply ^{by ASP}

✓ 5) (Portman) copy to Burkhardt for reply ^{by ASP}

Tab H (2nd page of code) ^{by ASP}
to Burkhardt for reply; coordinate
with NSC

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-6-98

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 5, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PHIL CAPLAN *Phil Caplan*
SEAN MALONEY *Sean Maloney*

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

- SC: UA*
- (A) **Memo from Secy Glickman on State of the Agricultural Economy and USDA Actions** -- Glickman provides a good overview of the weakening agricultural economy (e.g., wheat and hogs are the weakest commodity markets; wheat is at its lowest level in five years) and what USDA is doing to help. Some areas, such as the Northern Plains, are especially hard hit. Today's *Wall Street Journal* reports on the effects of the most recent Farm Bill and free-market farming (article attached). *Please see memo for details.*
 - (B) **Memo on West Africa Electricity Crisis forwarded by Sandy** -- USAID Administrator Brian Atwood prepared a summary and outlook memo on the crisis for Sandy; says above-normal evaporation rates in West Africa have reduced surface water availability and have produced low water levels affecting the Volta River and the Ghanaian Akossombo Dam; there are severe power shortages in Ghana, Benin, and Togo; U.S. Ambassadors have requested assistance; USAID is responding by transporting 7 military generators from California to Benin, but is still trying to locate a transformer needed to operate the generators; whether the situation will worsen depends on the rainfall in the upcoming season; USAID is in communication with weather and river experts and will closely monitor the situation.
 - (C) **Items Executed on Your Behalf** -- during your recent travel we executed two items on your behalf: (1) an Executive Order extending the reporting deadline of the Advisory Committee on Public Interest Obligations of Digital Television Broadcasters from June 1, 1998 to October 1, 1998; and (2) an Executive Memorandum required to implement the Administrative Dispute Resolution Act of 1996 by establishing interagency working groups to encourage the use of alternative dispute resolution and negotiated rulemaking.
 - (D) **McCurry Memo on Amplification of Teacher of the Year Event** -- nearly ¾ of U.S. media markets were penetrated through newspaper, radio, and television interviews of state teachers of the year following your event on April 24; the major networks and regional newspapers and wire services did interviews at the stakeout for markets across the country; teachers gave interviews to 20 radio stations and 9 state networks reaching over 600 radio affiliates nationwide.

*See
Fin*
(E) **Congressional Correspondence from Janet Murguia -- (1) Note from Sen. Dodd --** thanks you for your work on Northern Ireland; writes: "For those of us who have been involved in this issue for so many years, your interest, support and courage . . . made all the difference;" **(2) Note from Sen. Reid --** says he will "never forget the kind acts for our friend Dr. Elia Ghamein (sp?); he is in treatment now and having a difficult time but has a strong physical and spiritual constitution;" **(3) Note to you and the First Lady from Rep. Amo Houghton --** thanks you for the opportunity to be with you in South Africa; says he is "proud to be a part of our country's government, particularly with you both at its helm;" **(4) Note from Rep. John LaFalce --** forwards to you a copy of an article he recently wrote on the historical background of the grand jury concept and his "deep concerns about how it has evolved and its impact today;" **(5) Note from Rep. Rob Portman --** thanks you for the courtesies you extended to him on the Chile trip; he thought it was a productive session and was proud to be part of the American team.

Copy
(F) **Id al-Adha Messages to Heads of State --** Sandy approved on your behalf approximately 40 cables to Muslim heads of state for this Islamic holiday at the end of the Hajj period.

Copy
(G) **Items from Mack --** Mack sent you two items: (1) a *Washington Post* item describing comments by Gov. Huckabee that Mack calls "an unusual and telling commentary." The GOP is usually accused of being anti-environment, but Huckabee is hitting back by calling environmentalists anti-God: "environmentalists have more faith in the Earth and animals than they have in God;" and (2) a *Tulsa World* article noting that your popularity in Oklahoma ranks with Sen. Nickles, above Sen. Inhofe but below Gov. Keating.

Copy
(H) **Letter from Amb. Gabriel Guerra-Mondragon --** thanks you for your visit to Chile; says you won the hearts of the Chilean people; the Frei government was delighted with the "concrete evidence of our deep friendship;" "Alicia and I will never forget the Friday evening we spent with you, the McLartys and Madeleine . . . What a grand time we had."



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-6-98

'98 MAY 5 AM 11:46

U.S. AGENCY FOR
INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT

April 17, 1998

The Administrator

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. SAMUEL R. BERGER
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House

FROM: J. Brian Atwood *JB*

SUBJECT: West Africa Electricity Crisis: Summary and Outlook

Above normal evaporation rates in February and March have reduced surface water availability in certain West African and Sahelian countries leading to low water levels of the Volta River and the Ghanian Akossombo Dam. This has caused severe power shortages in Ghana, Benin and Togo, leading U.S. Ambassadors in Benin and Togo to declare a state of disaster in their countries and to request assistance from the U.S. Government.

USAID is currently responding to the crisis by transporting seven military generators from Point Magoo, California, to Benin. A member of USAID's logistics team is presently in Benin as part of a three-person survey team sent out by the Department of Defense. The team is assessing logistical capacity of the Beninese Government to handle the transport, setup and maintenance of these generators. Findings by the team indicate that a 15,000 kilowatt Delta transformer is needed for the generators to be operational. The Departments of State and Defense are currently working on locating such a transformer.

Whether an already stressed situation will worsen hinges on the rainfall in the upcoming season. USAID is in communication with regional organizations responsible for hydrological, meteorological, and agricultural monitoring for the Sahel and West Africa. These institutions are able to provide detailed analysis on the Senegal, Gambia and Niger river basins as well as track short- and long-term effects on other West African river networks.

The West African Regional Climate Outlook Forum to be held in Abidjan from May 4-8, will provide timely information to decision-makers. The forum aims to develop the best possible climate outlook for June-September in conjunction with creating

an environment to catalyze regional and national planning, especially in the areas of food security and water resources management. Representatives from national services of agriculture, meteorology, and hydrology at technical and policy levels will be present. USAID is closely involved with this effort.

S-6-98

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 28, 1998

'98 APR 30 PM 2:28

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JANET MURGUIA *Jm*

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE

Attached for your review are notes from the following Members of Congress and Senators that I thought you would like to see.

- 1) Sen. Harry Reid (D-NV)
- 2) Rep. Amo Houghton (R-NY)
- 3) Rep. John J. LaFalce (D-NY)

HARRY REID
NEVADA



4. 1. 98

Dear Mr. President,

I will never forget the kind
acts of our friend Dr. Elias
Graham. He is one of a kind, but
so are you. He is in treatment
now, of having a difficult time,
but has a strong physical &
spiritual constitution. I will

Keep you posted as to his status.

Sincerely
Harry

AMO HOUGHTON
31ST DISTRICT, NEW YORK

1110 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-3231
PHONE: (202) 225-3161
FAX: (202) 225-5574



COMMITTEES
COMMITTEE ON WAYS
AND MEANS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH

COMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

April 2, 1998

The Honorable and Mrs. William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

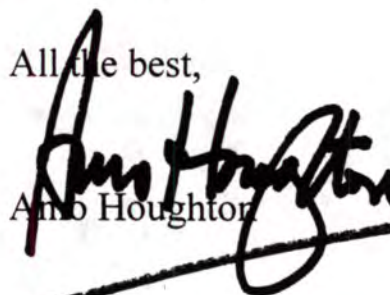
Dear President and Mrs. Clinton:

Thank you for the opportunity to be with you in South Africa. We flew on President Kennedy's old Air Force One--its last leg. Very nostalgic.

The point of this note, however, is to tell you how proud I am to be part of our country's government, particularly with you both at its helm.

Hope your trip to Botswana gave you a breather.

All the best,


Amo Houghton

JOHN J. LaFALCE
29TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

2310 RAYBURN BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-3229
(202) 225-3231

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-3229

FEDERAL BUILDING
BUFFALO, NY 14202
(716) 846-4056

MAIN POST OFFICE BUILDING
NIAGARA FALLS, NY 14302
(716) 284-9976

409 SOUTH UNION STREET
SPENCERPORT, NY 14559
(716) 352-4777

April 15, 1998

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

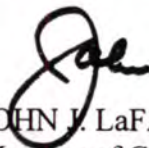
Dear Mr. President:

I recently wrote an essay on the historical background of the grand jury concept and my deep concerns about how it has evolved and its impact today on our system of justice. It was published in a number of newspapers in my congressional district.

Enclosed is a copy, which I thought you might find interesting and useful.

With every best wish,

Sincerely,



JOHN J. LaFALCE
Member of Congress

L:o
Enclosure

LOCKPORT UNION-SUN & JOURNAL

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 25, 1998

FROM "STAR CHAMBERS" TO "STAR GRAND JURIES"

Star Chamber was the name of an English conciliar tribunal that was based on the "royal prerogative" of "doing justice". Proceedings did not follow "due process," and were used primarily to punish disobedience of the king's arbitrary proclamations. The Star Chamber became so odious to the nation that it was abolished in 1641.

Our Founding Fathers abhorred the concept of the Star Chamber, and in drafting the Constitution specifically created a body that was intended to protect the innocent against hasty, malicious, and oppressive prosecutions. Thus, the Fifth Amendment directs that no individual can be held to answer for a felony offense unless an indictment or presentment is rendered by a grand jury. The original concept of the grand jury was noble indeed. In 1719, a famous English Jurist, Henry Care, wrote:

The History of the Grand Jury [is to] preserve the Innocent from the Disgrace and Hazards which ill Men may design to bring them to, out of Malice, or through Subordination, or other sinister Ends; for so tender is the Law, of the Reputation and Life of a Man, that it will not suffer the one to be sullied . . . and the other endangered by a Trial, until first the Matter and Evidence against him have been scann'd, examined, and found by a Grand Jury, upon their Oaths, against him.

In *Ex parte Bain*, the Supreme Court in 1887 affirmed that rationale by stating that the grand jury is "a means of protecting the citizen against unfounded accusation, whether it comes from government, or be prompted by partisan passion or private enmity."

Despite our Founders' intent, I fear that the current grand jury system too often eerily harkens back to the days of the Star Chamber. Senator Edward Kennedy noted this phenomenon as far back as 1973:

LaFalce report



. . . we have witnessed the birth of a new breed of political animal — the kangaroo grand jury — a dangerous modern form of **star chamber secret inquisition** that is trampling the rights of American citizens . . .

A 1995 Cornell Law Review article noted, "[a]lthough the nominal purpose of the grand jury is to protect those accused of crimes, few defendants take comfort from its presence; indeed, the staunchest defenders of the institution are prosecutors." Rather than acting as a shield against ill-conceived or malicious prosecutions, the grand jury today most often acts as an investigative arm of the government, adhering all too easily to the prosecutor's whims. Indeed, it is frequently said that a grand jury indictment is a mere "rubber stamp" of a prosecutor's decision to indict, and that a grand jury will "indict a ham sandwich" if asked to do so by the prosecutor. The statistics seem to support these views: in 1984, the last year for which figures are available, federal grand juries returned 17,419 indictments and only sixty-eight "no bills" — a 99.6% indictment rate.

And an indictment, in and of itself, can damn an individual. As Supreme Court Justice John Paul Stevens noted in his dissent in *U.S. v. Williams* (1992): "The handing up of an indictment will often have a devastating personal and professional impact [on the individual]

that a later dismissal or acquittal can never undo."

The lack of "due process" inherent in grand jury proceedings virtually guarantees the outcome desired by the prosecutor. The majority in the 1992 *Williams* case legitimized this inequity by holding that a prosecutor is **not** required to inform the grand jury of evidence that could show an individual's innocence. I think that's terrible!

Other long-standing and inequitable rules governing grand jury proceedings lend to this unfettered prosecutorial power. The Rules of Evidence do not apply, thereby permitting prosecutors to present and jurors to consider hearsay, illegally obtained evidence, and even mere rumors; the prosecutor may selectively include or exclude evidence to serve his purpose; the prosecutor is permitted to ask leading and misleading questions; the prosecutor may pursue matters that would be considered irrelevant and inappropriate at trial; a suspect has no right to testify or offer evidence in his own defense; if subpoenaed to testify; he is not permitted to bring counsel with him into the grand jury room; and, unlike a trial, a judge is **not** present during these proceedings. As a result, the grand jurors hear **only** what the prosecutor wants them to hear — nothing else.

Today, the grand jury is often "prosecutor's putty," used by prosecutors as both a sword and a shield — a sword for a prosecutor reluctant to file controversial charges, and a shield to avoid accountability by hiding behind the grand jury's so-called "independent judgment."

Clearly, the Founding Fathers saw the Fifth Amendment as the ultimate protection against Star Chamber-type proceedings. Nonetheless, today the "Star Grand Jury" exists, and seriously threatens the integrity of our system of jurisprudence.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
S-6-98
28 APR 27 1998

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
April 27, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JANET MURGUIA *JM*
SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE

Attached is a letter from Rep. Rob Portman (R-OH) thanking you for the courtesies extended to him during the trip to Chile.

ROB PORTMAN
OHIO



April 22
1998

UNITED STATES CONGRESS

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for all the
courtesies extended to me —
your sole Republican member of
the delegation to the Summit

NOT PAID FOR AT TAXPAYERS EXPENSE

of the Americas.

I thought it was a
productive session and I
was provd to be part of
the American team.

Warm regards.

Teds

✓ Original to Burkhardt
for reply OF PRESIDENT
5-6-98

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
SANTIAGO, CHILE

98 MAY 1 PM 12:00

THE AMBASSADOR

Personal

April 22, 1998

The Honorable
William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
of America, and
Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President and Hillary:

Thank you for your visit to Chile. The bilateral visit, as well as the Summit, were successes. You both did a marvelous job, winning, as always, the hearts of the Chilean people. The Government of Chile, especially President and Mrs. Frei, were delighted with the concrete evidence of our deep friendship, which was further deepened with your visit.

Your visit was the ultimate privilege every U.S. Ambassador always cherishes. To have you both for four days was a great honor, especially as we conclude our tenure after four great years in Chile.

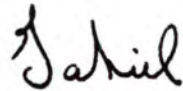
Mr. President, I will be eternally grateful for the trust you bestowed in me as your Ambassador to Chile. It was a privilege for me to represent you and our country. I hope that I served you well.

Alicia and I will never forget the Friday evening we spent with you, the McLarty's and Madeleine. It was fun, most interesting, and relaxing. What a grand time we had.

Even though I now depart to the private sector in New York, you know that I am at your disposal to help you in whatever way I can. I will quickly launch myself into assisting in the election of Vice President Gore as our next President.

Alicia joins me in sending you both our very best wishes.

Your friend,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Gabriel".

Gabriel Guerra-Mondragón

CELEBRATING

HISTORY AND CULTURE

American Legacy

Spring 1998 • Volume 4 / Number 1

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My African-American

by

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To Winston

Ann Lewis

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use this —



Plus, an Exclusive Interview With President Clinton:

**“What My Grandfather
Taught Me About Race”**

CELEBRATING

AFRICAN-AMERICAN

HISTORY

AND CULTURE

American Legacy

Spring 1998 • Volume 4 / Number 1



My African-American

by

TO POTUS

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5-7-98



Plus, an Exclusive Interview With President Clinton:

**"What My Grandfather
Taught Me About Race"**

A SON OF



In Little Rock, Clinton ponders a question from the author.

ARKANSAS

AN INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT
BY CARL SFERRAZZA ANTHONY

Last September, during the impressive ceremonies that marked forty years since the federally ordered desegregation of Little Rock's Central High School, President Clinton paused for an interview with *American Legacy*. For a President who has committed himself to racial healing, it was an appropriate setting to reflect on early experiences of life in a segregated society and remember a historic event that was a benchmark in his own personal development as a native Arkansan.

It was in September 1957 that, after several years of obstruction, the Little Rock school board finally agreed to admit a small number of black students to its all-white Central High School. In the tumultuous days that followed, Gov. Orval Faubus called out the National Guard to bar the students, after which President Dwight Eisenhower reluctantly brought in paratroopers of the 101st Airborne to effect the students' entry. This was the first time since the Civil War that Federal troops had been used to override what had been thought of as States' Rights.

During his speech at Central High, President Clinton not only reflected on the heroism of the Little Rock Nine, those African-American teenagers who day after day had to defy

strident hatred, but also discussed the steps still to be taken to vanquish intolerance. Our talk took place the next morning in Little Rock's "Little White House," a private home next to Clinton's mother-in-law's house, where the President and Mrs. Clinton stay when they are in the city.

Mr. President, I'd like to ask you about your personal memories of a segregated South and about your forecasts for the future of race relations in this country. Yesterday, as we gathered to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the desegregation of Little Rock's Central High School, you said, as you have on previous occasions, that Central High was a turning point for you. Where were you as the events unfolded?

I was a sixth-grade student in Hot Springs, and I saw it, obviously, on television. It dominated every Arkansas newspaper for weeks and weeks, every news program on TV. And we watched a lot of television then, because we'd only had one for a year. It was all that the grown-ups talked about, you know, and eventually the kids got into talking about it; at least most of us did.

You were then living with your mother and stepfather?

Yes. My brother was born by then, and my maternal grandparents also had moved up there to Hot Springs, Arkansas, from Hope, so they lived near us, and I saw them all the time.

I know that your mother had said that even though you were only eleven years old at the time, you were an influence on her regarding race relations.

I think that she was less political about it. She was less political about everything than I was—until she got into it. I don't know how much racism was discussed in her home, but it was a real issue when I was a little boy and spending a lot of time with my grandparents. They talked to me a lot about it.

Was equality among the races just an idea you were naturally raised with?

In the beginning it was, but later we talked about it. And then, of course, from 1954 on, it was discussed in the South, because that's the year that *Brown v. Board of Education* was decided, that's the year people were beginning to organize, to demonstrate, to press for their rights. So there was a lot of discussion about it, from the mid-fifties on.

Your grandfather had a general store where he served

both white and black customers and even extended credit to African-Americans at a time when most white shopkeepers would not, and your grandmother was a nurse who often went into African-American neighborhoods to treat children. What did they tell you about treating others equally?

Oh, just simple, self-evident things. I mean, it was no big deal. They just felt that black people were not making, and could never make, a good living and would never have a fair chance unless their kids had the opportunity to go to the good schools. It was very simple, straightforward stuff. They thought that Southern society was too segregated, and that

it was a bad, bad deal. But for reasons I never could figure out, they were free of the kind of social insecurity found in many white people with limited educations and limited incomes. For years politicians made a living off of people like my grandparents by inflaming racial hatred in them, and there were a lot of people who openly said, "These Southern rednecks need somebody to look down on; we're going to give them the blacks and they'll be with us from now on." It was a very crass, callous, calculating thing, but a lot of people in politics did it. And somehow my grandparents were free of that. They came from this little-bitty place out in the country.

My grandfather was instinctively a liberal Democrat. He lived for Franklin Roosevelt. But he also believed in civil rights—although he never read a book about it, I'm quite sure, and never attended a meeting about it. He was just a poor guy struggling to make his life work, and he just thought that what was going on in terms of racial division was crazy.

"One of the problems with this issue is that you can win a lot of arguments, yet you look in people's eyes and you see that you haven't changed them. There is some core you haven't touched."

At what point in your own youth did you first start encountering other white children or friends in school who might question your views on equality, or taunt you? Little Rock. Little Rock. Little Rock changed it for everybody, because then, all of a sudden, everybody not only had to think about it but had to have an opinion, and then you had to say what your opinion was. So everybody knew how you felt, and that changed everything. It was very interesting. In my hometown we probably had relatively more white people who were sympathetic to integration because we had a very large Jewish population and we had a lot of recent immigrants. I was in a Southern town of thirty-five thousand that had two synagogues and a Greek Orthodox church. That was unusual back in the fifties, and so, I think there was a lot of understanding of oppression and discrimination. My hometown also had a lot of people who had been Lincoln Republicans. The town was a little pocket of nationalism, going back to the Civil War. Most Republicans in Arkansas, and throughout the South, lived in the hill counties in the northern part of their states where there was no slave culture. And

for reasons I'm not quite sure of, we always had a big, progressive Republican population. So those people were backing Eisenhower when he sent the troops in. But they were a distinct minority. It still wasn't all that great.

When, as a result of the 1957 desegregation order, Little Rock's public schools were closed during the 1958-59 academic year, did any of those students go to school up in Hot Springs?

Yes, a few did, but I didn't know any of them. Most of them tried to go to school a little closer to home, but we did have a few children come all the way—as far as Hot Springs. All of those kids, black and white, had to find someplace else to go to school.

Did other white students confront you for your belief in racial integration? What did you say to change the minds of the classmates who disagreed with you?

A lot of white kids thought I was crazy, but they didn't show any personal grudge towards me. I argued with my class-

Did you ever encounter any African-Americans who might have made assumptions about your views because you were a young, white Southern man?

I never had any adverse encounters with blacks when I was little. My father was the parts manager of my uncle's car dealership, and I spent a lot of time there. It was one of the few integrated workplaces I knew of. In the back of the car dealership, where all the cars were repaired and prepared for sale, many of the mechanics were black. I spent a lot of time back there, down on the ground, looking up under cars, talking to people, getting to know them. To me it was all easy and normal. That's one of the reasons I never could figure out what the deal was about segregation. It seemed so normal to me for people just to relate to each other.

Yet all around you at that time you saw the segregated South. Can you describe some of the shocking things you witnessed that are no longer a part of our society?

Yes, I remember people selling poll taxes. I remember people buying poll taxes for blacks in packages of one hundred and going into neighborhoods and filling out the names and then telling black people who they were to vote for and lining them up in pickup trucks to take them to voting places on Election Day. I remember a campaign in the early sixties, when the candidate I was with asked an elderly black woman to vote for him. She said, "I can't do that, mister, I don't have a poll tax anymore." And he said, "The Supreme Court said two years ago you don't have to have that." She didn't know it.

There are all sorts of dark manifestations of how things used to be. A lot of people didn't vote because they knew what the whole poll-tax system was about. I used to go over to the Mississippi Delta when I was in college and just drive around and talk to sharecroppers. I can remember, even as late as the mid-sixties, going into courthouse squares in the Delta and seeing public restrooms marked "White" and "Colored." The beginning of slavery was an economic system that then had a social, psychological, and political justification built for it.

Many people have no idea that even a hundred years after the Civil War, some of the oppression was still alive and well in the sharecropper system. I remember in 1968, Sen. Bill Fulbright was running for re-election and he asked this Delta planter how

his sharecroppers were doing. And the guy looked at him and he got a kind of hard look in his eyes, and he said, "Well, if we have a bad year they break even. And if we have a good year they break even." I remember meeting another white guy named Bo Reese—I never will forget this guy—who



mates all the time. I don't know whether I changed anyone's thinking, but I just said the obvious things you would say about why you thought it was wrong. And usually I could win an argument. I'd explain why they were wrong—in vigorous terms. I was more verbal than most of my classmates; I could win any argument. But then, as I said, winning an argument was not the same thing as changing somebody. One of the problems with this issue is that you can win a lot of arguments, yet you look in people's eyes and you see that you haven't changed them. There is something still being held back, some core you haven't touched.

At the schoolroom door last September, Clinton applauded the Little Rock Nine.

lived in a county with a big black population. He was talking to Fulbright about this very encounter, because he knew this planter. And this sixty-something-year-old white guy in 1968 said, "You've got to do something about that. This is wrong." So there were always a few people like that, in the most unlikely circumstances, who would stand up for what was right.

Do you believe that because of the history of slavery, there will always be a degree of bigotry between the races in this country?

No, not necessarily. I just think it's a thing that takes a long time to get over. What I really believe is that our history will always provide a convenient excuse or psychological crutch for someone who is looking for a reason to be bigoted. That's what I think. It will always be there. If you talk to people in Bosnia, they can tell you what happened seven hundred or eight hundred years ago. You talk to the Irish and they can talk about all the battles they fought. The truth is, it doesn't have to have anything to do with the way people really live. Historical events become convenient excuses for those who want to drive people apart instead of bringing them together.

How, in a very practical way, can average working Americans, going about their business, fight prejudice within themselves and with others—in the workplace, for example?

I think there are three obvious things Americans can do, assuming they work in an integrated workplace. One is to make sure that they have, or that they make it a point to try to develop, a genuinely meaningful personal friendship with somebody of another race, and then understand the whole fabric of that person's life, his family history, how he perceives the world, whether he's subject to discrimination today—the whole range of things that happen when people are really friends. The second thing I think an ordinary citizen can do is to make sure that there is some mechanism set up in the workplace where people can talk through these issues, and that they feel that they have a say in what is happening in the workplace and how it's coming down in their own lives. And then the third thing they can do is, through their church or a community group, genuinely be involved in some kind of community-service project where they work on a steady basis for some higher goal with a member, or people, of another race. If everybody in America would engage in these three practical things, I think there would be a measurable difference.

"The evidence from other countries is that it is too easy to slip from separatism into something much more destructive; separatism is not a practical alternative in a country with so much diversity."

There is still a lot of workplace discrimination out there, and there are still a lot of perceptions of discrimination. There is still a lot of subconscious profiling in every way. You know, we talk about profiling as if it's only a law-enforcement issue. The truth is that all of us profile all the time, in ways we're not even aware of. When I had a group of black journalists in the other day, I asked them about this. Virtually everybody in the room had been subject to some sort of recent encounter with law enforcement where they absolutely were certain there was no factual basis for them to be stopped or questioned or anything else, and these journalists are all college graduates, highly educated people. They were just profiled. They were black, so they were stopped, they were questioned, they were looked at in a funny way. I think that's the sort of thing that's going to happen in a lot of different contexts in this society, until people don't just say the right things but also feel the right things. So you have to do things that change the interconnected patterns of life, those things I mentioned that ordinary citizens can do.

People like me, in positions of responsibility, have to recognize that we're never going to get rid of all of this until everybody can get a good education, until everybody can make a decent living, until all our children have safe streets and are more likely to be on a school sports or academic team than they are to be in a gang. I think this commemoration of Little Rock's desegregation really can be a very positive thing—not only for the high school, the city, and the state, but for the country as well. That's what I'm hoping.

One final question. What do you say to the people who have given up on full integration, to separatists, both black and white? What message would you give them?

That the evidence from other countries is that it is too easy to slip from separatism into something much more destructive. That you've got to find a way to hold the country together, and that separatism is not a practical alternative in a country with so much diversity. The Fairfax County School District in Virginia, for example, now has students speaking over a hundred languages. My argument is, you get all the separatism you want and need. We're all going to be hanging around with our own ethnic groups going to this, that, and the other thing. I go to the Irish-American dinner every year. We have our chances at that. But to actually withdraw, to pretend that you can hold the country together while being in separate enclaves, is an illusion. All you have to do is look around the world to see what happens when people have tried that. That, I think, is the trump card. Besides, when you withdraw, life isn't as much fun. ★

Carl Sferrazza Anthony writes about White House history. His biography of Florence Harding will appear this spring.



Sunday (Thir) / 1998
Miliaguar
1974 -

AMBASSADOR OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

NEW DELHI

April 22, 1998

Copied
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5-7-98 Bowles

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

Dear Mr. President:

People ask me how long I have been in India. My usual response is "for 34 years with a 30-year absence."

Much has changed here in the past 30 years.

Size. The population has more than doubled (to nearly one billion). Life expectancy is up by 50 percent (to 62 years). In 1967 there were 1.1 million registered vehicles; now there are 27 million. But the national highways have increased a bare 40 percent. When I left in 1967, India had eight cities of more than a million. Today there are 23. Statistics here stagger. More poor people, more HIV/AIDS, more greenhouse gasses than all of Africa and Latin America combined.

Politics. When I left in 1967, 18 out of 20 states were governed by the Congress Party. India experienced three Prime Ministers in its first 20 years. When I returned in 1997, the Congress Party only controlled six out of 26 states! And India had its third Prime Minister (I. K. Gujral) in just two years. Two trends dominated the political scene: coalition government at the Center, and dramatic devolution of power to the states. As one Embassy wag put it: in 1967 the Prime Minister named Chief Ministers (India's equivalent of our Governor); today Chief Ministers name the Prime Minister.

Development. The end of the Cold War--removing our chief adversary and humbling India's chief trading partner (and arms supplier)--and India's economic reform of 1991--have stimulated a new informal partnership between the United States and India in both trade and investment. Two-way trade--which was \$3.5 billion at the beginning of this decade--reached \$10 billion last year. And U.S. investment in India totaled \$7 billion by 1997, up from \$152 million in 1990. The U.S. is by far India's largest trading and investment partner. Over the previous three years, India achieved real growth in GDP in excess of 7%, though last year growth slowed to about 5%.

Mr. President, India--on the verge of the 21st century--is a nation, a people, a continent, at a crossroads. It enjoys enormous natural and human resources. To a person, American manufacturers who have set up operations here praise the skill and work ethic of their Indian employees. Some are even making a business of using these skills to tackle production bottlenecks in other parts of Asia. It also suffers a huge maldistribution of wealth and opportunity. And most of all, it is burdened by deep-seated self doubts which in my view are the legacy of a cultural experience dominated by invasion and colonialism.

Our binational relationship too often has failed to understand each others' history and culture: our inherent optimism and impatience to make change happen and India's inherent pessimism and expectation that nothing will really change (in this life). So our expectations for ourselves and each other are often out of sync. This is made all the more difficult by the Indian proclivity for protocol and hierarchy, and our easy informality and egalitarianism. No place is this more grating than with the starchy "keepers of the keys" in the Ministry of External Affairs.

Your visit provides an opportunity to take a giant step beyond this frustrating disconnect and to lay the groundwork for an exciting 21st century partnership between the world's oldest and the world's largest democracies. The challenge is to focus on the future rather than the past, and to choose themes and design events which highlight our shared values and our converging interests.

In that spirit, I want to offer brief thoughts on three themes and then identify two specific events which I think would give your visit enormous impact.

Themes

The overriding theme, in my view, is that our nations share a "value-based" relationship rooted in the bedrock of our common devotion to democracy. This is not a trivial matter for Indians, who cherish their freedom of speech, their outspoken press, their independent judiciary and even their increasingly rambunctious (and frequent) political campaigns. I urge you to invite the Indians to join us in fashioning a forum to explore how to strengthen and nurture democracy around the world—how to address tough issues ranging from managing diversity in a democracy to preventing terrorism in open societies.

This could well be the focus of your speech to Parliament (and the Indian nation).

A second theme, I believe, is one that ties together our interests in economic growth, energy security and environmental stewardship. Our focus on strengthening the American business presence here should be set firmly in the context of what is now popularly referred to as sustainable development.

You can highlight our interests in exporting clean technologies, helping the Indians to leapfrog to state-of-the-art energy generation, and urging regional cooperation in power development using lower cost and cleaner hydro-power (from Nepal) and natural gas (from Bangladesh), and highlighting joint ventures like the Indo-American effort to produce electric three-wheelers to replace the incredibly polluting two-strokers that now befoul Delhi and so many Indian (and Third World) cities.

This should happen at an appropriate venue either in Delhi or on another stop on your visit.

The third theme is the celebration of what I call our unique "binational infrastructure." I have in mind the extraordinary relationship that our nations have enjoyed in the low profile but pervasive exchange of intellectual talent, especially (but not exclusively) in the science and technology arena. From the Fulbright program to the American Studies Research Center, from software to space and supercomputing, we have benefited from hosting many of India's best and brightest in the U.S., and

India has, in turn, benefited from an unmatched level of collaborative research and, more recently, entrepreneurship.

This theme could be repeated in a number of stops on your visit, several with tangible "deliverables" (I hate the term): a signing of a revised Fulbright Agreement, the naming of the members of the Science and Technology Forum, and so on.

Two specific suggestions:

First, please do a meeting with 40 to 50 young Indian leaders—people from different parts of the country, and different careers, but all under the age of 40. This could be set up in your usual town meeting format, with an hour and a half of genuine give and take. The central focus would be their vision for India in the 21st century. You could share your vision for the U.S. in a similar context. My point is this: India is a young country (two-thirds of the population is under 35!), but the stage is dominated by old timers. You can give a new generation a chance to make their voices heard. They, and their parents, will love and respect that opportunity.

Second, please take a few minutes in the appropriate setting to give some kind of Presidential award to Joe Stein, an extraordinary American architect who has lived in India for 45 years. Now 85 years old Stein was attracted here by Nehru. He designed the original portion of the American Embassy School; then he designed the India International Center, and recently his firm did the India Habitat Center. He is enormously respected by a wide range of Indian intellectuals and political leaders; he has inspired two generations of Indian architects. In a country which respects (even reveres) old age, your recognition of Joe Stein would not only underscore his long-time devotion to Indo-American friendship but also resonate with a deeply imbedded Indian cultural value.

Finally, Mr. President, I know you like to read. Therefore, I am sharing with you several items which would not appear in the usual briefing. The first is a magnificently thoughtful and revealing book of photos and essays disguised as a "cocktail table" book--called India Face to Face. I particularly recommend the introduction and first essay on India's history: the latter captures the essence of this nation's character (and complexity) quite well.

The second is an article on cities in India, which will give you a sense of both the history and distinctiveness of India's cities--and a feel for the diversity of this place which can never be captured in a three-day visit. Third is a somewhat hard to read copy of an article from the "New Yorker" about an effort to clean up the Ganges set in Varanasi (Benares) which captures the unique blend of scientific sophistication and intense spirituality which are deeply ingrained here.

Mr. President, thank you for the opportunity to serve as your Ambassador to India. Jacqueline, Sam, and I are eager to welcome you in November. So are all of my colleagues. So, especially are the government and people of India.

Warm personal regards,

Dick

Richard F. Celeste

P. 65.
Citizen
Medal?
why
not

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date

5/7

To: Goody Marshall
Chris Bickelstein

From: The Staff Secretary

POTUS will want to see this,
which is something I know
Steve was working on.

I think POTUS will want to
respond. Can you work with
Dan Burkhardt to draft an
appropriate response. Phil
cc: Dan Burkhardt

Arkadelphia 2025 Commission

Rep. Percy Malone, Chairman

5-7-98

April 23, 1998

To Burkhardt
for Reply

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

Mr. President:

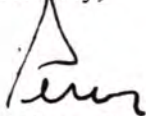
I regret having to write you with any news other than to inform you that our recovery effort from our March 1, 1997 had been a total success. Unfortunately, we are still struggling to pull ourselves up from the tragedy. Almost 14 months after that fateful day, we still have not received any substantive assistance for "recovery" from the federal government. Even our \$686,000 HUD grant, the equity buy-down housing assistance we discussed during your visit, has not made it's way through the red tape to us as of yet.

'98 MAY 7 AM 10:00

Funding assistance in the amount of fifteen million to help with our housing program, infrastructure needs and our economic recovery program would allow us to "recover" in a manner that will meet the needs of the citizens of Arkadelphia for the long haul. I have shared your admonition to rebuild our town with an eye on the long-term future not just on tomorrow. Our people have dedicated themselves to that mission, but we need help.

Please let me know if there are any further avenues that we may pursue to seek assistance from the federal level. Arkadelphia is a wonderful community, as you know, and we owe it to future generations of our community and our state to rebuild for them. Any further assistance you could provide would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,



W. Percy Malone
Chairman
Arkadelphia 2025 Commission

Tell Hillary & Chelsea - H
for me.

WPM/cbs

Larry Butler / USC

Fig - BC

5-7-98

Copied
Butler
Westwing
desk
Bowles



*H*elping People
bereaved or
traumatised as a result of
the "Troubles"

*"unlock the pain"
we are here to listen*



TRAUMA CENTRE
Reg. Charity No. 1R20088

WAVE
Trauma Centre
523 Antrim Road,
BELFAST BT15 3BS

PLEASE SEND INFORMATION TO:

(BLOCK CAPITALS)

Title (Mr., Mrs., Ms., etc.)

Surname

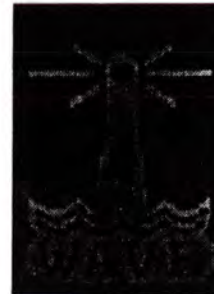
First Name(s)

Organisation (if applicable)

Address

Postcode

Telephone Number



For further information contact:-

WAVE Trauma Centre
523 Antrim Road,
BELFAST BT15 3BS
Tel: 01232 779922
Fax: 01232 781165

WAVE Trauma Centre
9 Dobbin Street,
ARMAGH BT61 7QQ
Tel: 01861 511599
Fax: 01861 511599

OFFICE HOURS

9.00 - 5.00 Monday - Friday



Helping People
bereaved or
traumatised as a result of
the "Troubles"

"unlock the pain"
we are here to listen



TRAUMA CENTRE
Reg. Charity No. 1R20088



S E R V I C E S O F F E R E D

Befriending Service

Many of our members have benefited from being visited by others who have been bereaved/traumatised in a similar way. As a result our befrienders visit people who have been bereaved or traumatised. We undertake to offer this service throughout Northern Ireland.

Individual Counselling

WAVE recognises that some people may need a little more individual support. The organisation addresses this by offering supportive counselling by professional counsellors.

Youth Service

WAVE works with young people and children through appropriate activities and programmes.

Advice/Advocacy

WAVE offers practical assistance in relation to benefits advice, compensation and social welfare issues.

Peer Group Support

WAVE offers the opportunity for those bereaved/traumatised to meet for peer group support as a means of lessening feelings of isolation and alienation within the community.

Training Seminars

WAVE organises various training opportunities for members and also the general public.



I WOULD LIKE MORE INFORMATION ON:

• Getting help from WAVE ☐

• Youth Services ☐

• Benefits and Welfare issues ☐

• Becoming a Volunteer ☐

• Training courses/seminars ☐

• I wish to be put on your mailing list
for further events/information ☐

Please complete your name and address details
overleaf.

WAVE VISIT TO THE WHITE HOUSE

THE MAIN ISSUE WE WOULD LIKE THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION TO SUPPORT US ON.

1. A deeper recognition of the suffering of those who have lost most i.e. the kind of people that WAVE work with every day. The voices of the victims must be heard as clearly as the voices of the politicians and prisoners
2. Secure funding on a longer term basis for the sort of work we are doing. Even if the Troubles end today there will be a need for our kind of work for many years to come.
 - 2 illustrations
 - a. we have not been able to access any funds from the IFI
 - b. the N. I. Partnership Board, allocating European funding has given 4 times as much to prisoners groups as to victim groups
3. We want the issue of disbanding all paramilitary organizations and removal of weapons and explosives to be faced up to and not fudged as has happened repeatedly in the past.
4. Pressure put on those who can help with the return of the bodies of the disappeared.

7 May 1998

WAVE Trauma Centre



WAVE, 523 Antrim Road, BELFAST, BT15 3BS

Tel 01232 779922 Fax 01232 781165

WAVE, 9 Dobbin St., ARMAGH, BT61 7QQ

Tel 01861 511599 Fax 01861 511599

Registered Charity No XR20088

WAVE, a grass roots, cross community group was formed in 1991 to support people bereaved of a spouse as a result of violence in Northern Ireland. It was expanded later to incorporate the needs of young people\children and anyone traumatised through 'the troubles'.

Today the overall aim of WAVE is to offer care and support to anyone bereaved or traumatised through the violence, irrespective of religious, cultural or political belief.

The philosophy and ethos of the organisation is one of inclusiveness i.e. anyone bereaved/traumatised - civilians, security force officers, prison officers, ex-members of paramilitary organisations, those physically impaired as a result of the violence in NI and those who care for them. WAVE promotes a respect for life and an understanding of difference that is seen as enhancing rather than threatening. It affirms and acknowledges that there are ways of resolving difference other than through the use of violence and continually seeks creative ways of working through issues that have the potential to divide.

Over the years the violence in Northern Ireland has lead directly to the deaths of over 3,500 people and resulted in over 30,000 serious injuries. The Cost of the Troubles Study (1997) estimates that, "**At the very least 6,800 people have the experience of one of their immediate family - parent or sibling - being killed in a troubles - related incident.**" The true cost however is much higher as the relatives of those killed and maimed have also suffered ill health, disruption of family relationships, impaired functioning, substance abuse and in some cases when their grief became intolerable, suicide.

In 1995/96 the level of calls and referrals to WAVE increased by 80% on the previous year. The calls came from not only those recently bereaved/traumatised but many up to 23/24 years ago. Those whose bereavement/trauma occurred up to 26 years ago, were often talking about their loss for the first time. This indicates the necessity of providing the services offered by WAVE on a long term basis. This level of calls and referrals has remained constant throughout 1997.

At present the organisation has offered support and care to over 600, with children, and young people this totals well over 1,000. The Organisations inclusive policy means that services ~~and~~ support are available to everyone. An analysis of members/referrals is included in Appendix 1.

Aims and Objectives of WAVE

1. **To follow a policy of inclusion regardless of an individual's religious, political or cultural background or beliefs.**

Objectives

WAVE is unique in that it is open to anyone who sees her/himself as a victim bereaved or traumatised through the troubles.

WAVE encourages inclusiveness:

- by visiting and offering its services and support to anyone bereaved or traumatized.
- by networking with other groups including those which might hold differing views e.g. political prisoners, security force personnel and ex-paramilitary members.

2. **To ensure that all individuals (adults, teenagers and children) bereaved or traumatised through the troubles are offered help and support in accordance with their individual needs.**

Objectives

- by devising an assessment method in consultation with members, visitors and management committee.
- by training visitors in using the assessment method.
- by setting up a recording system that will be used as a tool for evaluation, so as to ensure an effective and efficient service.
- by networking with relevant organizations such as Social Services, General Practitioners and Health Consultants in order to aid referrals and provide an effective back up system.

3. **To address issues and emotions that arise within the individual as a result of their traumatic experience in a way that is constructive rather than destructive to ensure a respect for life and an understanding of difference which is enhancing rather than threatening.**

Objectives

- by promoting active ways of expressing feelings constructively e.g. creative writing and art therapy and story telling.
- by providing anger and stress management support groups
- by providing group support meetings
- by providing a befriending service
- by providing a counselling service if and when needed
- by organizing public forums where members can tell their stories.

4. **To provide a service which is non medical, tapping into the individual's own strength and coping mechanisms.**

Objectives

- by providing a "listening ear" to each individual's story and the issues surrounding it, letting them know that they have been heard.
- by providing alternative forms of relaxation to the medical - e.g. valium.
by running courses on stress and anger management and encouraging participation in group support.

- 5. To address the specific needs of children/teenagers who have been bereaved or traumatised in the troubles.**

Objectives

- by providing programmes that are specific to their needs.
- by initiating events for children/teenagers from different religious, political and cultural backgrounds to meet socially before they meet in specific trauma related programmes.
- by continuing to revise ACORNS and LINK and other programmes so that they continue to meet children's/young people's needs.

- 6. To help empower individuals to regain control and confidence in their lives.**

Objectives

- by providing opportunities and courses for self development and confidence building and by encouraging individuals to participate in all activities.
- by listening to individual's hopes and desires.
- by encouraging individuals to develop their knowledge and skills through participation in training or courses run in the Centre.

- 7. To actively promote the participation of all members in every aspect of the organisation**

Objectives

- by forming a watchdog committee of WAVE members that will feed back to the Management Committee.
- by equal representation of WAVE members on all committees including the Management Committee.
- by encouraging individuals to volunteer for visiting, group facilitation and for training to facilitate bereavement/trauma programmes.
- by forming a Youth Forum where young people can identify the issues which are important to them.
- by providing training that will facilitate individuals to take an active role within the organisation.

- 8. To act as an advocate for the individual when and if the need arises.**

Objectives

- by representing individuals if and when the need arises. (While WAVE encourages the empowerment of its members, it also recognizes that there may be times when advocacy is necessary e.g., court cases, agencies, social services).

STRUCTURE OF WAVE

WAVE is governed by :-

- A Management Committee which meets monthly. It is composed equally of WAVE members and those working within various fields such as Social Services, Child Protection, Youth Work, Pastoral Care, and Alcohol and Drug Addiction.
- A Co-ordinator who oversees the work of the Administrator, Counsellor/Trainer, Youth Worker, 2 Outreach Workers, Advice Worker, a Secretary and 3 members of WAVE who undertake the day to day work of the organisation.
- WAVE is also served by an Advisory Body made up of professionals/specialists in Social Services, Psychiatry, Media, Community Work, Accountancy and Law. The role of this body is consultative.

PATRONS

WAVE has several patrons:-

- Helen Bamber BO - Director of the Medical Foundation in London for the care of those who have been held in captivity or tortured.
- Professor Jean Orr - Professor of Nursing at Queens University, Belfast.
- Representatives from the four main churches:-
 - * Archbishop R Eames, Primate Church of Ireland
 - * Cahal Cardinal Daly, Roman Catholic Church
 - * V Rev J Dunlop, Presbyterian Church in Ireland
 - * Rev E T I Mawhinney, Methodist Church in Ireland

FUNDING

Within the ~~past~~ 2 years WAVE have received substantial funding for salaries as detailed below for Belfast and a new centre in Armagh City :-

Staff - Belfast

Co-ordinator - funded for two years by Community Relations Council

Secretary - funded for two years by Community Relations Council

Outreach Workers (2 posts) - funded for two years by the National Lottery

Administrator - funded for two years by Peace and Reconciliation Fund - under NIVT

Trainer/Counsellor - funded for two years by Peace and Reconciliation Fund - under NIVT.

Youth Worker - funded for two years by Peace and Reconciliation - under Youthnet.

Advice Worker - funded by a private body.

Voluntary Director who is also the founder of WAVE

Staff - Armagh

(At present being recruited)

Project Co-ordinator - funded for one year by Peace and Reconciliation Fund under Armagh District Partnership

Outreach Workers (2 posts) - Funded for two years by Peace and Reconciliation fund under NIVT

Secretary - Funded for two years by Peace and Reconciliation fund under NIVT

All staff have weekly supervision.

Volunteers

The organisation has a very dedicated group of volunteers who are involved in group facilitation, visiting, counselling and training.

It is serviced by 4 Volunteer Professional Counsellors and 8 WAVE members each of whom have completed a two part Counselling Course. There are 2 Professional Supervisors available to members who undertake a counselling role.

WAVE has 30 volunteers drawn from among its members, who either visit and befriend people bereaved and traumatised through the troubles or are involved in running programmes. The majority of these volunteers live within the Belfast area. We are currently working with individuals in Armagh and Cookstown who have been users of the services and now wish to take an active role in providing services within their local area.

Development

In Cookstown, we have a group meeting in the Family Centre, Westland Road, Cookstown. This group is comprised of people from Co.Tyrone and surrounding areas and meets monthly.

In Armagh befrienders have visited extensively and have received an increasing number of referrals from local groups, GP's, community nurses and voluntary organisations. In January 1998 a new centre has been opened at 9 Dobbin Street, Armagh and will be staffed by a project co-ordinator, two befrienders and a secretary. Funding for this project was awarded under the Special Support Programme for Peace and Reconciliation, through NIVT and Armagh District Partnership. Central to both these projects will be the recruitment of volunteers, essential to the organisations continued development throughout Northern Ireland.

SERVICES OFFERED BY WAVE

In the past 7 years WAVE has offered and developed the following services:-

1. Peer support group meetings
2. Befriending/Individual Support
3. Individual Counselling
4. Link - Youth Programme (previously LOSS)
5. Advice /Advocacy Service
6. Training and Personal Development
7. Complementary Therapies
8. Seminars
9. Public Forum - Stories of Suffering
10. Conferences
11. Social Activities

1. PEER SUPPORT GROUP MEETING

WAVE offers those bereaved or traumatized through the violence the opportunity to meet for peer group support. Members meet for two and a half hours, twice a month, to share their experience of suffering and to receive and offer support. These meetings have proved invaluable to members as a means of lessening their feelings of isolation and of sharing so called negative feelings in a safe environment. A development of this service has resulted in some members being trained in basic group facilitation skills. Peer groups support is offered to adults and young people.

2. BEFRIENDING SERVICE

Many of our members were helped greatly at the time of their trauma by the many letters and expressions of sympathy offered to them and their family both by individuals and groups. But the calls and letters soon stop and as one member told us "after the funeral when everyone is gone, there is only hell and people soon forget".

Our befriending service, i.e. regular visiting/contact by members is our most used service. This service promotes the inclusion of individuals who feel isolated and unable to visit the Centre or leave their home because of fear for personal safety, lack of confidence or mistrust. It is seen by many as a tangible sign that they have not been forgotten. Befriending opens the way to other services, such as group support, individual counselling or advice and welfare work.

3. INDIVIDUAL COUNSELLING

WAVE has 4 part time professional counsellors available to its members. People are grieving not only for the loss of a loved one, but for the life they once had which has now changed so radically. For those who are bereaved they are no longer part of "a couple" and many feel only half a person. Initially many people believe they cannot go it alone and they need to be allowed time, space and help to rebuild confidence in themselves. For many women the result of their husband's death also includes the need to work to supplement their income. They may require help and encouragement in this direction.

Adults grieve not only over the loss of a spouse and how that affects them - they also grieve for their children. It is difficult enough to cope with one's own grief but more difficult to watch one's children struggle with theirs.

A child's grief is often expressed through disruptive behavior at home or school. The lone parent may have difficulty coping with the child's behavior and grief as well as her/his own and may feel overwhelmed. At this time, adults need a lot of support so as not to allow this situation to undermine their self worth and confidence.

Bereaved/traumatised individuals/families often approach their General Practitioner for help with difficulties such as the stress resulting from their bereavement/trauma. In so doing they are at once entering into the medical arena. However their difficulties are not necessarily medical and neither might they be suffering from a psychiatric condition. Rather, many are having a very normal reaction to an abnormal situation. WAVE tries to address this issue by offering supportive counselling or befriending as a way of supporting them in their grief or trauma and to help individuals to connect/reconnect to their self worth and confidence in themselves. WAVE sees this as an invaluable service and would wish to extend it, making it available to all who have been bereaved/traumatised in the last 29 years.

4. ACORN LINK - CHILDREN / YOUTH PROGRAMMES

The essence of this project is to enable young people who have experienced trauma and bereavement through the troubles to acknowledge this experience and the many ways in which it now shapes their lives, in relation to family, school, work, community etc.

Adolescence is difficult for most young people so coping with trauma makes this experience even more demanding. Young people's ways of coping with trauma often include:

- anger and aggressive behaviour-temper tantrums etc.....
- school problems-inattentive, restless daydreams etc.....
- anxiety, fear and social isolation.....
- guilt and self-blame.....
- regressive behaviour.....
- substance misuse.....

Central to this is the establishment of relationships between the young person and the youth worker and between young people, in order to address the isolation, fear, anger, hatred and the many other symptoms of trauma which have an effect on the young person's physical, emotional and social development.

Key elements of the youth programme are:

- Befriending of young people, offering one-to-one support in their own home, the WAVE Centre or a neutral venue within the local area.....
- Group support - structured and unstructured
- Social activities - on a monthly basis, so that young people can interact in a non- threatening context.....
- Summer Programme - activities and travel.....
- Residential Experiences - different age groups, activities etc.
- School liaison and advocacy - as required.....
- Networking with appropriate agencies eg. probation, youth services, social services, community groups etc.....

While this dimension of WAVE's services is focused on young people (05 - 25yrs.), it also is an integral part of our care for parents, where this project can act as a respite facility and a support for parenting well, in difficult circumstances.

5. ADVICE /ADVOCACY SERVICE

When faced with a trauma either through bereavement or intimidation, people cannot always deal with the inevitable form filling, documentation and contacting of relevant bodies required as they are trying to come to terms with everyday problems.

Our Advice/Welfare worker provides advice on social welfare, benefits, housing intimidation and compensation issues. WAVE offers practical help with benefits forms, ie. D.L.A., Income Support etc. advice for relocation or indeed help in solving the problems which have arisen in present accommodation.

If the practical matters are dealt with, members can then start to deal with the psychological and emotional issues they experienced as a result of their trauma.

6. TRAINING AND PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT

Members of WAVE play a leading role within the organisation. Some are involved in facilitating group support meetings - adult and children's bereavement support groups. A number of them are trained as 'Befrienders' and 8 members have completed training in Counselling and Group Facilitation Skills. Others are involved in fund raising events, organizing outings, child minding schemes, attending conferences and seminars and networking with other groups. WAVE trains its own members in Basic Group Facilitation Skills, Listening Skills and Basic Counselling Skills.

WAVE, in association with a number of organisations provides the following courses:-

- Self Development*
- Creative Writing*
- Car Maintenance for Women*
- Time for Me - which covers many aspects including literacy and numeracy skills (University of Ulster)
- Self Development/Awareness
- Relaxation courses
- Art Therapy
- Basic Education
- Computer training
- Stress management
- Alternative Therapy Training
- Driving

*** Courses run in conjunction with Whiteabbey College of Further and Higher Education**

7. COMPLEMENTARY THERAPIES

Complementary therapies such as reflexology, aromatherapy and body massage have been used extensively to promote healing. Many people have found these therapies immensely useful, in particular some of those severely injured have experienced pain relief for the first time in many years.

Physiotherapy has been provided in the centre with excellent results, for those severely traumatised, in relation to promoting relaxation, and self healing.

8. SEMINARS

WAVE offers the public and its members, seminars on the following topics;-

- The Grieving Process
- Legal/Financial matters relation to a violent death i.e. Compensation
- Children's /Young People's Grieving Process
- Personal Development
- Relaxation and stress reduction
- Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)
- Psychodrama and Trauma
- Compassion Fatigue & Secondary Traumatization
- Trauma, Healing and Reconciliation

9. PUBLIC FORUM - STORIES OF SUFFERING

WAVE has organized a number of Public Forums where members - adults and teenagers, have been able to tell the story of their suffering. People who have been murdered or injured in shootings and bombings are soon forgotten unless they are known to us personally. The aim of these forums was to highlight the long term effects of shootings and bombings on families bereaved or traumatised by such happenings. At these forums some younger children read poems they had written about the killing of their father.

10. CONFERENCES

Each year WAVE holds a conference related to trauma, with outside speakers and inputs from members. Conferences held include:

1995 - Towards Healing

1996 - Beyond Trauma

1997 - Community Healing

These events have been reviewed very positively and feedback has been excellent.

11. SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

WAVE also offers the opportunity for people to come together socially. This is ongoing for all ages and includes :

- Social Gatherings
- Celebration Days
- Week-ends away for different age groups
- Monthly socials for members
- Christmas/Easter activities

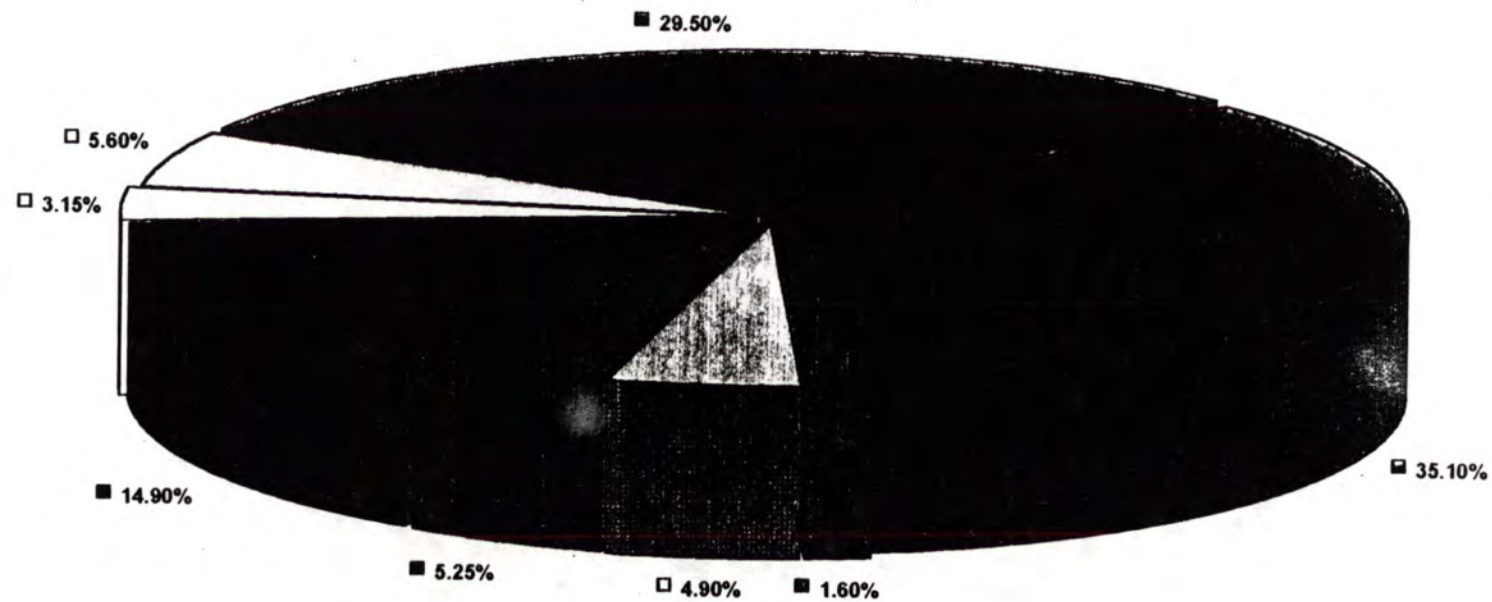
SUMMARY

As all our members have suffered traumatically through the violence in Northern Ireland. WAVE recognizes that its skill and expertise comes from among its members. Many have commented on the great sense of ease they experienced being able to talk to someone "who knows what its like". Aileen Quinton whose Mother died in a bombing incident wrote "Many people find that talking to someone who has had a similar experience and can identify with your fears and listens is greater help than any health care professional"(Aileen Quinton 1994).

WAVE offers a much needed service and has gained insight and skill from its members. Many people have availed of the services of WAVE and have reached a stage in their recovery where they then move from being the people helped to the people who now offer these services. This truly illustrates a healing process.

APPENDICES

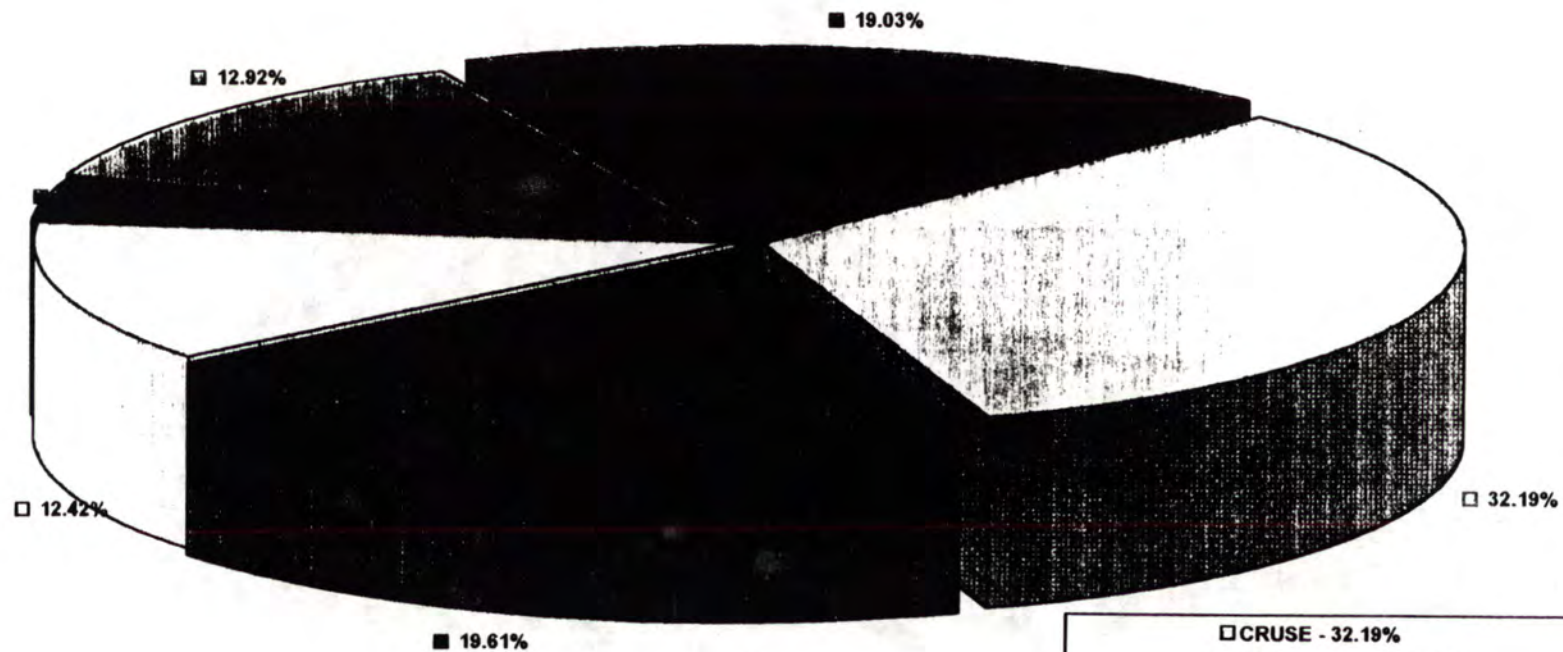
ANALYSIS OF METHOD OF CONTACT WITH INDIVIDUALS BEREAVED/TRAUMATISED



Individual Calls - 35.10%	Police - 1.60%
Psychiatrist Referral - 4.90%	Social Worker Referral - 5.25%
GP Referral - 14.90%	Community Nurse - 3.15%
Other Groups - 5.60%	Letter from WAVE followed by visit - 29.50%%

APPENDIX 1 - FIGURE 1

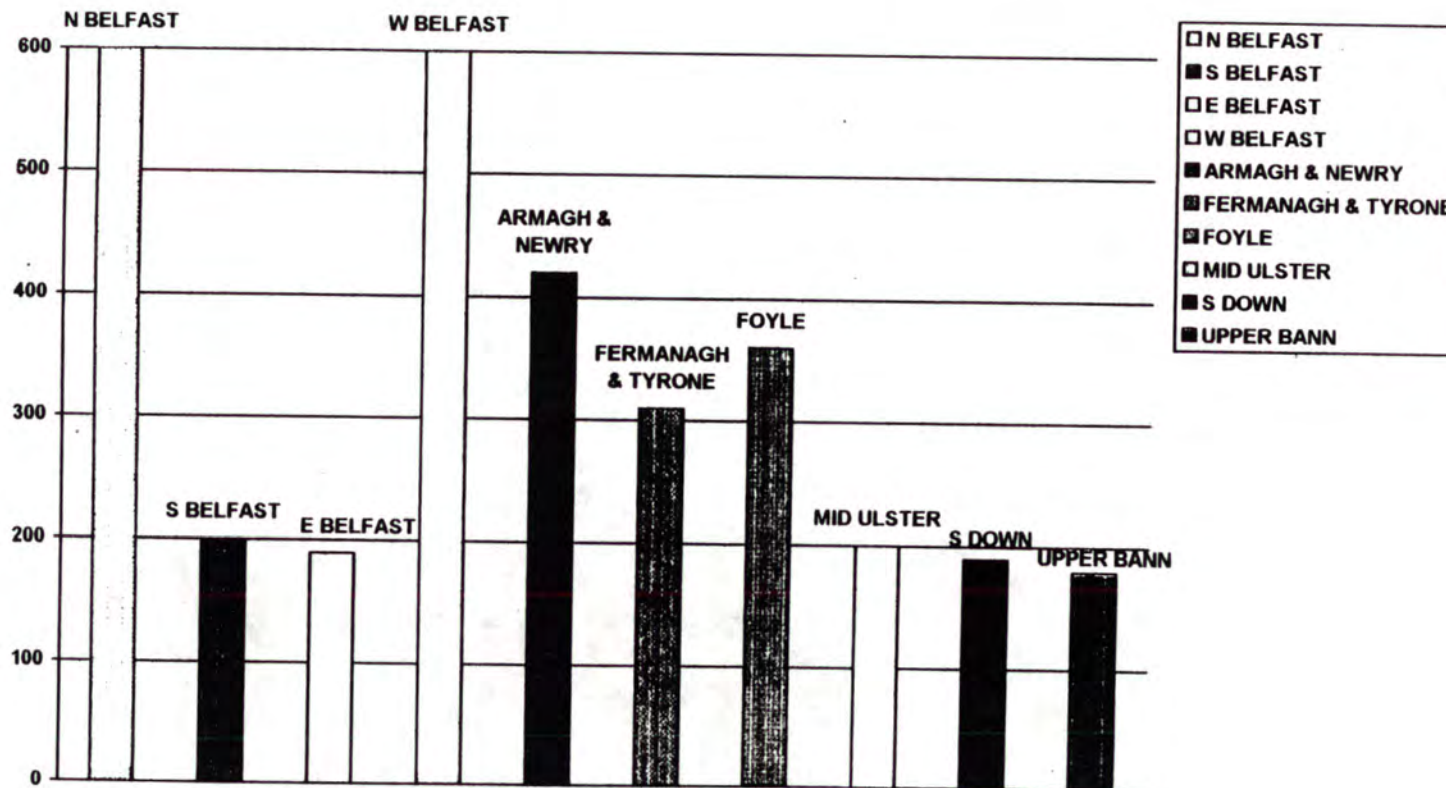
ANALYSIS OF REFERRALS FROM OTHER GROUPS (referred to in Figure 1)



APPENDIX 1 - FIGURE 2

□ CRUSE - 32.19%
■ Victim Support - 19.61%
□ Church Groups - 12.42%
■ FAIT - 3.83%
□ Women Together - 12.92%
■ Community Groups - 19.03%

CONSTITUENCIES MOST AFFECTED IN TERMS OF FATALITIES



APPENDIX 1 - FIGURE 3.1

REFERENCES

- The Cost of the Troubles Study (1997)
Mapping Troubles Related Deaths in Northern Ireland 1969 - 1994
- Quinton, A (1994) Nursing Times.